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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL 1804.

No. VIII.

ART. I. *Traités de Legiſlation Civile et Penale; precedés de Principes Generaux de Legiſlation, et d'une Vue d'un Corps complet de Droit; terminés par un Eſſai ſur l'Influence des tems et des lieux relativement aux Lois.* Par M. Jeremie Bentham, Juriſconſulte Anglois. Publiés en François par M. Dumont de Geneve, d'après les Manuſcrits confiés par l'Auteur. 8vo. 3 tom. Paris, an X. 1802.

THE title-page of this work exhibits a curious inſtance of the diviſion of labour, and of the combinations that hold together the literary commonwealth of Europe. A living author conſents to give his productions to the world in the language of a foreign editor; and the ſpeculations of an Engliſh philoſopher are publiſhed at Paris under the direction of a *redacteur* from Geneva. This arrangement is not the moſt obvious or natural in the world; nor is it very flattering to the literature of this country; but we have no doubt that it was adopted for ſufficient reaſons.

It is now about fifteen years ſince Mr Bentham firſt announced to the world his deſign of compoſing a great work on the principles of morals and legiſlation. The ſpecimen which he then gave of his plan, and of his abilities, was calculated, we think, to excite conſiderable expectation and conſiderable alarm in the reading part of the community. While the author diſplayed, in many places, great originality and accuracy of thinking, and gave proofs throughout of a very uncommon degree of acuteneſs and impartiality, it was eaſy to perceive that he was encumbered with the magnitude of his ſubject, and that his habits of diſcuſſion were but ill adapted to render it popular with the greater part of his readers. Though fully poſſeſſed of his ſubject, he ſcarcely ever appeared to be maſter of it, and ſeemed evidently to move in his new career with great anxiety and great exertion. In the ſubordinate

details of his work, he is often extremely ingenious, clear, and ſatisfactory; but in the grouping and diſtribution of theſe parts, he is apparently irreſolute or capricious; and he has multiplied and diſtinguiſhed them by ſuch a profuſion of diviſions and ſubdiviſions, that the underſtanding is nearly as much bewildered from the exceſſive labour and complexity of the arrangement, as it could have been from its abſolute omiſſion. In following out the diſcuſſions into which he is tempted by every incidental ſuggeſtion, he is ſo anxious to fix and to limit an ultimate principle of judgement, that he not only loſes ſight of the general ſcope of his performance, but puſhes his metaphyſical analyſis to a degree of ſubtlety and minuteneſs that muſt prove repulſive to the greater part of his readers. In the extent and the fineneſs of theſe ſpeculations, he ſometimes appears to loſe all recollection of his ſubject, and often ſeems to taſk his ingenuity to weave ſnares for his underſtanding.

The powers and the peculiarities which were thus indicated by the preliminary treatiſe, were certainly ſuch as to juſtify ſome ſolicitude as to the execution of the principal work. While it was clear that it would be well worth reading, it was doubtful if it would be capable of being read: and, while it was certain that it would contain many admirable remarks, and much profound and original reaſoning, there was ſome room for apprehending that the author's propenſity to artificial arrangement and metaphyſical diſtinctions might place his diſcoveries beyond the reach of ordinary ſtudents, and repel the curioſity which the importance of the ſubject was ſo likely to excite. Actuated probably, in part, by the conſciouſneſs of thoſe propenſities, (which nearly diſqualified him from being the editor of his own ſpeculations), and ſtill too buſily occupied with the proſecution of his great work, to attend to the nice finiſhing of its parts, Mr Bentham, about ſix years ago, put into the hands of M. Dumont a large collection of manuſcripts, containing the greater part of the reaſonings and obſervations which he propoſed to embody into his projected ſyſtem. Theſe materials, M. Dumont aſſures us, though neither arranged nor completed, were rather redundant than defective in quantity, and left nothing to the *redacteur*, but the occaſional labour of ſelection, arrangement, and compreſſion. This taſk he has performed as to a conſiderable part of the papers entruſted to him in the work now before us; and has certainly given a very fair ſpecimen both of the merit of the original ſpeculations, and of his own powers of expreſſion and diſtribution. There are ſome paſſages, perhaps, into which a degree of ſtiffneſs has been introduced, that does not harmoniſe with the

general

general tone of the composition, and others in which we miss something of that richness of illustration and homely vigour of reasoning which delighted us in Mr Bentham's original publications; but in point of neatness and perspicuity, conciseness and precision, we have no sort of doubt that M. Dumont has been of the most essential service to his principal, and are inclined to suspect that, without this assistance, we should never have been able to give any account of his labours.

The plan which Mr Bentham has chalked out for himself in this undertaking, is more vast and comprehensive, we believe, than was ever ventured upon before by the ambition of any one individual. It embraces almost every thing that is important in the science of human nature, and not only touches upon all the higher questions of government and legislation, but includes most of the abstract principles of ethics and metaphysics, and professes to delineate those important rules by which the finest speculations of philosophy may be made to exert their influence on the actual condition of society. M. Dumont has exhibited, in his preface, a short catalogue of the articles which Mr Bentham has enabled him to finish by delivering the manuscripts to his custody; and declares that they form but a part of the gigantic system upon which he is still engaged. What Mr Bentham has already executed, is as follows: 1. The general principles of morals and legislation: 2. The principles of law as applicable to civil questions: 3. The principles of criminal law: 4. A detailed code of criminal law *in terminis*: 5. The principles of a code of remuneratory law: 6. A plan for the organization of the judiciary function: 7. A complete system of legal procedure, comprehending the whole law of evidence, and all the forms of litigation: 8. A system of political œconomy: and 9. A system of tactics for legislative assemblies, or of the rules according to which they should be constituted and should conduct their deliberations. There are, besides, six separate treatises on 'Invention in the Science of Legislation; on the art of accommodating law to a change of time or place; on the methods of promulgating the law,' &c. &c. The present volumes do not by any means contain the whole of these dissertations; but M. Dumont assures us, that all the materials are in his hands, and that he has already brought them into such form and order, as to secure their successive publication at no great distance of time.

The work now before us consists of four principal parts. 1. A general view of the principles of legislation, composed, in a good degree, from the Introduction formerly published in

Engliſh in 1789: 2. A general ſketch of the complete ſyſtem of laws which Mr Bentham propoſes to erect upon thoſe principles: 3. The application of thoſe principles to the law in civil queſtions: and 4. The application of the ſame principles to the law with regard to crimes. To theſe are added, three detached treatiſes; one on the eſtabliſhment of a new ſort of houſe of correction, to be called the *Panoptique*; another on the method of promulgating the law; and the third on the influence of time and place in queſtions of legiſlation. From this ſhort account of the contents of this publication, our readers will eaſily perceive that the merit of the whole ſyſtem muſt depend upon the ſoundneſs of the principles upon which it is profeſſedly founded, and that the character of the book muſt be determined, in a great degree, by the manner in which the *firſt part* of it is executed. As the ſubjects which are there treated of, are of the greateſt intereſt in themſelves, and as they are diſcuſſed in a manner which the author at leaſt conceives to be perfectly original, we ſhall endeavour to lay before our readers, a full view, both of the doctrines which he has delivered, and of the obſervations which have been ſuggeſted to us by their peruſal.

M. Dumont, who has more than the common right of an editor to be partial to the work he has brought into the world, is perſuaded that this publication muſt make an epoch and a revolution in the ſcience of which it treats; and aſſures us, that the 'Introduction,' upon the principles of which it is founded, though not hitherto diſtinguiſhed by any great ſhare of popular applauſe, is already conſidered in that light by the ſmall number of competent judges by whom its merits have been appretiated. To this privilege, he ſays, Mr Bentham's ſpeculations are entitled, becauſe they have ſet the example of a new method of philoſophiſing in politics and morality, and becauſe they contain the elements of a new ſyſtem of logic, by means of which ethics and legiſlation are for the firſt time advanced to the dignity of a *ſcience*. Theſe pretenſions, it cannot be denied, are ſufficiently magnificent; and the confidence with which they are announced, naturally leads us to inquire into the facts by which they are ſupported.

The principle upon which the whole of Mr Bentham's ſyſtem depends is, that *utility*, and utility alone, is the criterion of right and wrong, and ought to be the ſole object of the legiſlator. This principle, he admits, has often been ſuggeſted, and is familiarly recurred to both in action and deliberation: but he maintains that it has never been purſued with ſufficient ſteadineſs and reſolution, and that the neceſſity of aſſuming it as the excluſive teſt of our proceedings

proceedings has never been ſufficiently underſtood. There are two principles, he alleges, that have been admitted to a ſhare of that moral authority which belongs of right to that of utility alone, and have exerciſed a controul over the conduct and opinions of ſociety, by which legiſlators have been very frequently miſled. The one of theſe he denominates the *aſcetic principle*, or that which enjoins the mortification of the ſenſes as a duty, and proſcribes their gratification as a ſin; and the other, which has had a much more extenſive influence, he calls *the principle of ſympathy or antipathy*, under which name he comprehends all thoſe ſyſtems which place the baſis of morality in the indications of a moral ſenſe, or in the maxims of a rule of right, or which, under any other form of expreſſion, decide upon the propriety of human actions by any internal, unaccountable feelings, without any view to their conſequences. In this place he introduces, by way of parentheſis, a technical enumeration of the ſources and cauſes of antipathy, of which he reckons ſix—the repugnance of the ſenſes—mortified pride—diſappointed endeavours, &c. &c.

He then ſets himſelf to ſhow that theſe principles have in many inſtances ſuperſeded the lawful authority of utility in the laws of moſt countries; and imputes to this cauſe the illuſion which has led ſo many legiſlators to neglect the ſubſtantial happineſs of their country, while they limited all their exertions to the promotion of its riches, its power, or its freedom.

In the next place he combats, with great ability, the arguments of thoſe who have affected to conſider the principle of utility as a dangerous guide for our conduct, and endeavours to ſhow that ſuch reaſonings really amount to a contradiction in terms; ſince, to ſay of any action that it is hurtful, dangerous, or improper, is juſt to ſay that it cannot have been adopted upon the principle of utility.

As utility is thus aſſumed as the teſt and ſtandard of action and approbation, and as it conſiſts in procuring pleaſure, and avoiding pain, Mr Bentham has thought it neceſſary, in this place, to introduce a catalogue of all the pleaſures and pains of which man is ſuſceptible, ſince theſe, he alleges, are the elements of that moral calculation in which the wiſdom and the duty of legiſlators and individuals muſt ultimately be found to conſiſt. The ſimple pleaſures of which man is ſuſceptible are fourteen in number, and are thus enumerated—1. pleaſures of ſenſe: 2. of wealth: 3. of dexterity: 4. of good character: 5. of friendſhip: 6. of power: 7. of piety: 8. of benevolence: 9. of malevolence: 10. of memory: 11. of imagination: 12. of hope: 13. of aſſociation: 14. of relief from pain. The pains,

our readers will be happy to hear, are only eleven, and are almoſt exactly the counterpart of the pleaſures that have now been enumerated. The conſtruction of theſe catalogues M. Dumont conſiders as by far the greateſt improvement that has yet been made in the philoſophy of human nature.

It is chiefly by the fear of pain that men are regulated in the choice of their deliberate actions; and Mr Bentham finds that pain may be attached to particular actions in four different ways, 1. by nature: 2. by public opinion: 3. by poſitive enactment: and 4. by the doctrines of religion. Our inſtitutions will be perfect when all theſe different ſanctions are in harmony with each other.

The moſt difficult part of our author's taſk remains. In order to make any uſe of theſe 'elements of moral arithmetic,' which are conſtituted by the liſts of our pleaſures and pains, it was evidently neceſſary to aſcertain their relative value, ſo as to enable him to proceed in his legiſlative calculations with ſome degree of aſſurance. Under this head, however, we are only told that the value of a pleaſure or a pain, conſidered in itſelf, depends, 1. upon its intenſity, 2. upon its proximity, 3. upon its duration, and 4. upon its certainty; and that, conſidered with a view to its conſequences, its value is farther affected, 1. by its *fecundity*, *i. e.* its tendency to produce other pleaſures or pains; 2. by its *purity*, *i. e.* its being unmixed with other ſenſations; and 3. by the number of perſons to whom it may extend. Theſe conſiderations, however, the author juſtly conſiders as inadequate for his purpoſe; for by what means is the *intenſity* of any pain or pleaſure to be meaſured, and how, without this knowledge, are we to proportion puniſhments to temptations, or adjuſt the meaſures of recompenſe or indemnification? To ſolve this problem, Mr Bentham ſeems to have had recourſe to his favourite ſyſtem of enumeration, and to have thought nothing elſe neceſſary than to make out a fair catalogue of 'the circumſtances by which the ſenſibility is affected.' Theſe he divides into two branches—the primary and the ſecondary. The firſt he determines to be exactly fifteen, viz. temperament—health—ſtrength—bodily imperfection—intelligence—ſtrength of underſtanding—fortitude—perſeverance—diſpoſitions—notions of honour—notions of religion—ſympathies—antipathies—folly or derangement—fortune. The ſecondary circumſtances that determine the degree of ſenſibility to good and evil, are only nine, *viz.* ſex—age—rank—education—profeſſion—climate—creed—government—religious creed. By attending to theſe circumſtances, Mr Bentham is of opinion that

we may be able to estimate the value of any particular pleasure or pain to an individual, with sufficient exactness, to judge of the comparative magnitude of crimes, and of the proportionate amount of pains and compensations.

He now comes a little closer to his subject, and enters into an examination of the nature of those evils which it is the business of the legislator to prevent or alleviate. Evils are then arranged, with Mr Bentham's usual partiality for classification, under a great variety of divisions. Evils *of the first order*, are those which fall immediately upon one or a few specific individuals; *evils of the second order*, are those that fall upon entire classes of men under some particular description; and *evils of the third order*, are those that affect the condition of the whole community where they occur. Murder or theft is an instance of the first; persecution or cruelty to heretics, priests, rich men, parents, &c. &c. of the second; and all sorts of disorder and mismanagement, by which the security of the whole community is endangered, are instances of the third. Evils of the first order may be analysed into the *primitive*, or direct evil to the sufferer himself; and the *derivative*, or consequential evil that results to those connected with him, from the effects of his suffering. Evils of the second order consist, again, chiefly either in the *alarm* which is necessarily felt by all that description of persons upon whom it threatens to fall, or the *danger* which may actually exist in a degree either greater or smaller than the alarm. Evils of the third order are produced altogether by the alarm and apprehension of danger, which relaxes the exertions of industry, and gives a check to every sort of prosperity or improvement. Evils are also distinguished by Mr Bentham into such as are either immediate or consequential—extensive or divisible—permanent or evanescent, &c.; but we do not observe that these distinctions, which indeed are capable of being multiplied to infinity, are made the basis of any part of his system.

Mr Bentham is now arrived at the proper object of his reasoning. Certain actions should be prevented, because they give rise to pains or evils; and to those under the name of crimes, the interests of society require certain punishments to be applied, in order to repress and prevent them effectually. But no action is deliberately performed by any reasonable creature, without the expectation of consequential good or pleasure to himself; and this pleasure is to be taken into account in fixing the measure of punishment, or bestowing the appellation of guilt. The construction of the criminal code comes then entirely to a matter of calculation. The gratification of the delinquent individual is to

be taken into account on the one hand, and the ſuffering of the offended party on the other; and it is only where the latter evidently preponderates, that the act ſhould be denominated a crime. In this compariſon it will generally be found, that actions have been ſtigmatiſed as criminal, much more on account of the evil of *the ſecond order* they produce, by the alarm and danger which they occaſion to every one in a ſimilar ſituation with the ſufferer, than on account of the direct detriment that is ſuſtained by the ſufferer individually. In the caſe of offences againſt property, for inſtance, it may frequently happen that the gratification of the robber is fully greater than the mortification of the perſon whom he plunders; but the alarm and danger that would reſult from the impunity of ſuch actions makes the whole maſs of evil incomparably greater than that of good, and juſtifies the ſevere ſanctions by which law has generally endeavoured to repreſs ſuch acts of depredation.

In theſe particulars, Mr Bentham thinks that the principles of legiſlation and morality exactly coincide: the object of both is the ſame—the multiplication of human pleaſures, and the diminution of pains. What then is the difference between the two codes, and how are their mutual limits to be aſcertained? Legiſlation, Mr Bentham conceives, is merely morality inveſted with power; but this power it cannot exerciſe up to the very limits to which morality would carry its ſanction of diſapprobation. The reaſons why law muſt always fall ſhort of perfect juſtice, are, 1. Becauſe law muſt operate chiefly by puniſhments which are evils in themſelves; and that, to enact poſitive puniſhments for many noxious actions which are either eaſily concealed or of ſlight importance, would be to create a greater evil for the purpoſe of repreſſing a ſmaller one: and 2. Becauſe many offences conſiſting in degree and continuance, ſuch as unkindneſs, ingratitude, &c. are really incapable of being defined or eſtabliſhed with preciſion, ſo that any law againſt them would either be ineffectual, or would produce more uneaſineſs by the general dread of proſecution, than it could cure by the example. Mr Bentham then goes on to ſhew, that moral duties may be divided into prudence, probity, and benevolence. The firſt requires no ſanction on the part of the legiſlature; the ſecond is the proper ſphere of law; and the third, though it may in general be left to the wiſdom and the feeling of every individual, may yet be enforced by law in a greater number of caſes than lawgivers have hitherto provided for. Inſtances of barbarous unkindneſs, and acts of cruelty to animals, ought, according to Mr Bentham, to be claſſed among offences cogniſable by the law.

This

This properly completes Mr Bentham's general view of the principles of legiſlation. But in order to impreſs his readers more ſtrongly with a ſenſe of their importance and novelty, he proceeds, in a very long and a very able chapter, to exemplify and expoſe the various errors into which legiſlators have been led, by taking for their guide ſome other principle than that of utility. This chapter is divided into ten ſections, under each of which he gives an inſtance of ſome falſe principle that has occaſionally been permitted to interfere with thoſe ſtrict notions of utility by which the legiſlature ought to have been uniformly directed. Thus he ſays, 1. The antiquity of a law is no reaſon for adhering to it: 2. The pretended authority of religion is no ſufficient ground for legiſlation: 3. The dread of innovation is no ground for withholding improvements: 4. An arbitrary definition can never be received as a reaſon for the authority of law: When Monteſquieu defined the laws to be 'eternal relations,' and when Rouſſeau called them 'the expreſſion of the general will,' they both endeavoured to found, upon arbitrary aſſumptions, that authority which is only due to their acknowledged utility. 5. A metaphor is no reaſon for a law. In Mr Bentham's opinion, however, the proceedings of many wiſe legiſlatures have been governed by ſuch ſlight analogies. In England a man's houſe is his *caſtle*, and therefore it is to protect him even againſt the officers of the law. In Italy a church is *the houſe of God*, in which criminals may therefore defy the juſtice of men. The ideas unluckily aſſociated with ſuch phraſes as 'the balance of trade,'—'mother country,' &c. have given riſe, according to Mr Bentham, to a great number of abſurd regulations. 6. A law ſhould never be ſupported by *fictions*: corruption of blood, the ſovereign's ubiquity, immortality, &c. and the imaginary *contracts* upon which many writers have founded the whole fabric of ſociety, are bad ſynonymes, or worſe ſubſtitutes for utility. 7. A fantaſtic reaſon is no reaſon for a law. Why ſhould a father have authority over his children, *becauſe* they are born in his houſe, or *becauſe* they are formed of his ſubſtance? The true reaſon is the utility. 8. Antipathies, or ſympathies, are no reaſons for an enactment: if they are founded in experience of utility, it is more ſatisfactory to go at once to the foundation: if they cannot be juſtified on that ground, they ſhould have no authority whatſoever. 9. Aſſumption of the points in diſpute, is no reaſon for a law. If luxury be defined a vicious or exceſſive indulgence in pleaſure, then it certainly ought to be repreſſed; but before any law is made to repreſs it, it ſhould be proved that it is really vicious; that is, that it is productive of evil. *Laſtly*, A real law can never be juſtified by appealing to

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the authority of an imaginary one. It is saying nothing, to say that the *law of nature*, or the rule of right, requires such and such an enactment. These high-sounding words mean nothing more than the private opinion or inclination of the individual who uses them. Every reason, in short, that can be given for any enactment or institution, must either resolve itself into the assertion of its utility, or be rejected as pernicious. The legislator has but one simple maxim to observe—to repress all those actions which tend to produce more pain than pleasure, and to promote all those which produce more pleasure than pain.

Having thus endeavoured to lay before our readers a very concise, but, we hope, a tolerably full and distinct account of Mr Bentham's principles of legislation, we shall now take the liberty of making a few of those observations, which could not have been stated before, without breaking the connexion of the subject, and obscuring the evidence upon which the system is founded. The first remark that suggests itself is, that if there is little that is false or pernicious in this system, there is little that is either new or important. That laws were made to promote the general welfare of society, and that nothing should be enacted which has a different tendency, are truths that can scarcely claim the merit of novelty, or mark an epoch by the date of their promulgation. The technical apparatus which Mr Bentham has employed to enforce these tenets upon his readers, appears to us to have been altogether unnecessary; and we have not yet been able to discover that it can be of any service in improving their practical application. There are many things, indeed, that seem to be very inaccurately laid down in the detail of these principles, and a still greater number that are assumed with too little limitation.

The basis of the whole system is the undivided sovereignty of the principle of utility, and the necessity which there is for recurring strictly to it in every question of legislation. Moral feelings, it is admitted, will frequently be found to coincide with it; but they are on no account to be trusted to, till this coincidence has been verified; they are no better than sympathies and antipathies, mere private and unaccountable feelings, that may vary in the case of every individual; and therefore can afford no fixed standard for general approbation or enjoyment. We cannot help thinking, that this fundamental proposition is very defective, both in logical consistency, and in substantial truth. In the first place, it seems very obvious to remark, that the principle of utility is liable to the same objections, on the force of which the authority of moral impressions has been so positively denied. How shall utility itself be recognised, but by a *feeling* similar to that which

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is ſtigmatiſed as capricious and unaccountable? How are pleaſures and pains, and the degrees and relative magnitude of pleaſures and pains to be diſtinguiſhed, but by the feeling and experience of every individual? And what greater certainty can there be in the accuracy of ſuch determinations, than in the reſults of other feelings no leſs general and diſtinguiſhable? If right and wrong be not preciſely the ſame to every individual, neither are pleaſure and pain; and if there be deſpotiſm and abſurdity in impoſing upon another, one's own impreſſions of wiſdom and propriety, it cannot be juſt and reaſonable to erect a ſtandard of enjoyment, and a rule of conduct, upon the narrow baſis of our own meaſure of ſenſibility. It is evident, therefore, that by aſſuming the principle of utility, we do not get rid of the riſk of variable feeling; and that we are ſtill liable to all the uncertainty that may be produced by this cauſe, under the influence of any other principle.

The truth is, however, that this uncertainty is in all caſes of a very limited nature, and that the common impreſſions of morality, the vulgar diſtinctions of right and wrong, virtue and vice, are perfectly ſufficient to direct the conduct of the individual, and the judgement of the legiſlator, without any reference to the nature or origin of thoſe diſtinctions. In many reſpects, indeed, we conceive them to be fitter for this purpoſe than Mr Bentham's oracles of utility. In the firſt place, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that it is a very groſs and unpardonable miſtake to repreſent thoſe notions of right and wrong as depending altogether upon the private and capricious feelings of an individual. Certainly no man was ever ſo arrogant or ſo fooliſh, as to inſiſt upon eſtabliſhing his own individual perſuaſion as an infallible teſt of duty and wiſdom to all the reſt of the world. The moral feelings, of which Mr Bentham would make ſo ſmall account, are the feelings which obſervation teaches us to impute to all men; thoſe in which, under every variety of circumſtances, they are found pretty conſtantly to agree, and as to which their uniformity may be reaſoned and reckoned upon with almoſt as much ſecurity as in the caſe of their external perceptions. The exiſtence of ſuch feelings, and the uniformity with which they are excited in all men by the ſame occaſions, are facts that admit of no diſpute; and, in point of certainty and preciſion, we have ſeen already, that they are exactly on a footing with thoſe perceptions of utility that can only be relied on after they have been verified by a ſimilar proceſs of obſervation. Now, we are inclined to think, in oppoſition to Mr Bentham, that a legiſlator will proceed more ſafely by following the indications of thoſe moral diſtinctions as

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to which all men are agreed, than if he reſolves to ſet them altogether at defiance, and to be guided by nothing but thoſe perceptions of utility which he muſt collect from the ſame general agreement. It is now, we believe, univerſally admitted, that nothing can be generally the object of moral approbation, which does not tend, upon the whole, to the good of mankind; and we are not even diſpoſed to diſpute with Mr Bentham, that the true ſource of this moral approbation is in all caſes a perception or experience of utility in the action or object which excites it. The difference between us, however, is conſiderable; and it is preciſely this—Mr Bentham maintains, that in all caſes we ought to diſregard the preſumptions ariſing from moral approbation, and, by a reſolute and ſcrupulous analyſis, to get at the naked utility upon which it is founded; and then, by the application of his new moral arithmetic, to determine its quantity, its compoſition, and its value, and, according to the reſult of this inveſtigation, to regulate our moral approbation for the future. We, on the other hand, are inclined to hold, that theſe feelings, where they are uniform and decided, are by far the ſureſt teſts of the quantity and value of the utility by which they are ſuggeſted; and that if we diſcredit their report, and attempt to aſcertain this value by any formal proceſs of calculation or analyſis, we deſert a ſafe and natural ſtandard, in purſuit of one for the conſtruction of which we have yet no rules nor materials. A very few obſervations, we truſt, will ſet this in a clear light.

The amount, degree, or intenſity of any pleaſure or pain, is aſcertained by feeling, and not determined by reaſon or reflection. Theſe feelings are tranſitory in their own nature, and are not eaſily recalled with ſuch preciſion as to enable us, upon recollection, to adjuſt their relative values. When they preſent themſelves, however, in combinations, or in rapid ſucceſſion, their relative magnitude or intenſity is perceived by the mind without any exertion, and rather by a ſort of immediate feeling, than in conſequence of any intentional compariſon. When a particular combination or ſucceſſion of ſuch feelings is repeatedly ſuggeſted to the memory, the relative value of all its parts is perceived with great readineſs and rapidity, and the general reſult is fixed in the mind without our being conſcious of any act of reflection. In this way, moral maxims and impreſſions ariſe in the minds of all men, from an inſtinctive and involuntary valuation of the good and the evil which they perceive to be connected with certain actions or habits; and thoſe impreſſions may ſafely be taken for the juſt reſult of that valuation which we may afterwards attempt unſucceſsfully with great labour to repeat. They

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may be compared, on this view of the matter, to those *acquired perceptions of sight* by which the eye is enabled to judge of distances; and by which we shall be much more safely and commodiously guided, within the range of our ordinary occupations, than by any formal scientific calculations, founded on the faintness of the colouring, and the magnitude of the angle of vision, compared with the average tangible bulk of the kind of object in question.

The comparative value of such good and evil, we have already observed, can be determined by feeling alone; so that the interference of technical and elaborate reasoning, though it may well be supposed to disturb those perceptions upon the accuracy of which the determination must depend, cannot in any case be of the smallest assistance. Where the preponderance of good or evil is distinctly felt by all persons to whom a certain combination of feelings has been suggested, we have all the evidence for the reality of this preponderance that the nature of the subject will admit, and must try in vain to traverse that judgement by any subsequent exertion of a faculty that has no jurisdiction in the cause. The established rules and impressions of morality, therefore, we consider as the grand recorded result of an infinite multitude of experiments upon human feeling under every variety of circumstances, and as affording by far the nearest approximation to a just standard of the good and the evil that human conduct is concerned with, which the nature of our faculties will allow. In endeavouring to correct or amend this general verdict of mankind in any particular instance, we not only substitute our own individual feelings for that large average which is implied in the prevalence of moral impressions, but we run the common risk of omitting or mistaking some of the most important elements of the calculation. Every one at all accustomed to reflect upon the operations of his mind, must be conscious how difficult it is to retrace exactly those trains of thought which pass through the understanding almost without giving us any intimation of their existence, and how impossible it frequently is to repeat any process of thought when we propose to make it the subject of observation. Our feelings are not in their natural state when we can study their aspects attentively; and their force and direction are better estimated from the traces which they leave in their spontaneous visitations, than from any forced revocation of them for the purpose of being measured or compared. When the object itself is inaccessible, it is wisest to compute its magnitude from its shadow; where the cause cannot be directly examined, its qualities are most securely inferred from its effects.

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One of the most obvious consequences of disregarding the general impressions of morality, and determining every individual question upon a rigorous estimation of the utility it might appear to involve, would be, to give an additional force to the principles by which our judgments are apt to be perverted, and entirely to abrogate the authority of those *general rules* by which alone men are commonly enabled to judge of their own conduct with any tolerable degree of impartiality. If we were to dismiss altogether from our consideration those authoritative maxims which have been sanctioned by the general approbation of mankind, and to regulate our conduct entirely by a view of the good and the evil that promises to be the consequence of every particular action, there is reason to fear, not only that inclination might slip in a false weight into the scale, but that many of the most important consequences of our actions might be overlooked. Those actions are bad, according to Mr Bentham, that produce more evil than good: but actions are performed by individuals, and all the good may be to the individual and all the evil to the community. There are innumerable cases, in which the advantages to be gained by the commission of a crime are incalculably greater than the evils to which it may expose the criminal. This holds in almost every instance where unlawful passions may be gratified with very little risk of detection. A mere calculation of utilities would never prevent such actions; and the truth undoubtedly is, that the greater part of men are only withheld from committing them by those general impressions of morality, which it is the object of Mr Bentham's system to supersede. Even admitting, what might very easily be denied, that, in all cases, the utility of the individual is inseparably connected with that of society, it will not be disputed, at least, that this connexion is of a nature not very striking or obvious, and that it may frequently be overlooked by an individual deliberating on the consequences of his projected actions. It is in aid of this oversight, of this omission, of this partiality, that we refer to the *general rules* of morality; rules, which have been suggested by a larger observation, and a longer experience, than any individual can dream of pretending to, and which have been accommodated by the joint action of our sympathies with delinquents and sufferers to the actual condition of human fortitude and infirmity. If they be founded on utility, it is on a utility that cannot always be discovered, and that can never be correctly estimated in deliberating upon a particular measure, or with a view to a specific course of conduct; it is on a utility that does not discover itself till it is accumulated, and only becomes apparent after a large

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collection of examples have been embodied in proof of it. Such ſummaries of utility, ſuch records of uniform obſervation, we conceive to be the *general rules of morality*, by which, and by which alone, legiſlators or individuals can be ſafely directed in determining on the propriety of any courſe of conduct. They are obſervations taken in the calm, by which we muſt be guided in the darkneſs and the terror of the tempeſt; they are beacons and ſtrongholds erected in the day of peace, round which we muſt rally, and to which we muſt betake ourſelves in the hour of conteſt and alarm.

For theſe reaſons, and for others which our limits will not permit us to hint at, we are of opinion, that the old eſtabliſhed morality of mankind ought upon no account to give place to a bold and rigid inveſtigation into the *utility* of any courſe of action that may be made the ſubject of deliberation; and that the ſafeſt and the ſhorteſt way to the good which we all deſire, is the beaten highway of morality, which was formed at firſt by the experience of good and of evil.

But our objections do not apply merely to the foundation of Mr Bentham's new ſyſtem of morality: We think the plan and execution of the ſuperſtructure itſelf defective in many particulars. Even if we could be perſuaded that it would be wiſer in general to follow the dictates of utility than the impreſſions of moral duty, we ſhould be fully at liberty to ſay that the ſyſtem contained in theſe volumes does not enable us to adopt that ſubſtitute: it preſents us with no means of meaſuring or comparing utilities. After peruſing M. Dumont's eloquent obſervations on the incalculable benefits which his author's diſcoveries were to confer on the ſcience of legiſlation, and on the genius and good fortune by which he had been enabled to reduce morality to the preciſion of a ſcience, by fixing a preciſe ſtandard for the good and evil of our lives, we proceeded with the peruſal of Mr Bentham's endleſs tables and diviſions, with a mixture of impatience, expectation and diſappointment. Now that we have finiſhed our taſk, the latter ſentiment alone remains; for we perceive very clearly, that M. Dumont's zeal and partiality have impoſed upon his natural ſagacity, and that Mr Bentham has juſt left the ſcience of morality in the ſame imperfect condition in which it was left by his predeceſſors. The whole of Mr Bentham's catalogues and diſtinctions tend merely to point out the *number* of the cauſes that produce our happineſs or miſery, but by no means to aſcertain their relative magnitude or force; and the only effect of their introduction into the ſcience of morality ſeems to be, to embarraſs a popular ſubject with a technical nomenclature,

nenclature, and to perplex familiar truths with an unneceſſary intricacy of arrangement. Of the juſtice of this remark, any one may ſatisfy himſelf, by turning back to the tables and claſſifications which we have exhibited in the former part of this analyſis, and trying if he can find there any rules for eſtimating the comparative value of pleaſures and pains, that are not perfectly familiar to the moſt uninſtructed of the ſpecies. In the table of ſimple pleaſures, for inſtance, what ſatisfaction can it afford, to find the pleaſure of riches ſet down as a diſtinct genus from the pleaſure of power and the pleaſure of the ſenſes, unleſs ſome ſcale were annexed by which the reſpective value of theſe pleaſures might be aſcertained? If a man is balancing between the pain of privation and the pain of ſhame, how is he relieved by finding theſe arranged under ſeparate titles? or, in either caſe, will it give him any information to be told, that the value of a pain or pleaſure depends upon its intenſity, its duration, or its certainty? If a legiſlator is deſirous to know whether murder or forgery be the greateſt crime, will he be contented to hear that the evil of every crime is either of the firſt, the ſecond, or the third order, and that all crimes produce the two firſt, and have a tendency to produce the latter alſo, if they be not vigorouſly repreſſed? If he wiſh to learn what degree of puniſhment is ſuitable to a particular offence, will he be greatly edified to read that the ſame puniſhment may be more or leſs ſevere according to the temperament, the intelligence, the rank, or the fortune of the delinquent; and that the circumſtances that influence ſenſibility, though commonly reckoned to be only nine, may fairly be ſet down at fifteen? Is there any thing, in ſhort, in this whole book, that realiſes the triumphant Introduction of the editor, or that can enable us in any one inſtance to decide upon the relative magnitude of an evil, otherwiſe than by a reference to the common feelings of mankind? It is true, we are perfectly perſuaded, that by the help of theſe feelings, we can form a pretty correct judgement in moſt caſes that occur; but Mr Bentham is not perſuaded of this; and inſiſts upon our renouncing all faith in ſo incorrect a ſtandard, while he promiſes to furniſh us with another that is liable to no ſort of inaccuracy. This promiſe we do not think he has fulfilled; becauſe he has given us no rule by which the intenſity of any pain or pleaſure can be determined, and furniſhed us with no inſtrument by which we may take the altitude of enjoyment, or fathom the depths of ſorrow. It is no apology for having made this promiſe, that its fulfilment was evidently impoſſible.

In multiplying theſe diſtinctions and diviſions which form the baſis of his ſyſtem, Mr Bentham appears to us to bear leſs reſemblance

ſemblance to a philoſopher of the preſent times, than to one of the old ſcholaſtic doctors who ſubſtituted claſſification for reaſoning, and looked upon the ten categories as the moſt uſeful of all human inventions. Their diſtinctions were generally real as well as his, and could not have been made without the miſapplication of much labour and ingenuity; but it is now generally admitted that they are of no uſe, either for the promotion of truth, or the detection of error; and that they only ſerve to point out differences that cannot be overlooked, or need not be remembered. There are many differences and many points of reſemblance in all actions, and in all ſubſtances, that are abſolutely indifferent in any ſerious reaſoning that may be entered into with regard to them; and though much induſtry and much acuteneſs may be diſplayed in finding them out, the diſcovery is juſt as unprofitable to ſcience as the enumeration of the adverbs in the creed, or the diſſyllables in the decalogue, would be to theology. The greater number of Mr Bentham's diſtinctions, however, are liable to objection, becauſe they ſtate, under an intricate and technical arrangement, thoſe facts and circumſtances only that are neceſſarily familiar to all mankind, and cannot poſſibly be forgotten on any occaſion where it is of importance to remember them. In peruſing his book, we frequently found it neceſſary to beſtow a good deal of attention upon a diſtinction or propoſition that, when it was fully apprehended, turned out to be abſolutely ſelf-evident or obvious; and indeed we can ſcarcely remember any one of his practical maxims that can poſſibly be conceived to be overlooked for a moment by the legiſlatures for whoſe illumination this work is intended. If bad laws have been enacted, it certainly is not from having forgotten that the good of ſociety is the ultimate object of all law, or that it is abſurd to repreſs one evil by the creation of a greater. Legiſlators have often bewildered themſelves in the choice of means, but they have never ſo groſsly miſtaken the ends of their inſtitution as to need to be reminded of theſe apparent truths.

If there be any part of Mr Bentham's claſſification that can be ſuppoſed to aſſiſt us in appretiating the comparative value of pleaſures and pains, it muſt certainly be his enumeration of the circumſtances that affect the ſenſibility of individuals. Even if this table were to fulfil all that it promiſes, however, it would ſtill leave the ſyſtem fundamentally deficient, as it does not enable us to compare the relative amount of any two pleaſures or pains to individuals in the ſame circumſtances. In its particular application, however, it is no leſs defective; for though we are told

that temperament, intelligence, &c. ſhould vary the degree of puniſhment or reward, we are not told to what extent, or in what proportions, it ſhould be varied by theſe circumſtances. Till this be done, however, it is evident that the elements of Mr Bentham's moral arithmetic have no determinate value, and that it is perfectly impoſſible to work any practical problem in legiſlation by the help of them. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that even if this were accompliſhed, and the cogniſance of all theſe particulars diſtinctly enjoined by the law, the only effect would be, to introduce a puerile and fantaſtic complexity into our ſyſtems of juriſprudence, and to incumber judicial procedure with a multitude of frivolous obſervances. The circumſtances, in conſideration of which Mr Bentham would have the laws vary the puniſhment, are ſo numerous and ſo indefinite, that it would require a vaſt deal more labour to aſcertain their exiſtence, than to eſtabliſh the principal offence. The firſt is Temperament; and in a caſe of flogging, we ſuppoſe Mr Bentham would remit a few laſhes of the ſentence to a ſanguine and irritable delinquent, and lay on a few additional ſtripes on a phlegmatic or pituitous one. But how is the temperament to be given in evidence? or are the judges to aggravate or alleviate a puniſhment upon a mere inſpection of the priſoner's complexion? Another circumſtance that ſhould affect the pain, is the offender's firmneſs of mind; and another his ſtrength of underſtanding. How is a court to take cogniſance of theſe qualities? or in what degree are they to affect their proceedings? If we are to admit ſuch conſiderations into our law at all, they ought to be carried a great deal farther than Mr Bentham has indicated; and it ſhould be expreſſed in the ſtatutes, what alleviation of puniſhment ſhould be awarded to a culprit on account of his wife's pregnancy, or the colour of his childrens hair. We cannot help thinking that the undiſtinguiſhing groſſneſs of our actual practice is better than ſuch foppery. We fix a puniſhment which is calculated for the common, average condition of thoſe to whom it is to be applied; and, in almoſt all caſes, we leave with the judge a diſcretionary power of accommodating it to any peculiarities that may ſeem to require an exception. After all, this is the moſt plauſible part of Mr Bentham's arrangements.

In what he has ſaid of the falſe notions which legiſlators have frequently followed in preference to the polar light of utility, we think we diſcover a good deal of inaccuracy, and ſome little want of candour. Mr Bentham muſt certainly be conſcious that no one ever pretended that the mere antiquity of a law was a ſufficient reaſon for retaining it in ſpite of its evident inutility; but

but when the utility of parting with it is doubtful, its antiquity may fairly be urged as affording a preſumption in its favour, and as a reaſon for being cautious at leaſt in the removal of what muſt be incorporated with ſo many other inſtitutions. We plead the antiquity of our conſtitution as an additional reaſon for not yielding it up to innovators: but nobody ever thought, we believe, of advancing this plea in ſupport of the ſtatutes againſt witchcraft. In the ſame way, we think there is more wit than reaſon in aſcribing the errors of many legiſlators to their being miſled by a metaphor. The metaphor, we are inclined to think, has generally ariſen from the practice which Mr Bentham would derive from it. The law of England reſpects the ſanctity of a free citizen's dwelling, ſo much, as to yield it ſome privilege; and *therefore* an Engliſhman's houſe is called his caſtle. The piety or ſuperſtition of ſome nations has determined that a criminal cannot be arreſted in a place of worſhip. This is the whole fact: the uſage is neither explained nor convicted of abſurdity by ſaying that ſuch people call a church the houſe of God. If it were the houſe of God, does Mr Bentham conceive that it *ought* to be a ſanctuary for criminals? In what is ſaid of the fictions of law, there is much of the ſame miſapprehenſion. Men neither are nor ever were miſguided by theſe fictions; but the fictions are merely certain quaint and ſtriking methods of expreſſing a rule that has been adopted in an apprehenſion of its utility. To deter men from committing treaſon, their offspring is aſſociated to a certain extent in their puniſhment. The motive of this law is plain enough; and calling the effect 'corruption of blood,' will neither aggravate nor hide its injuſtice. When it is ſaid that the heir is the ſame perſon with the deceaſed, it is but a pithy way of intimating that he is bound in all the obligations, and entitled to all the rights of his predeceſſor. That the King never dies, is only another phraſe for expreſſing that the office is never vacant; and that he is everywhere, is true, if it be lawful to ſay that a perſon can act by deputy. In all theſe obſervations, and in many that are ſcattered through the ſubſequent part of his book, Mr Bentham ſeems to forget that there is ſuch a thing as common ſenſe in the world, and to take it for granted, that if there be an opening in the letter of the law for folly, miſapprehenſion, or abuſe, its miniſters will eagerly take advantage of it, and throw the whole frame of ſociety into diſorder and wretchedneſs. A very ſlight obſervation of the actual buſineſs of life might have taught him, that expediency may be readily and certainly diſcovered by thoſe who are intereſted in finding it; and that in a

certain ſtage of civilization there is generated ſuch a quantity of intelligence and good ſenſe as to diſarm abſurd inſtitutions of their power to do miſchief, and to adminiſter defective laws into a ſyſtem of perfect equity. This is the grand corrective which remedies all the errors of legiſlators, and retrenches all that is pernicious in prejudice. It makes us independent of technical ſyſtems, and indifferent to ſpeculative irregularities. He who could increaſe its quantity, or confirm its power, would do more ſervice to mankind than all the philoſophers that ever ſpeculated on the means of their reformation.

As the ſubſequent part of Mr Bentham's work is really in a conſiderable degree what it profeſſes to be altogether, a detailed application of the preceding principles to the codes of civil and of criminal law, it will be leſs neceſſary for us, after ſo full an examination of thoſe principles, to ſpend much time in the analyſis of their application. There are ſcattered throughout the whole book a great number of profound remarks and acute and valuable ſuggeſtions: but many things are advanced with confidence, that appear to us to be very queſtionable; and the general plan and diſtribution of the ſubjects ſeems to be both artificial and imperfect.

Mr Bentham's paſſion for claſſification and diſtinctions, manifeſts itſelf in a very ſtriking way in the introductory chapter to the ſecond part of his work, where he enumerates all the diviſions of which law is ſuſceptible, and delights himſelf with many puzzling remarks on the relative completeneſs of a diſtribution into internal and external law—civil and criminal—temporal and ſpiritual—ſubſtantive and adjective—general and particular—puniſhing and rewarding, &c. &c. &c.

In the following chapter we meet with a perplexity which, though more ingeniouſly produced, appears to us to be equally gratuitous. Mr Bentham for a long time can ſee no diſtinction between civil and criminal juriſprudence, and inſiſts upon it, that *rights* and *crimes* neceſſarily and virtually imply each other. If I have a right to get your horſe, it is becauſe it would be a crime for you to keep him from me; and if it be a crime for me to take your horſe, it is becauſe you have a right to keep him. This we think is very pretty reaſoning; but the diſtinction between the civil and the criminal law is not the leſs ſubſtantial and apparent. The civil law is that which directs and enjoins—the criminal law is that which puniſhes. This is enough for the legiſlator, and for thoſe who are to obey him. It is a curious inquiry, no doubt, how far all rights may be conſidered as the counterpart of crimes, and whether every regulation of the civil

code

code neceſſarily implies a delict in the event of its violation. On this head there is room for a good deal of ſpeculation; and in our opinion Mr Bentham puſhes the principle rather too far. There ſeems to be nothing gained, for inſtance, either in the way of clearneſs or conſiſtency, by arranging under the head of criminal law thoſe caſes of refuſal to fulfil contracts, or to perform obligations, for which no other puniſhment is provided but a compulſory fulfilment or performance. This is merely following out the injunction of the civil code, and cannot, either in law or in logic, be correctly regarded as a puniſhment. The proper practical teſt of a crime, is where, over and above the reſtitution of the violated right (where that is poſſible), the violator is ſubjected to a direct pain, in order to repreſs the repetition of ſuch offences.

In conformity, however, with his notion of the neceſſary reciprocation of crimes and rights, Mr Bentham carries his idea of the extent and dominion of the law a great deal farther than any other writer we have met with. As crimes are clearly the creatures of law and poſitive inſtitution, ſo, he holds, muſt rights be alſo; and accordingly, he does not ſcruple to aſſert, poſitively and expreſsly, that it is from the law alone that we enjoy the right of getting up or lying down, of walking out into the fields, or of moving our hands to our heads. This paradox he explains, by ſtating that we can only be ſaid to have a *right* to do theſe things, becauſe the law has made it a crime for any one to diſturb us in doing them. By the ſame proceſs of reaſoning it may be ſhewn, that it is from the law alone that we derive the right of breathing or of living. But this view of the matter is evidently quite forced and unnatural. The law can only be ſaid to confer thoſe rights which could not be exerciſed without its protection; and in this way, perhaps, all rights of property, of privilege and inheritance, and all claims upon formal contracts, may be ſaid to owe their exiſtence to law, as they would undoubtedly be defeated by an abſolute abrogation of all ſuch authoritative rules. But with regard to thoſe acts that are implied in the very being of man, and which we cannot ceaſe to exerciſe while we continue to exiſt, it ſeems evident that we derive our right to exerciſe them from a ſtill higher authority; and that human inſtitutions, though they may puniſh the violator of the right, can never pretend to have created it. Mr Bentham ſees the act and the authority of law in every thing, becauſe, he ſays, every thing is either enjoined by it, or permitted with a prohibition againſt its being interrupted. We, on the other hand, only recogniſe the operation of law where it interferes with human inclinations or propenſities. We ſee it only where it

enjoins or prohibits; and where it prohibits, we ſee it only in the reſtraints which it impoſes, and not at all in thoſe acts which its prohibition may render more ſecure. If there be any truth in Mr Bentham's general poſition, we ſhould ſay that rivers are dependent upon law for their right to run into the ſea, ſince in many caſes it has made it a crime to obſtruct or divert them.

We ſhould now prepare to accompany Mr Bentham into the detail of his civil and criminal code; but the immenſe extent of the ſubject, even more than the great length of the preceding obſervations, deters us from engaging in a taſk ſo formidable. We muſt confine our remarks, therefore, to a few of the moſt intereſting points of diſcuſſion. In entering on his expoſition of the principles of the civil code, Mr Bentham appals us by an abſtract diviſion of the objects of utility, or the elements of happineſs, into, 1. Subſiſtence, 2. Abundance, 3. Equality, 4. Security. We are then told, that of theſe, ſecurity ſhould be the chief object of the legiſlator, and that, by providing for it, the reſt will follow of their own accord. There are ſome very good remarks on the effects of the full ſecurity of property on the whole frame of ſociety, illuſtrated by an eloquent contraſt of the condition of the Turkiſh Empire and the United States of America. Upon the ſubject of the maintenance of the poor, there is an excellent abſtract of all the material points in diſpute between the advocates and opponents of a legal aſſeſſment. Mr Bentham decides in favour of it, chiefly on account of the uncertainty, the inequality, and the inadequacy of a voluntary contribution.

Upon the ſubject of the acquiſition and tranſmiſſion of property, there are a good number of puzzling diſtinctions, and a good deal of old doctrine delivered in new language. The moſt important of the novelties, is Mr Bentham's law of inteſtate ſucceſſion. He abrogates, of courſe, all diſtinction between male and female, elder and younger; he gives all to the deſcendants, to the excluſion of the parents; to the father and mother where there are no children; to the brothers and ſiſters where the parents alſo are deceaſed; and, on failure of parents and brothers, *to the ſtate*, to the utter excluſion of all remoter collaterals, and only under the condition of their paying the intereſt of the ſucceſſion to the ſurviving relations in the direct line of aſcent. We are not at all aware of the expediency of this innovation. Mr Bentham further approves of the power of making teſtaments, but wiſhes to reſerve a certain portion to the children, and to reſtrict the right of teſtation to one half of the defunct's property, where he has no relations to interfere with

with the ſtate's claim to the inheritance. The effect of all theſe regulations, we think, is to diminiſh the value of property, by limiting the powers of the proprietor, and in that way to weaken the incitements to induſtry.

Upon the laws ariſing from the different civil relations of private life, we do not meet with many new obſervations, though the reaſons and conſequences of every thing are ſifted and analyſed in a much more rigorous manner than is uſual. There are ſome excellent remarks upon ſlavery, which Mr Bentham thinks would be aboliſhed with the leaſt danger, either if the ſlaves were permitted to redeem their liberty by their own extraordinary induſtry, or if a certain proportion of them were ſet free on the death of the proprietor. The latter ſcheme Mr Bentham allows to be attended with ſome riſk, and we believe it would produce more diſappointment than ſatisfaction. Upon the ſubject of marriage, there is a very maſterly diſſertation: But we cannot agree with the author, that the permiſſion of divorce, on the joint application of the parties, would tend to promote the felicity of this inſtitution. Mr Hume's argument upon this ſubject we take to be quite unanſwerable, and are perſuaded that Mr Bentham has not ſufficiently weighed the advantages that are derived from the indiſſolubility of this contract, both with reſpect to the precautions it inſpires, and to its tendency to repreſs thoſe diſſenſions which would be apt to tear aſunder a more precarious tie, before habit and reciprocal benefits had come to confirm and to endear it. In ſome of the remarks which occur upon this ſubject, we think we can diſcover a tone that is not originally Engliſh, and ſuſpect this to be one of the paſſages where M. Dumont has thought it proper to amplify and to animate his author.

In paſſing to the code of criminal law, Mr Bentham does not forget the neceſſity of claſſifying and dividing. Delicts, according to him, are either, 1. Private, or againſt one or a few individuals; 2. Reflective, or againſt the delinquent himſelf; 3. Semipublic, or againſt ſome claſs or deſcription of perſons; and, finally, public, or againſt the whole community. Private delicts, again, relate either to the perſon, the property, the reputation or the condition; and they are diſtributed into complex and ſimple, principal and acceſſory, poſitive and negative, &c. &c. The chief evil of a crime is the alarm which it excites in the community; and the degree of this alarm, Mr Bentham aſſumes, depends upon *eight* circumſtances, the particular ſituation of the delinquent, his motives, his notoriety, his character, the difficulties or facilities of the attempt, &c. Without following out the enumeration, it ſeems quite enough to ſay, that the a-

larm is increaſed by every thing which renders it probable that ſuch acts may be frequently repeated. In one caſe, and one of conſiderable atrocity, there is no alarm at all; becauſe the only beings who can be affected by it, are incapable of fear or ſuſpicion—this is the caſe of infanticide: and Mr Bentham ingeniouſly obſerves, that it is probably owing to this circumſtance that the laws of many nations have been ſo extremely indifferent on that ſubject. In modern Europe, however, he conceives that they are barbarouſly ſevere. In the caſe of crimes againſt the community, ſuch as miſgovernment of all kinds, the danger again is generally infinitely greater than the alarm.

The remedies which law has provided againſt the miſchief of crimes, Mr Bentham ſays, are of four orders; preventive—repreſſive—compenſatory—or ſimply penal. Upon the ſubject of compenſation or ſatisfaction, Mr Bentham is moſt copious and moſt original; and under the title of ſatisfaction in honour, he preſents us with a very cool, acute, and judicious inquiry into the effects of duelling, which he repreſents as the only remedy which the impolicy or impotence of our legiſlators has left for ſuch offences. We do not think, however, that the ſame good ſenſe prevails in the ſketch which he ſubjoins of the means that might be employed to puniſh inſults and attacks upon the honour of individuals. According to the enormity of the offence, he is for making the delinquent pronounce a diſcourſe of humiliation, either ſtanding or on his knees before the offended party, and clothed in emblematical robes, with a maſk of a characteriſtic nature on his head, &c. There are countries perhaps where ſuch contrivances might anſwer; but, with us, they would not only be ineffectual, but ridiculous.

In the choice of puniſhments, Mr Bentham wiſhes legiſlators to recollect, that puniſhment is itſelf an evil, and that it conſiſts of five parts; the evil of reſtraint—the evil of ſuffering—the evil of apprehenſion—the evil of groundleſs perſecution, and the evils that extend to the innocent connexions of the delinquent. For theſe reaſons, he is anxious that no puniſhment ſhould be inflicted without a real cauſe, or without being likely to influence the will, or where other remedies might have been employed, or in caſes where the crime produces leſs evil than the puniſhment. Theſe admonitions are proper, and, we dare ſay, ſincere; but they certainly are not recommended by their novelty. The puniſhments which Mr Bentham approves, are ſuch as are ſuſceptible of degrees, uniform in their nature, analogous to the offence, proportionate to the temptation, economical and remiſſible. He does not approve of puniſhing with death, and makes a remark upon the penal code of England, which has been

ſo often repeated by foreigners that it ſeems no longer to operate as a reproach on the natives.

In the ſection upon the indirect means of preventing crimes, there is a great deal of genius and ſtrong reaſoning, though there are many things that are ſet down in too raſh and peremptory a manner, and ſome that are ſupported with a degree of flippancy * not very ſuitable to the occaſion. The five main ſources of offence he thinks are, want of occupation, the angry paſſions, the paſſion of the ſexes, the love of intoxication, and the love of gain. As ſociety advances, all theſe loſe a good deal of their miſchievous tendency, excepting the laſt; againſt which, of courſe, the legiſlature ſhould be more vigilant than ever. In the gradual predominance of the avaricious paſſions over all the reſt, however, Mr Bentham ſees many topics of conſolation, and concludes this part of his work with declaring that it ſhould be the great object of the criminal law to reduce all offences to that ſpecies which can be completely atoned for and repaired by payment of a ſum of money. It is a part of his ſyſtem, which we have forgotten to mention, that perſons ſo injured ſhould in all caſes be entitled to reparation out of the public purſe.

This cloſes Mr Bentham's view of the principles of criminal juriſprudence, and terminates that portion of his great work which is contained in the preſent publication. The ſeparate diſſertations which are annexed, and occupy the greater part of the third volume, relate to the ſame general ſubject, and poſſeſs a conſiderable degree of intereſt. The firſt is a propoſal for conſtructing priſons and houſes of correction, in ſuch a form, as to admit of the whole interior being ſeen at once from a central point, where Mr Bentham is for having a ſmall chamber, fitted up with blinds, where the inſpector either is, or is ſuppoſed to be, conſtantly preſent. This he calls a *Panoptique*, and promiſes rather greater things from its adoption than are very likely to follow. It has been adopted, however, we believe, in ſeveral parts of England with conſiderable advantage. A bridge well upon the ſame conſtruction has ſubſiſted for upwards of ten years in this city.

The next diſſertation is on the methods and the expediency of promulgating the laws, and the reaſons on which they are founded: illuſtrated by an extract from the penal code which Mr Bentham promiſes one day to give to the world.

The laſt diſcourſe, which is by far the moſt intereſting, is upon the influence of time and place in queſtions of legiſlation. Mr Bentham illuſtrates his notions as to the cautions to be obſerved

* See in particular Vol. III. p. 36. 57, &c.

ſerved in the tranſplantation of laws, by ſtating, with ſome detail, the changes and qualifications that would be neceſſary in transfering to Bengal thoſe laws that are generally admired and approved of in England. He then examines the effects of time on laws and on ſociety, and, with his uſual acuteneſs and preciſion, points out the obvious errors into which thoſe philoſophers have been betrayed who have either called in queſtion the poſſibility of great ameliorations, or indulged in viſions of abſolute perfectibility. The whole of this treatiſe, which coincides in ſubject with the great work of Monteſquieu, is written with much force of reaſoning and vivacity of manner. We regret that our limits will not permit us to enter more fully into the ſubject, and can ſafely recommend the peruſal of it to a larger claſs of readers than we can venture to beſpeak for the reſt of the publication.

Upon the whole, we take our leave of this publication with ſome feelings of fatigue, but with ſentiments of the greateſt reſpect for the talents of the author. It muſt be our fault if our readers feel only the former. So large a quantity of original reaſoning has ſeldom, we believe, been produced by one man; and the defects of Mr Bentham's book, as well as its excellences, are ſuch as to aſſure us, that he has drawn the whole of it from the ſtores of his own underſtanding, and ſcarcely ever condeſcended either to aſſiſt or to correct his ſpeculations by the lights which might have been furniſhed from without. Notwithſtanding all that M. Dumont has done to render the work popular, we are afraid that it will have fewer readers than it deſerves. Thoſe who do read it, will alſo diſſent, we ſhould imagine, from many of the author's fundamental principles; but they will infallibly be delighted with the ſagacity and independence which diſtinguiſhes all his ſpeculations, and will look forward with impatience to the publication of his entire ſyſtem.

ART. II. *Voyage Phyſique et Lithologique dans la Campanie, &c.* Par Scipion Breiſlac. Traduit du Manuſcrit Italien, par le Général Pommereuil, en deux Volumes. Paris, an XI. 1803.

AFTER contemplating the agitations of the moral and political world, and the annihilation of the prejudices and wreck of the inſtitutions which ages had held ſacred, we ſurvey with complacency the immutable tranquillity of the earth, the peaceful ſucceſſion of the ſeaſons, and the uniform reproduction of animal and vegetable life. Yet this earth, apparently ſo tranquil, is pregnant with the moſt tremendous cauſes of deſolation, and ſometimes abandons devoted diſtricts to all the horrors of volcanic exploſion, and the awful attendant phænomena. Countries the moſt

rich

rich in fertility and cultivation, cities the most ancient and populous, have been lost beneath stones and ashes, or overwhelmed by fiery torrents; their very site has been ingulphed, and become the vortex of eruption, or the bason of a pestilential lake. Equally beyond the power of human prescience to foresee, or of human energy to controul, these terrible operations are sometimes directed to devastate countries of ancient formation, and sometimes to create new territories, whose future fertility tends to repay the desolation that accompanied their production.

The most celebrated and most delightful portions of Italy have been modified or formed by the agency of fire. The rock of the Capitol, which Roman vanity called eternal, is the tottering edge of a crater; and the Campania Felice has been the creation of successive lavas, and owes its exuberant fertility to frequent showers of volcanic ashes.

Italy presents every variety and gradation of volcanic and pseudo-volcanic phænomena. Near its northern boundary, the basalts and amygdaloids of the Vincentine are of dubious formation; and the Euganean mountains in the Paduan territory have not an undisputed claim to an igneous origin. The transverse portion of the Appenines, from Parma to Bologna, is noted for eructations of mud, and emissions of inflamed gas; and the south of Tuscany contains the celebrated Lagoni, and the extinct volcanoes of Monte Fiora and Radicofani. The western states of the Church present a vast extent of territory, universally allowed to be volcanic, stretching, without interruption, from Aquapendente to Veletri, forming the environs of the lake of Bolsena, the hills of Montefiascone and the Montagna di Viterbo, extending east to between Borghetto and Otricoli, and spreading over the vast plain of Rome. It touches the limestone of the Appenines at Tivoli, forms the hills of Frascati, surrounds the huge crater that contains the lake of Albano, and probably communicates by the valley of Anagni with the volcanic district of the Terra di Lavoro.

The limestone of the Appenines, which skirt the Pontine marshes from Piperno to Terracina, extends along the coast by Fondi to Gaeta, and nearly to the River Liris or Garigliano. These volcanic substances appear to form the basis of the valley, and probably extend to Soza and Anagni. Towards the south, Mignano, Teano, Calvi, Capua, Caserta, Nola Sarno, and Sorrento, are all situated within the eastern boundary of the volcanic territory, which comprehends the whole space westward to the sea, forming the celebrated Campania Felice. It is encircled by limestone, stretching from Gaeta to the Cape of Minerva; and, excepting the Monte Massico, and the hill near Calvi, which are limestone, all included in this boundary is entirely of igneous origin.

origin. Nor are the volcanic substances confined within these limits. They form the basis of the valley of the Volturnus, and the whole extent between Cerelo and St Agata di Goti; they reach up the Calore towards Beneventum, up the Claudine valley; and, stretching beyond Nocerra, they form the basis on which stands Salerno.

The various parts of this extensive district will be regarded with unequal interest. The lavas of Sessa, Rocca, Monfine, and Teano, flowed at a period far antecedent to history; the fertile soil of the Campania conceals the pumices, tufas, and ashes, which form its basis; and they, in their turn, bury the lavas, which are only discovered in profound excavations. But, towards the south, we find the islands of Ischia, of Procida, and the whole territory from Cuma to Naples, rough with craters, and fuming with exhalations; and near these half-extinct remains, we find the formidable Vesuvius resting from the work of desolation, and concentrating his energies for another overwhelming explosion.

Of more than two hundred authors, who have written on the volcanic productions of the kingdom of Naples, very few have been guided in their investigations by scientific views. Affected by the consternation and surprise, which phænomena so tremendous and extraordinary naturally excite, they have endeavoured to transfuse into the minds of their readers the feelings which overpowered themselves, and tried to make amends for the inaccuracy of their descriptions by vague exaggeration and magnificent misstatement. Nothing in the neighbourhood of a volcano was to be explained in an obvious or ordinary manner; clouds of dust were translated into smoke, fragments of pumice into ignited rocks; and showers of rain, with the subsequent troubled streams which furrowed the mountain, were magnified into *mud-lavas*, or into disgorged torrents of water, which were boiling hot, or salt, or both, according to the caprice of the narrator. These awful operations of nature were eagerly seized on by the priests, as a certain mode of obtaining ascendancy over the minds of the bigotted populace; and the members of the celestial hierarchy were promoted or degraded, as their votaries deemed them capable of controuling the fury of the dreaded volcano *.

Even those who studied the mountain with calmer attention, were betrayed, by preconceived opinions, into the most extraordinary mistakes. The Pere della Torre, with singular perversion of observation, says, † that 'Vesuvius is not a mountain produced by an eruption, or formed little by little, but made of strata of different

* See Breislac, vol. I. p. 225, note.

† Storia e fenomeni del Vesuvio, p. 23.

different matters like all other mountains, and consumed by perpetual fire, which it contains within its bowels.* He also observes, 'that in the interior rocks of the Somma, and of Ottajano, no vestiges of fire are to be seen.' Though free from all such errors, the magnificent work of Sir William Hamilton on the Campi Phlegraci,* decorated with splendid engravings, is rather calculated to give an idea of the scenery of the district, and the picturesque effect and character of the volcano, than to be a vehicle of scientific information. The works of the Abbate Botis, and the Gabinetto del Vesuvio, by the Duke della Torre, contain many valuable observations, and curious details; but it was not till Gioeni's book, on the lithology of Vesuvius,† made its appearance, that any general and accurate description of Vesuvian substances was given.

This intelligent observer has prefaced his descriptive catalogue by preliminary remarks of considerable merit, and has interspersed notes from which much important information may be gleaned; but he has attended too much to the diversities of individual specimens, and too little to general formations. In volcanoes, each eruption forms an epocha; and it is only by separating the products of one eruption from those of another, and by noting the attendant phænomena, that we can register their history, or reason on their operations. Gioeni only incidentally contrasts the peculiarities observable in lavas of different antiquities; and his observations are confined to Vesuvius, where indeed he found diversity enough to occupy him. The consideration of that single mountain, however, is not enough; and the examination of its isolated products can only be considered as establishing a partial standard of comparison for the substances afforded by the whole extent of the volcanic district, of which it forms a small part. An investigation of the physical constitution of the Campania, was essential to the correction and enlargement of our ideas respecting Vesuvius itself; and for its accomplishment we must ever hold ourselves indebted to the indefatigable perseverance and sagacious researches of Scipio Breislac.

The first edition of this work was printed in Italian, at Florence, in 1798. It has been increased by numerous subsequent observations, and some new maps. The translation into French has been performed by General Pommereuil, who has taken no small pains in its naturalization. The Italian measures of Breislac

* Published at Naples in 1776.

† Saggio di Litologia Vesuviana dal Cav. Giuseppe Gioeni. Napoli, 1791.

lac have been transmuted into French metres, which arrogantly figure in the text, while the original expression is degraded to the notes. Many of Breislac's appreciations of distance, where perfect accuracy was not intended, and could not be attained, sounded very well as leagues or miles, but are perfectly ridiculous when reduced to kilometres, hectometres, metres, and centimetres. This pretended precision would be only absurd, if it were correctly founded upon the original; but it frequently appears, that the General gives his kilometres in round numbers, when the true conversion of his author would have afforded a fraction. Dates, of course, are rendered conformable to the Republican kalendar; and even the nomenclature of minerals has not escaped. The denominations invented by Haüy are familiarly introduced into the text; and the names by which the substances had been previously distinguished, and by which alone they are still known to nine tenths of the mineralogists of Europe, are termed *ci-devant*. We can hardly suppose it was modesty that induced the General to afford his readers no mode of distinguishing his notes from those of the author, except the internal evidence arising from the diversity of their style and matter. To readers of ordinary discrimination, however, this test is sufficient; for no distinctions can be more marked, than between sagacious observation and frivolous impertinence.

It is far from being our intention to follow the author through the whole extent of his laborious investigations, because we are fully convinced of his accuracy in observing, and his fidelity in reporting; but we shall bestow a few sentences on the eruption of 1794, because it presents some of the most striking volcanic phænomena, and serves to correct some former errors.

On the evening of the 15th of June 1794, after some preliminary shocks, the base of the cone of Vesuvius opened to the west, and a torrent of lava gushed out. Five small craters were formed in its course, and ejected highly ignited stones with violence and in rapid succession. The lava in six hours flowed three miles, and, after destroying the town of Torre del Greco, ran 362 feet into the sea *. The sudden cooling it there underwent, did not affect its texture, or render it prismatic. This lava is of an earthy grain, uneven fracture, and variable porosity.

* Sir William Hamilton says, that according to the measurement of the Duke della Torre, 'the new promontory which the lava formed was 1204 English feet broad; its height above the sea was 12 feet, and as many feet under the water; so that its whole height was 24 feet. It extended into the sea 625 feet.' See Phil. Trans. for 1795, p. 73.

porosity. It will strike fire with steel, and is of a dark grey colour. It abounds in green augites, and contains mica rarely. It is said to have formed augites by sublimation on the walls of the church at Torre del Greco. Glass was converted by it into Reaumur's porcelain. Iron was generally oxidated, rarely combined with sulphur. Copper was softened and oxidated; silver was fused. Whilst the lava continued to flow from the western base of the cone, another opening was formed on the eastern side, at a rather less elevation, and a stream of lava issued from it, and flowed sluggishly near a mile. On the morning of the 16th, the lava ceased to flow from the western opening, and the mouth of the volcano resumed its activity. It remained for four days covered by a cloud of ashes which it ejected, and which showered over the adjacent country, and fell on an average 14 inches thick. At Caserta, more than ten miles from Vesuvius, torches were obliged to be used at mid-day, and the gloom was only broken by the frequent flashes of lightning which partially displayed the mountain.

On the 20th ashes ceased to fall, and Vesuvius became again visible; but during the preceding convulsion, part of its summit had fallen in, and the crater was considerably enlarged. It now ejected, violently, vast numbers of stones; and dense clouds issued from it in continual succession, and ascended to several times the height of the mountain, dilating as they rose. These clouds seemed chiefly composed of minute fragments of lava, pumice, &c. These phenomena continued till the 5th of July; and during that period, every cloud that appeared on the horizon was attracted to Vesuvius. Violent rains, mixing with the loose ashes, formed impetuous torrents of thin mud, which carried devastation everywhere. Exhalations of carbonic acid mixed with azote, and some sulphureous acid, infested the cellars of Portici and Resina, and diffused themselves over particular districts of the country, where they were equally fatal to animal and vegetable life †. The vapours emitted by the volcano, during this eruption, were chiefly muriatic acid, and the muriates of soda and ammonia were abundant in the hollows of the lava. Sulphur and sulphureous acid were of rare occurrence, though the lava sometimes contained the sulphates of iron and lime; it also contained the oxides of iron and arsenic. The humid vapours, exhaled by the lava, rapidly formed thin silicious stalactites, by which, near the new craters, fragments of pumice and ashes were agglutinated.

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† Olives and pear-trees alone were exempted from the evil effects of this scourge. See Breislac, vol. I. p. 221.

We wiſh the attention of our readers to be particularly fixed on ſome of theſe recent and well authenticated facts, as they are of much importance in explaining the general operations of volcanoes.

They ſhould particularly obſerve the rapidity with which the lava moved—the heat that it communicated to ſubſtances at Torre del Greco—the ſcarcity of ſulphur, proved by the lava converting the metallic bodies it approached into oxides, inſtead of ſulphurets or ſulphates—the formation of ſilicious ſtalactites, by the hot, humid vapours—and the inundations of mud cauſed by the mixture of aſhes and rain. Theſe facts appear not eaſily reconciled with the aſſertions of many able naturaliſts reſpecting the imperfect fluidity of lavas, their low temperature, and the abundance of ſulphur they contain, which has been regarded as the vechicle of their particles, and the pabulum of their inflammation. The rain and aſhes forming a paſte, and overflowing the country ‡, ſeem to account for the formation of tufas and imperfectly conſolidated volcanic bodies, without having recourſe to an eruption of mud; and the formation of ſilicious ſtalactites opens a wide field to curious inveſtigation. In order to appreciate the full importance of theſe remarks, it is neceſſary to conſider ſome of the opinions on the moſt important queſtions ſuggeſted by inquiries into the conſtitution of volcanoes, which have been ſupported by the greateſt ingenuity, and ſanctioned by the moſt accurate obſervations.

The moſt ancient and the moſt ſimple mode of accounting for volcanoes, is that which attributes them to the eructations of a central fire occupying the interior of the earth. To this theory it may be objected, 1. That it is founded on an entirely gratuitous aſſumption; 2. That it is extremely improbable; and, 3. That it is inadequate to explain the phenomena. The two firſt propoſitions require no proof; on the third it may be remarked, that admitting the centre of the earth to be melted matter, it muſt, from the duration of the fuſion, have obtained perfect homogeneicty. There can be no grounds for ſuppoſing that it was not originally conſtituted homogeneous; but even if it was originally heterogeneous, its long continued fluidity muſt have produced a complete and chemical mixture. A fluid, in ſuch a ſtate, muſt be completely quieſcent; and its tranquil exiſtence in the centre of the earth will not avail in accounting for volcanoes.

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‡ Sir William Hamilton obſerves, that the mud formed by rain and aſhes became in a few days ſo hard as to require a pick-axe to break it. See his 'Account of the late eruption of Veſuvius,' in the Philoſoph. Tranſact. for 1794, p. 73.

We are indeed told by the ablest advocate of this system, that, in the mineral regions, the only effects of heat are fusion and expansion *. How is this expansion produced? It cannot result from the continuance of the same degree of heat. There are no methods we can devise, by which a homogeneous fluid can be expanded by heat, but by increasing the temperature till the fluid itself be rarefied, or by introducing some new substance whose solution may produce an evolution of gas. But what is this substance to be, and whence is it to come? It will require a new assumption to provide the leaven which is to set the bowels of the earth in fermentation. The expansion by increase of heat cannot take place, because the theorists themselves have assigned its limits, by depriving the central fire of all pabulum. Increase being impossible, it must, in conformity with the laws of heat, diminish, by equalizing the temperature of the surrounding bodies, and therefore cannot produce an expansion. It is in vain that water is presumed to trickle on it from above. It is equally in vain that the sea is supposed to be introduced. This might produce earthquakes, with furious emissions of gases and steam, but no lava. The water must find its way into the interior of the melted mass, before it could produce the expulsion of a lava; and such an introduction is effectually prevented by the inferiority of its specific gravity. Pour water on melted iron, and there is no explosion; pour melted iron into water, and still there is no explosion; enclose a drop of water in the heated metal, and no known power can controul it.

Besides, admitting the homogeneiety of the melted mass, which we think cannot be denied, whence come the diversities of lavas? Why have we basalt, which is a lava, according to this system, in one place; and glass in another; pumice in a third, and the earthy lavas in a fourth? Why have we sometimes sulphureous vapours, sometimes muriatic acid, and sometimes hydrogene gas? In short, whence arise the perpetual variations of volcanic productions? The specific gravity of the earth, taken collectively, is found to be nearly double the average gravity of the rocks which compose its surface. The central fluid must therefore be of at least double the average gravity of rocks. How comes it that lavas and volcanic glass are generally under the medium gravity of rocks, and that basalts are very little above it? We have discussed this ingenious theory at some length, because it has been adopted by men of talents, and because, at first sight, it appears completely to overcome every difficulty, by assuming all that is

* See Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory, by Professor Playfair, § 89.

required to be proved. But it appears to us, that, granting this unwarrantable poſtulatum in its utmoſt extent, it is inſufficient to provide the elucidation required.

Werner, who had ſtudied the extraordinary appearances produced on ſuperincumbent rocks by the combuſtion of beds of coal, applied theſe facts to the explanation of volcanic fires; and ſuppoſed lavas were formed by the fuſion of baſalt. This opinion has ſome plauſibility; but it is wholly incapable of accounting for the duration of volcanoes, for their intermittence, or the extent of their operations. Still leſs probable were the opinions of the philoſophers who recurred to petroleum and to ſulphurets of iron. Breiſlac, who, like moſt men of very extenſive obſervation, is little addicted to theorizing, has been rather unfortunate where he has attempted it. He finds nothing incongruous in the joint action of coal, pyrites and petroleum. He diſcovers a bed of coal a foot thick near Beneventum, which he regards with much exultation; though he might as well think of feeding a furnace with a ſheet of paper, as of ſtimulating a volcano by ſuch a ſupply. By decompoſing his pyrites, he diſtils petroleum from the limeſtone of the Appenines; it carries with it ſome phoſphoric matter, (created expreſsly we preſume), and finds its way to commodious reſervoirs under Veſuvius. There, water ſaturated with common ſalt waits to receive it, and their union is cemented by the Hymeneal torch of electric flame. The uſual conſequences of matrimony, diſcord, fury, and uproar, enſue; and the unnatural parents turn out of doors the lava they engender between them.

Theoriſts who thus endeavoured to account for the inflammation of Veſuvius, were much embarraſſed to obtain the neceſſary ſupplies of oxygene. Dr Thomſon, whoſe reſidence at Naples afforded him ample opportunities of obſervation, and whoſe acute genius has in ſeveral inſtances thrown light on volcanic operations, has deviſed an explication of this difficulty, more remarkable for its boldneſs than its probability. He ſuppoſes that, at certain degrees of heat, the oxygene contained in the carbonic acid of the limeſtone of the Appenines, may be inclined to enter into new combinations; and he illuſtrates this doctrine by the beautiful and well known experiment of Tennant, who operated the decompoſition of carbonic acid by means of phoſphorus *. On this theory, it may be obſerved, that it commences by ſuppoſing the previous exiſtence of a heat of great intenſity, without providing any means for its production: 2. It ſuppoſes the application of ſome unſpecified baſe to the carbonic acid, to attract the oxygene;

* Giornale Letterario di Napoli, vol. 106, p. 3.

gene; he cannot possibly suppose the phosphorescent limestone to contain phosphorus enough for this purpose: 3. It affords no employment for the charcoal of the carbonic acid, which is left to crystallize into diamonds, plumbago, or what it likes best: 4. There is no way of disposing of the immense quantity of quicklime which this process would produce; part of it may be incorporated with the lavas, but the whole cannot be employed in this way, without rendering their basis almost entirely lime, which is notoriously not the case.

But the palm of superior originality, in this contest of theoretic invention, must be accorded to the genius of M. Patrin, who has long been advantageously known to the world by his travels in Siberia, and his splendid collection of Siberian minerals. In an essay read at the Institute, and afterwards published in a separate form, he procures muriatic acid from common salt by a rather arbitrary process, and decomposes pyrites by its means †. He supposes sulphur to be concrete electricity, and then identifies it with phosphorus ‡. He manufactures calcareous earth from thunder and lightning §; and he discovers a metalliferous fluid, which is at once the base of the muriatic acid, and the generator of metallic veins. It assists phosphorus in fixing oxygene under an earthy form *; and, with the united aid of the other substances we have enumerated, he very successfully accounts for every existing phenomenon. On this theory, we do not presume to offer any observations.

Researches into the original causes of volcanic inflammation may well admit of diversity of opinion, where the operations, from which our information should be derived, are so profoundly concealed. The products only are submitted to examination; and though they are prodigiously abundant, and the observers proportionably numerous, there is a woful scarcity of consistent evidence. Yet there are some points on which all agree; and perhaps it may be possible to arrange the principal facts, so that they may not appear contradictory.

Much disputation has arisen respecting the intensity of the volcanic heat. Those who derived it from the inexhaustible magazine of central fire, were lavish of it to a degree which very ill suited the parsimony with which those were obliged to husband their fuel, who trusted to coal and petroleum for a supply. They

 contended,

† Recherches sur les Volcans, p. 8. & 9.
‡ Id. p. 10.
§ Id. p. 12.
* Id. p. 17. & 27.

contended, that the heat of volcanoes was extremely small, because it was incapable of altering the forms of the leucites, augites, and feldspars, which lava so abundantly contained. Even the illustrious Dolomieu, the father of correct observations on volcanoes, was swayed by this consideration so much, as to adopt a very improbable mode of explaining the fusion of lavas, at a low temperature, by means of sulphur.

Observing the similitude of lavas to primitive rocks, he concluded that igneous fusion was not produced, but that the heat expanded the substance, and allowed its particles to slide on one another. Even this operation was confined to the basis; for he supposes the feldspars, augites and leucites, to be wholly unchanged. Though he appears to attribute very mysterious effects to the long continuance of heat, he was so conscious of the improbability of his theory, that he endeavoured to render it more reconcileable to the known laws of nature, by supposing that this strange fusion was operated by introducing between the particles an intermediary substance in which they were to be suspended, and which was to be the vehicle of their apparent fluidity. When this substance was removed, they approached, and were reunited into a rock resembling that which they had formed previous to the operation. This convenient agent was sulphur; and Dolomieu attempted to establish an analogy between its supposed action in rendering rocks easily fusible, and the action of phosphorus in facilitating the fusion of platina *. No analogy, however, exists between these operations. Phosphorus chemically combines with platina, but sulphur does not enter into any such combination with lavas; and Spallanzani determined, by direct experiment, that the addition of sulphur nowise assisted their fusion.

Even supposing that the particles of lava were thus suspended, it is obvious that, the moment the vehicle was taken away, as Dolomieu supposes the sulphur to have been by combustion, the particles, instead of consolidating, would be left disunited like sand, unless the heat was sufficient to produce their agglutination by igneous fusion; and if it was so great, the sulphur would be only an unnecessary incumbrance. It may be farther observed, that this theory assumes the existence of an immense quantity of sulphur, and supposes its lavish combustion in every eruption. But the vapours of Vesuvius contain very small quantities of sulphureous fumes. They consist principally of muriatic acid, or hydrogene;

* *Vide* Dolomieu, Lipari, p. 95.
Id. Journal de Physique, an 2. tome 1. p. 118—120.
Id. Sur les Isles Ponces, p. 10, &c.

drogene; and the lava of 1794 contained few traces of sulphur, and abounded in oxygene *.

Though we have no means of determining the heat of a lava when it first issues from its crater, perfectly liquid and in violent ebullition, the destruction of Torre del Greco has provided us with an approximation to the heat it could communicate after it had been six hours emitted, had traversed an extent of country three miles in length, and had been refrigerated by the contact of paved streets and houses. We find that, in the ruins of that unfortunate town, the window-glass near the lava was converted into porcelain jasper; that pretty large masses of iron were oxidated to the heart; that copper was oxidated and softened, and that silver was melted. Fine silver is said to melt at 28° of Wedgwood's pyrometer, or at 4720° of Fahrenheit. The portions of lava which acted on these metals, must have been very considerably cooled by the pavements and walls of the houses; and, besides, it was not in immediate contact with the metals. We must therefore assign it a much higher temperature than that which was communicated to the substances affected. What that temperature was, we do not presume to determine. Breislac mentions one circumstance that indicates a tremendous heat. He says augites were formed on the walls of the church by sublimation from the lava. In this particular, however, we cannot help thinking that his usual accuracy must have failed him, as no other of the observed effects appears at all proportioned to this.

Admitting the lava to have been quite hot enough to have flowed with the usual fluidity of glass, it need not have been so hot as to destroy the substances contained in it; for none of them will melt at a lower temperature than 120° of Wedgwood. The grand difficulty, however, still remains; for how does it happen that lavas are almost universally found with a stony fracture and texture, when a portion of the same lava melted produces a glass? Even for this enigma we are now provided with a solution.

The conversion of glass into a stony substance, improperly called porcelain, was discovered by Reaumur, and would have unveiled the whole mystery, had the circumstances in which it was

 operated

* The observations of Dolomieu are very strong contradictions to his theory. In his catalogue of the lavas of Etna, p. 370, he observes, that the sublimation of sulphur is more abundant in half extinct volcanoes, like the Solfatara, than in those which have frequent eruptions. Etna only forms it in the principal crater, and in small quantity.

operated been carefully observed. This was the first dawn of discoveries of inconceivable importance and extent; and it seems more remarkable that their complete developement should have followed so slowly, than that extensive corollaries should now be deduced. Mr Keir, in 1776, directed the public attention to the crystallizations formed in glass by cooling, and the stony texture which glass slowly cooled assumes. ‡ These facts were not consistently applied to account for the stony appearances of lavas, till Sir James Hall, in 1790, projected, and partly performed some experiments, the completion of which was reserved to 1798. Dr Beddoes, in a paper contained in the Philosophical Transactions for 1791, amidst a chaos of inaccurate observations, distinctly points out the change from the vitreous to the stony texture produced by gradual cooling, and applies it to lavas, and illustrates it by instancing Reaumur's porcelain and the crystallization of flags. This doctrine received its full elucidation, when Dr Thomson, in 1795, published his sketch of a classification of volcanic products, in which he boldly and clearly assumes it as the basis of his arrangement.* He maintains all lavas to have been in a vitreous state, and to have become stony by slow cooling. We find that Breislac inclines to the same opinion. Sir James Hall has since synthetically determined the point by the satisfactory results of his well imagined experiments. Indeed, it is wonderful how it so long eluded observation, when the slag of every furnace exhibits it in the most striking manner.

If it be inquired, how the known existence of volcanic glass, sometimes in very large masses, † is to be reconciled to this theory, it may be answered, that as the materials of lava appear to be constantly varying, some glasses may be found less disposed to crystallize than others, and require a longer continuance in a regulated temperature. 2. That we know of no instances of solid masses of volcanic glass of great thickness; for, respecting those of Lipari, Spallanzani expressly states the facility with which they were divisible into thin slabs, which he attributes to a small quantity of earth interposed between each slab. This statement

‡ See Phil. Trans. for 1776, Vol. LXVI. p. 530. Ten years after, M. Pagot de Charmes published some observations in the Journal de Physique, Tom. XXXIII. Part II. p. 211. on the crystals of glass; and M. D'Herminat afterwards added some illustrations. These gentlemen, however, do not appear to have attributed the formation of the crystals to the gradual refrigeration of the glass.

* Giornale Letterario di Napoli, Vol. XLI. p. 59.

† Spallanzani Viaggio alle due Sicilie.

ſtatement leaves no doubt that theſe maſſes were formed by the accumulation of ſucceſſive coats of very fluid lava, which, running over a large ſurface, and being in conſequence very ſpeedily refrigerated, retained its vitreous texture. We may remark as an additional confirmation, that the eruption of Veſuvius in 1779, when the lava was chiefly thrown up in a fountain from the crater, and was in conſequence rapidly cooled, produced more vitrifications than all the other eruptions of Veſuvius taken collectively.

If the ſtony texture of lavas be conſidered as accounted for, and it be admitted that they have all ſuſtained the igneous fuſion, and been in a vitreous ſtate, all controverſy concerning their baſes may terminate. Dr Thomſon has obſerved, that we can only judge of the baſis of a lava, by the portions of unaltered ſtones which are found in it. * Even this is obviouſly an incorrect teſt; for a lava may flow over and envelope ſtones of all deſcriptions. The baſes of lavas have been deduced from the ſubſtances contained in the lava, and ſuppoſed not to be generated in it. Thus, porphyry or granite furniſhed the feldſpars; augites were found occaſionally in baſalt; but unfortunately no known rock contained the leucites which form ſo abundant an ingredient in the lavas of Italy. † There ſeems no way of overcoming this difficulty, but by ſuppoſing either that the volcano had pierced through all the ſtrata which appear on the ſurface of the globe, and had diſcovered ſome unknown rock which ſerved as its pabulum; or, more ſimply, by holding that the leucites were generated in the lava. This opinion ſeems infinitely the

* Abozzo d'una ſciagrafia Volcanica, nel Giornale Letterario di Napoli, Vol. XLI.

† We believe this aſſertion to be correct. Many miſtakes have ariſen from confounding the *zeolythe dure* cryſtallized in 24drons (the analcime trapezoidal) with the leucite. It is readily diſtinguiſhable by the great fuſibility of the analcime. The leucites which Faujas St Fond imagined he found near Glaſgow, were analcimes. Gioeni mentions leucites in limeſtone ejected from Veſuvius; but as he does not ſeem aware of the approximation of form which the analcime is capable of aſſuming, there is reaſon to doubt to which ſpecies they belonged. Dolomieu in the *Journal de Phyſique*, Tom. II. An II. ſays he poſſeſſes a ſpecimen of gold ore from Mexico accompanied by minute leucites; and that Lelievre had found leucites in a granitic ſubſtance, near Gaverne, in the Pyrenées. He probably aſſumed them to be leucites from their external form only, as no experiment is cited in confirmation. Even admitting the exiſtence of theſe detached inſtances, the general poſition is not invalidated.

most rational, and is strengthened by numerous arguments derived from the consideration of those lavas in which leucites exist.

Leucites are often found to contain a minute central nucleus, which not unfrequently appears to be a speck of lava. Globules, of a substance exactly similar to the enveloping basis, are often found in the interior of leucites. They frequently contain augites, partly projecting into the basis, partly imbedded in the leucite; and the leucites have been observed to be elongated in the direction of the pores of the lava. * Lavas are often composed almost entirely of leucites which absolutely touch one another, and are adjusted so as scarcely to afford any interstices for the basis which connects them; and extremely minute leucites form not unfrequently a kind of basis for large crystals of augite. Admitting the leucites to be generated in the lava, there can be no reason for denying the same origin to augites and feldspars, and to other substances contained in lava, provided they are *more difficult to fuse* than the basis in which they are engaged. After observing the various insulated crystals that are formed in glasses in cooling, the probability of such an origin cannot be denied. But it is equally clear, that all crystallized substances which are *more fusible* than the basis, must be of posterior formation. They never are constituents of the lava, and are found existing isolated in its cavities.

Substances generated in the lava, and those which have been afterwards introduced, have a striking dissimilitude in the manner of their connexion with it. The first are commonly closely enveloped, the basis of the lava applying itself to them in complete contact; or if it recedes, as it sometimes does, from leucites, it bears an impression of their sides, which shows that it merely retired in consequence of contraction; and the impression is so sharp, as to prove how perfectly it had accommodated itself to the form of the leucite. When any of this class of substances appear in the cavities of the lava, we always find one end of the crystal entering the solid mass; and it is evident that the apparent protrusion of the other part is merely in consequence of the cavity being formed by some evolution of gas after the crystal was formed; the gas forced aside the fluid basis, and the crystal remained projecting. The substances of subsequent formation have no such connexion with the basis of the lava. The line of their separation is perfectly defined by the boundaries of the cavity in which they are formed, and a very slight effort

* See Breislac, Vol. II. p. 19.

effort detaches them entirely. Of this deſcription are the zeolytes, calcareous ſpars, &c. which are frequently found in the cavities of the lavas of the Somma, and not unfrequently in thoſe of more recent origin, particularly in the lava near Portici, called the Granitello. * Breiſlac tells us, that even water is ſometimes found in the interior cavities of lava, and endeavours to account for its being there by a rather myſterious application of the doctrine of infinite preſſure. Admitting the preſſure in the interior of the volcano to be ſo great as to confine a globule of red-hot water in lava, that preſſure is removed the moment the lava iſſues from the mountain, and the water muſt inſtantly force its way out. On the ſame principle, zeolites containing water in a ſtate capable of being eaſily diſſipated by heat, cannot be generated in lava during its ignited ſtate; and to account for their after exiſtence in it, we ſee no better mode than to recur to the theory of infiltration introduced by Dolomieu. This doctrine does not meet indeed with M. Breiſlac's approbation; though we confeſs ourſelves ſomewhat at a loſs to perceive the force of his arguments, after conſidering the facts he has himſelf preſented us with, reſpecting the daily formation of ſilicious ſtalactites, from hot humid vapours percolating through the cracks of lavas and other ſtones, and even penetrating their apparently ſolid ſubſtance, and lining their cavities with ſilicious pearls.

A ſubject of much curious inquiry remains, reſpecting the minerals ejected unaltered by Veſuvius. The greater part of theſe conſiſts of varieties of carbonate of lime, ſpathoſe, ſhiſtoſe, granular, compact, and ſometimes containing ſhells. The doctrine of preſſure has been applied to explain this phenomenon alſo; and we are farther told by the ingenious Dr Thomſon, whoſe opinion Breiſlac ſeems inclined to adopt, that theſe ſhiſtoſe or granular and apparently primitive limeſtones are nothing but the common ſplintery limeſtone of the Appenines modified by heat and preſſure. He does not explain how the ſpecimens containing petrifactions eſcaped change; and, beſides, this explanation fails as the former one did; for if the internal heat was ſufficient to change the texture of the limeſtone, or the preſſure great enough to confine its carbonic acid, ſtill, at the moment of its expulſion, it muſt have been intenſely hot, relieved from preſſure, and expoſed in open air. Why was it not reduced to quicklime?

We think it more probable that theſe limeſtones have never been acted on by the volcano at all. When Veſuvius made its firſt

* Profeſſor Playfair, in his Illuſtrations of the Huttonian theory, § 62, affirms that zeolite and calcareous ſpar are never found in lavas, and applies this obſervation, in diſtinguiſhing lava from what he terms *whinſtone*.

firſt eruption, it is probable it broke through a roof of calcareous rock, the portions of which afforded theſe fragments. Theſe would be expelled by the elaſtic force of the eſcaping vapours; numbers of them lighting on the interior edge of the newly formed cone, would again fall in, and probably be again expelled without remaining a moment, as often happens repeatedly to the ſame ſtone in every eruption. From the degradation of the cone during intervals of quieſcence, a large portion of theſe ſtones would again fall in, and with other rubbiſh choke the crater, as always happens in the intermiſſions of volcanic fury, till the next eruption drives them all out. Thus the ſame ſtone may be again and again ejected from the volcano, without ever approaching the heated part. It may be obſerved, that excepting ſuch ſtones as may have been accidentally lodged in the crater, Veſuvius has never ejected limeſtones in its recent eruptions. The limeſtones and the other premordial ſubſtances are all found buried in the rubbiſh of the Somma, and are only revealed by the ravages of torrents. Gioeni has been induced to attribute them all to one epocha, which perfectly accords with the explication that has been attempted above.

As to the other ſuppoſed primitive ſtones which Veſuvius has ejected, there ſeems leſs reaſon to diſcuſs them. If they be primitive, the ſame explication which ſerves for the limeſtone may account for their remaining untouched. Some of them have hitherto been deemed peculiar to this mountain, and they are aſſociated with the limeſtone and with each other in a manner which has never been obſerved in any other part of the world.

We have entered at ſuch length into theſe intereſting ſpeculations, that many points of inferior conſequence remain undiſcuſſed; and we relinquiſh their farther conſideration with the leſs regret, becauſe there are not many occaſions on which we are inclined to diſſent from the opinions of Scipio Breiſlac. For the many curious and valuable facts which he details, we muſt refer our readers to the work itſelf, which they will find illuſtrated by a general geological map of the Campania, and by other maps of particular diſtricts.

We cannot conclude without expreſſing our wiſh that he may be enabled to complete what he has projected, and that a ſurvey of the volcanic diſtricts of the ſtates of the Church may be added to his preſent work.

ART.

ART. III. *Sketches on the intrinsic Strength, Military and Naval Force of France and Russia; with Remarks on their present Connexion, Political Influence, and future Projects.* In two Parts. Part I. London, 1803. pp. 216.

THIS is altogether a very singular work. The language is that of a foreigner pretty well acquainted with English, or of an Englishman who, by long residence abroad, has both lost the free use of his native tongue, and mingled it with foreign idioms. From internal evidence we are inclined to believe the author's own assertion, that he is a Briton: for his sentiments, though with some considerable exceptions, are generally of that description which we usually compliment with the epithet of *British*; an appellation more honourable, if possible, in the present day, than at any former period of our story. The typography of this book is certainly foreign, although London is marked on the title-page, without either printer's or publisher's name. The preface is dated from the Hague, and the postscript from Paris. Not even in external character is it easy to classify this curious performance. Its shape is something between that of a quarto and an octavo; and its leaves are of a consistency between that of paper and of pasteboard. The matter and style of the book are not less original; and we think they are of sufficient interest to warrant a pretty full character and abstract, with specimens.

Although we differ widely from the author in many particulars, and highly disapprove of the spirit in which some of his statements are conceived, we should nevertheless find it very difficult to enter into any general refutation of his doctrines, or to give a full examination of the foundations upon which he rests them. This difficulty arises from the want of general principles, which prevails through all his speculations, and from the very questionable shape in which his facts come before us. He appears to have wandered a good deal over the Continent, and to have observed, and perhaps inquired, with some acuteness, but, we are convinced, without any great diligence or minuteness, and, we are perfectly certain, without the guidance of those enlarged views which alone can ensure accuracy of detail, or render it at all useful in systematic reasonings. Not that he can be accused of seeing without a preconceived theory; on the contrary, like all those who assume the title of *plain matter of fact men*, he is perpetually under the influence of some vague hypothesis, rashly adopted from a limited range of observation, and confidently relied upon as a safe guide, from ignorance of the maxim, that, in political science, insulated facts can never lead to any solid or general conclusions. He has thus acquired the habit of forming the most hasty opinions on things necessarily involved

involved in all manner of difficulty and doubt; of ſtating, as matter of fact, things which no man can ſee or know without a long and delicate proceſs of reaſoning; and of drawing poſitive inferences from ſuch ſtatements, as if, in the firſt place, they were capable of being verified, and as if, in the next, they formed, however true, the whole materials of the calculation. This intrepid reaſoner ſees no difficulties in queſtions the moſt complex, and treads the delicate ground of political arithmetic as confidently as he could plod in the ſure tracks of abſtract mathematics. He regulates the internal arrangements of ſtates by the compaſs and ſquare, as if thoſe ſtructures were built of inanimate materials; and applies his raſh and partial calculations to the action of the great political machine, as if it moved without either friction or reſiſtance. He frequently diſplays livelineſs of fancy, and ſometimes acuteneſs and powers of diſcrimination; but we look in vain for enlargement and expanſion of intellect, or even for ſuch a reach of thought as would be required to manage a long chain of obvious reaſoning. If he obſerve on a ſmall ſcale, he reaſons on one yet more confined, ſeeing only a part of what he looks at, and comparing only parts of what he ſees.

To the limited endowments of our author, however, the boldneſs of his aſſertions, and the contemptuous arrogance of his ſtyle, form a contraſt ſufficiently ſtriking. In theſe common failings of political theoriſts, he, indeed, very far exceeds the ordinary meaſure. Without giving the ſanction of a name to his ſtatements, and without referring to any authority, he challenges our aſſent to a maſs of facts, many of them perfectly new and almoſt all bordering upon improbability. Many of thoſe ſtatements may be true, or they may not. We are told that ſome are the reſult of perſonal obſervation, and others of inquiries among intelligent freinds. We are not told which of them reſt upon the writer's authority and that of his friends, and what proportion is derived from ſources open to public inveſtigation; nor are we informed who this author and his correſpondents are, that we ſhould give credit to their averments. The conſequence of ſo great a defect inevitably is, that we can only confide in ſuch of the facts narrated, as are conſiſtent with, nay ſupported by other authorities; and even, after making this deduction, there ſtill remains field for ſcepticiſm, ſince many of the ſtatements given under the name of facts, belong to a claſs which no man can poſſibly know with certainty, and could only exhibit the ignorance or preſumption of him who might bring them forward, if he ſhould avow his name. We have already mentioned one characteriſtic of our author's manner—the high tone in which he delivers his information, and dictates his opinions.

ſions. Far from recommending to ſpeculative writers an exceſſive modeſty or punctilious caution, we think the former is generally the outſide of emptineſs and impotence, while the latter is too often allied, in reaſoning as well as in conduct, to that baſtard kind of prudence, the offspring of cunning, and the cloke of timidity. But on points neceſſarily involved in obſcurity, an inquirer ſhould ſpeak with a correſponding degree of heſitation. On matters which no man can ſee clearly, it is unbecoming to dogmatize, as if no one ſhould dare to doubt. It is ſtill more abſurd to deſpiſe the world for the heſitation with which your dogmas may be received, when you proclaim that you alone have been able to apprehend their truth. Nor ſhould it ever be forgotten, that an affectation of ſuperior intelligence upon ſubjects in their own nature extremely dark, is mere quackery, if the materials of the calculation are concealed; and that an obſcure individual, who rails abuſively at 'kingdoms, principalities, and powers,' ſadly miſtakes petulance for dignity and force.

Of theſe very obvious conſiderations, the author of the work before us, ſeems to be little aware. We have ſeldom been ſchooled by a more dictatorial or preſumptuous maſter; and when he changes the didactic ſtyle for invective, his language is generally that of coarſe and vulgar abuſe. He is fond of calling names, when he wiſhes to be ſtrong; and the appellations which he ſelects, are frequently cant phraſes, or ſcurrilous epithets. From railing at 'worthy John Bull's magnanimity,' and other heavy ingredients; or, ſcouting the ignorance of 'our dotard countrymen,' he ſometimes deſcends to individual abuſe; collects ſarcaſms againſt the conduct of the Britiſh repreſentatives in foreign courts, or reviles the 'peſtiferous inſtitutions' of ſuch 'errant quacks as Baron Voght and Count Rumford.' In the part of theſe ſketches, already publiſhed, the ſubject admits leſs of this perſonal kind of invective; but if we may judge of the ſecond part by the table of contents annexed to the firſt, it muſt conſiſt almoſt entirely of that ſcandal, half political and half perſonal, which travellers may ſo eaſily pick up abroad, concerning the ambaſſadors of their own country, and to which thoſe, who the beſt diſcharge their duty, and preſerve the dignity of their ſtation, are commonly moſt expoſed. It is ſingular, that one ſo well verſed in what is called ſecret hiſtory, as our author appears to be, ſhould not have reflected on the abſurdity of anonymous publications in this ſlippery and dangerous branch of literature. When he comes forward with his ſecond part, we truſt he will recollect that the individuals againſt whom it is levelled, have a right to demand his name

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and his authorities; and we think this claim sufficiently authorised by a considerable portion of the present volume.

Our author has thrown together his thoughts in a more careless manner, and delivered them with much less regard to method than even the title of 'sketches' might have led us to expect. For this defect he in part apologises, by saying, that his remarks were printed at different times whilst he was travelling on the continent. There are, however, in the whole design of his work, clumsy and inconvenient irregularities which no degree of haste in the execution can excuse. He appears to have allowed himself as little time for thinking and digesting, as for comparing and correcting. He brings out his ideas piecemeal, and then quits the topic, until some casual association recals it; when he repeats and enlarges, and frequently modifies what he had formerly begun to explain. The notes which accompany every page, afford a clear proof that he is deficient in that luminous arrangement of ideas which is equally necessary to the formation of accurate or enlarged views, and to the communication of knowledge in an intelligible manner. Those notes are nearly equal in bulk to the text; and they contain no digressions or additional illustrations, but essential parts of the author's opinions and arguments, which he ought to have incorporated with the rest, as they are, indeed, frequently of much more importance to the subject than the text itself. Upon the whole, it is our opinion, that this writer possesses considerable acuteness and great activity of mind; that he has profited less by his apparent opportunities of information, than a man of cooler judgement and greater stores of previous knowledge might have done; but that he has proved himself capable of affording valuable hints upon parts of the great questions which he discusses;—provided he can bring himself to reason more deliberately; to resist the glare of a paradox; to think more modestly of his own powers and acquirements; and to carry with greater hesitation into the affairs of states, that arithmetic, which he may perhaps have found easy and infallible in the business of his *comptoir*. His capacity of systematic inquiry, or long, connected, comprehensive reasoning, we are disposed entirely to doubt; and as a patient, discriminating observer of events, he ranks still lower in our estimation.

We proceed to bring before our readers, a view of the very interesting topics which these 'sketches' are intended to discuss. After the general remark which we have made upon the doubtful authority of the matter of fact contained in them, it will not be necessary particularly to indicate all those statements which, from their mere want of support, appear to deserve no consideration.

conſideration. We ſhall from time to time ſuggeſt ſuch obſervations as may ſhew how inaccurately a great proportion of the facts have been collected; and it furniſhes no weak argument againſt the whole maſs, unauthenticated as it is, if we find a conſiderable part at variance with accurate information, or repugnant to the unqueſtionable principles of reaſoning.

The Introduction conſiſts of a few general remarks upon the progreſs of nations, from weakneſs to maturity, and on the means of arreſting their retrograde motion. In the early ages of ſociety, men are eaſily rouſed to martial purſuits, and, as aggreſſion is generally attended with ſucceſs, their conqueſts are rapid and extenſive. Arrived at a certain pitch of greatneſs, when offenſive meaſures are no longer neceſſary to ſecure independence, they are apt to be ſatisfied with the power already acquired, and their rulers are flattered with the ideas of enjoying in peace and ſafety the preſent extent of dominion. This period, uſually denominated the maturity of the ſtate, our author regards as the moſt critical ſtage of its exiſtence. To the activity and energy by which the height was gained, a dangerous indolence and effeminacy ſucceeds; and, after a momentary pauſe, a rapid and univerſal depravation begins to ſpread. Who, he demands, ſhall check this evil, and ſave the nation? The rulers partake in, and profit by the general corruption of the people; and the effort, which is too great for *their* virtues or their talents, is, in others, deemed patriotiſm, only if ſucceſsful; and if it fails, is denominated rebellion. But, in monarchies rightly conſtituted, there is an exception to the rule. Hereditary ſovereigns are hereditary patriots; their only good lies in the proſperity of their people. When all ranks are ſunk in apathy and vice, a patriot king retains the power of ſaving and reſtoring the nation. He has only to uſe his authority according to the dictates of his real intereſts; for

—'ſuch a government will always have the will, the phyſical and moral powers of the nation at its unconditional diſpoſal. With theſe—to conſolidate the rank and proſperity of a once independent ſtate, it is only neceſſary to make the wealth of the nation the ſpring of national induſtry, and combine enjoyment with morality, ſo as to make both *ſtimulus* to public ſpirit and national improvement.' p. 6.

If, by this introductory diſſertation, our author means to illuſtrate the aſſertion, that a nation cannot remain ſtationary, but muſt be either on the advance or decline, we are little diſpoſed to diſpute with him, except as to the method which he has taken to prove it. For it does not appear how external cauſes muſt neceſſarily operate the downfal of a community as ſoon as it has reached a certain pitch of grandeur; and, ſtill leſs, how a ſtate of repoſe from aggreſſive warfare ſhould neceſſarily be fatal to the

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internal prosperity and the independence of the people. On the other hand, we are at a loss to imagine how even an hereditary and patriot king could regenerate a people so deplorably sunk in effeminacy and vice as he supposes; or from what foreign region such a sovereign is, in this posture of affairs, to summon all the 'respect, experience, vigorous integrity, and known talents,' with which he is 'by a single nod of command' to 'fill the public functions of the state.'

The 'Sketch' commences with some declamation against that mutual jealousy which has so long divided nations, and more especially the cabinets of their rulers; which has converted politics into the art of tricking, has perpetuated wars, and drained countries of their useful hands, while it loaded them with oppressive taxes. Industry, he maintains, has thus been burthened in the lower orders, and enjoyment abridged in the higher. Universal discontent with the ruling powers has arisen from the grounds which they have afforded to popular murmurs; and not from the writings of speculative malcontents, who, but for the errors of practical statesmen, would have had no materials upon which to work. Our author next lays it down as indisputable, that the mastery of the European continent is now divided between Russia and France; the former ruling either directly or indirectly the north and the east; the latter possessing the same influence or sway over the west and the south. If these great powers unite, nothing in our hemisphere can withstand them. Austria and Prussia, while independent of each other, may be allowed to remain nominally independent of Russia and France; but the moment of their union, if we rightly comprehend the author, will be the signal of their destruction. The plan of these sketches is, therefore, to consider the present resources and views, first of France, and then of Russia; and to point out their relations towards Great Britain.

I. To hear of the immense natural resources of France, is unhappily far from being a novelty. Our author's calculations, however, both of their present extent and their probable improvement, are constructed on a sweeping species of arithmetic, to which we are not altogether accustomed. Previous to the Revolution, it seems, only two fifths of the land susceptible of culture were in cultivation; and the system of management to which that portion was subjected, only produced a third of what ordinary good husbandry might have obtained. Even under this management, however, we are told that the government drew eight millions Sterling from the produce of agriculture, and the church as much. The whole burdens upon the produce of agriculture, amounted to twenty-one millions, and this may be increased at least

a million; to which eight may be added for duty on the consumption of those detached from the soil, but living by its produce; and a territorial revenue of 30 millions will thus be easily raised, after abating two sevenths of the burdens imposed by the old government.

Upon all this we have two remarks to offer,—In the *first* place, how did the author discover that just two fifths, and no more, of the arable land in France was in cultivation, and that this portion was managed exactly so as to produce one third of what ordinary husbandry might have drawn from the ground? In other words, how did he find out that precisely two fifteenths were raised of the produce which might and should have been raised; and that, of course, a territorial revenue of above 157 millions Sterling might have been collected, had the soil been only tolerably well managed? But, *secondly*, we perceive he has committed an obvious mistake in estimating the rise which may be expected in the territorial revenue. When he at first talks of excise on the consumption of those whose manufactures and trade are supported by agricultural produce, we do not clearly see his meaning; but as he specifies this branch of revenue under the name of a territorial impost, and as he afterwards, in confirming his estimate by a detail of the old revenue, enumerates the *barrier duties* under the name of excise and consumption duties, we perceive that the eight millions which are to arise from the consumption of those who manufacture agricultural produce are to come from a direct impost upon the transit of that produce. A great allowance should therefore have been made in estimating the rise of this transit duty; because the government is supposed to come into the place of the church and crown with respect to annexed lands; and this duty is one which must fall immediately upon rent. It will not diminish either the *vingtiemes* or tithes; but it must be deducted from the profits of domains which accrue to the state, not as tribute, but as rent.

If we were required to point out a specimen of our author's deficiency in general views, proportioned to this rashness in calculation, we should refer to his unqualified and dogmatical assertion, that the first step necessary for the agricultural improvement of the republic, is entirely, and at all times, to prohibit the exportation of corn. This amounts, in the present day, we conceive, to a downright contradiction in terms. We might also mention his idea of a just land-tax,—which, he says, ought not to be proportioned to the rental, for that is fallacious—or to the produce, for that would be unjust—but fixed by a *cadastre* made upon actual survey of the quality of each acre. Such a method of raising a tax, we imagine, would not only be in the highest degree

expensive, but it would either be unjust or arbitrary. It would be unjust, if the assessment were made according to the quality of the soil, by an absolute and universal standard, because a man would then pay for the indolence, or ignorance, or poverty of his predecessors. It would be extremely arbitrary, if it were laid on by a fluctuating rule, because this must vary with the pleasure of the assessors, who must of course repeat, every year, their survey and valuation. We shall, however, proceed to the other lights in which the resources of France are viewed.

From the consequences of the revolution, our author prognosticates a great improvement and extension of manufacturing industry. The ancient prejudices against this branch of employment are done away; the destruction of paper has secured the level of prices; and the preponderance of French influence in other countries, may secure to the produce of the national industry a preference in foreign markets. All the advantages which France now enjoys over the rest of the continental states, give her goods a natural preference in those markets; and the risk of competition from Great Britain is prevented by the high price of labour in that country. The British workmen, indeed, he allows are more skilful; but he adds, the French may be taught, and the cheapness of provisions will compel the English workmen to emigrate. Thus, then, does this author clearly foresee, that the superior excellence of British manufactured produce will be of no avail in retaining a command of the European market, because foreigners *may* become as skilful; and that the high price of provisions will induce emigration among those classes, who are ruining us by the price at which they sell their labour. To the former prediction, it is an obvious answer, that by the same kind of reasoning every superiority may be argued away. Capital may be acquired by other nations, which will lower their profits; their population may increase, and their labour diminish in price; their soil may be explored, and its produce varied. How impossible would it be, then, for any state to reckon upon maintaining its comparative advantages in manufactures or trade? The comfort is, that by the same prophetic powers, we may foresee some chance of changes beneficial to Great Britain. The eyes of continental states *may* be opened, and their courage roused against France; the French themselves *may* discover that peace is necessary to the improvement of their commerce; and the powers of Europe *may* learn, that their safety depends on a recurrence to ancient principles of international policy, and a confidence in that nation, whose magnanimity has never forsaken, and whose good faith has never betrayed them.

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The prediction, of Engliſh artiſts emigrating to France for the ſake of cheap living, is, if poſſible, ſtill more ridiculous. Do labourers ever attend half ſo much to the price of proviſions, as to the price of labour; and would not any ſuch emigration produce at once four conſequences ſufficient to check its progreſs —a riſe of proviſions—and a diminution of wages in France—a riſe of wages in England—and a diminution in the price of proviſions? For the reſt, we recommend to the author's attention a view of ſome facts, which demonſtrate, what indeed ſcarcely required any proof, the unwillingneſs of artiſts to quit their own country, however oppreſſed by high prices, or even by heavy direct impoſts, and ſcanty wages. It is not *from* Holland, but *to* Holland, that we have ſeen emigrations both of capitaliſts and artizans take place; yet in no country are profits ſo low, or taxes ſo high; in no ſtate does the government ſhare ſo largely the income of the people, or diminiſh the real enjoyments of the trader and the workman ſo grievouſly, in proportion to their groſs profits and wages. 'After all that has been ſaid' (Dr Smith obſerves *) 'of the levity and inconſtancy of human nature, it appears evidently from experience, that a man is, of all ſorts of luggage, the moſt difficult to be tranſported.'

In eſtimating the probable increaſe of manufacturing induſtry in France, our author allows a great deal too much for the influence of political ſuperiority in forcing a market. He commits the ſame error, when he proceeds to conſider the future agmentation of the French trade and fiſheries. But, admitting that the power of the republic ſhall remain in its preſent ſtate, and that her commercial and maritime reſources are to be extended entirely by peaceable means, he contends that the circumſtances of her ſituation are ſufficient to operate a very rapid developement of thoſe reſources.

The abolition of ſtrict Roman Catholic diſcipline will increaſe the conſumption of fiſh, by rendering it an article of luxury or cheapneſs, not a mark of penance. Inſtead of 2,500,000 quintals, formerly conſumed in France, Spain, and Italy, there will now be a demand for three millions; and the ſupply of this (which he ſeems to aſſume France will poſſeſs exclusively) muſt maintain juſt 20,000 able ſeamen, beſides young men and boys. In like manner, he allows 5000 able ſeamen for the 150 veſſels which the Greenland trade will ſpeedily employ, and ſo on for the other fiſheries in proportion; eſtimating that 45,000 able ſeamen will be required in all for the fiſheries alone, beſide young men and boys, whom he calculates at an equal number.

* Wealth of Nations, B. I. c. viii.

Now, admitting that France shall suddenly become much more expert than England and Holland in fisheries, and in the carriage of fish, and shall thus engross the Mediterranean market, as well as supply her own home consumption, we think our author's calculations are here, as usual, made very much at random, and we know that in many points they are inaccurate. It would follow, for example, from his estimate of the whale fishery, that the vessels engaged in it required above sixty-six men each; whereas, the average of the crews in the British whalers, from 1798 to 1800, both inclusive, was only thirty-four; and if the French vessels are manned nearly at twice the expence, how is the blubber trade to be carried on in the face of British competition?—not to mention that he has assumed the creation of a French whale fishery in two years, nearly twice as extensive as the British whale fishery is at this moment. Our author applies the same species of arithmetic to the colony and coasting trade of France: He supposes, that the former will employ 50,000 seamen of all kinds. We know that the British colonies do not at present occupy above one fourth part of this number; and that the French colonies, in their most flourishing state, never employed above 33,000, although the vessels were manned on so expensive a scale, as to render the price of freight a great deal higher than it ought to have been. Altogether, he concludes that the French fisheries and trade will employ 120,000 able seamen, and about the same number of young men and boys. We have been thus minute in our remarks upon the first calculations in which the author indulges, that, after affording a specimen of his rashness in treating one very important branch of the subject, we may be at liberty to follow him more generally in the remaining parts of his speculations.

One very prevailing opinion, which occurs in various forms through these sketches, is the extreme danger to which England is exposed by St Domingo remaining in the possession of France. We extract the following observations upon this subject as new, and affording a fair average specimen of his style:

'Of the numerous faults and blunders committed by the several parties concerned in the late revolutionary war, next to *Great Britain*, the government of America has made the most irretrievable. To enter into war, for the mere purpose of acting upon the defensive, is the most ridiculous of all political absurdities. Such parties generally receive more blows than they give; and in the end, they are spurned at by their friends, and despised by their enemies.

'As the United States are situate, possessing an immense length of coast, a great number of mercantile ports, and the several provinces producing but little variation in their exportable commodities; to enable their

their rapidly increaſing population to maintain a profitable intercourſe with the reſt of the world, a certain portion of the ſugar-trade is indiſpenſably neceſſary. A ſmall ſettlement or two would be of little importance to America; nor can it be expected that this government will be ſatisfied with ſuch. But how are they now to acquire any great poſſeſſion?

'During her warfare with France, or at any time prior to the deſtruction of *Touſſoint*, America might have eaſily ſecured St Domingo; a ſingle proclamation, declaring that iſland an integral part of the federal republic, and an independent ſtate in the union, would have inſtantaneouſly rallied both *blacks* and *whites* around her ſtandard. And what had the United States to apprehend from France? *Careſſes* and *attention*: but certainly no ſort of danger.

'The acquiſition of St Domingo would have been, both in a commercial and political conſideration, every thing that America could rationally deſire: it would have enabled the United States to carry on a wide, extenſive, and profitable maritime trade; and, as it would have rendered the political and mercantile intereſts of America and Great Britain reciprocal and mutual, by ſecuring the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, it would have raiſed an inſuperable barrier between the United States and their perfidious ſiſter, the French Republic.

'The opportunity is now loſt! The partial patriotiſm of her chief magiſtrate, has, to all appearance, deprived America, perhaps for ever, of becoming that conſpicuous nation, which nature, and the ſpirit of her inhabitants, certainly deſigned her to be in a few years. The politics of the acting preſident ſeem to be guided by no other ſyſtem, than the perſonal animoſities of Mr Jefferſon: he ſeems to bear malice againſt the Britiſh government; and that hatred is, with him, a ſufficient reaſon to make America the unconditional dupe of the French Republic.

'St Domingo loſt, the Americans have turned their views towards the iſland of Cuba; they conſider the acquiſition of that ſettlement, as the certain reſult of a quarrel with Spain, and they pretend to have already a plauſible pretext to make a claim upon that forlorn monarchy. But will France, now *military* miſtreſs of the gulph of Mexico, ſuffer to ſettle, under the lee of St Domingo, a power which might thereby become her rival in the colony trade? Certainly not; the very idea is repugnant to common ſenſe. The Conſulate may perhaps permit, and even encourage America to quarrel with Spain, with Portugal, or with Great Britain; but the Republic will reſerve to herſelf the objects of their differences, as a pledge of their future tranquillity.

'Although the rulers of France know enough of the principles of ſound policy, not to build the permanency of their government upon the caprice or partiality of temporary miniſters; yet we ſee their leading ſyſtem is, to manage the official and public men in other countries, ſo as to render their influence, ignorance, and credulity ſubſervient to the conſolidation of the Conſular Republic. The *Verſaillian*

policy of the Conſulate, being well ſeconded by a revolutionary audacity, and ſupported with energetic firmneſs, has contributed more than all the Jacobin armies of France, to ſubdue the corrupt and cowardly governments of other ſtates. The Conſuls have been remarkably fortunate in finding manageable men abroad, it is true, and it muſt be confeſſed they have known to make uſe of them; for ſhould the governments of Europe and America hereafter ſee their errors, the Conſulate has taken ſpecial care, that they ſhall not have the means to retrieve them. The French are now in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland of St Domingo, with all their former ſettlements in that quarter, and Louiſiana is ceded in ſovereignty to the republic; ſo, in all probability, are the Floridas: With theſe poſſeſſions, ſhe is indiſputably miſtreſs of the Gulph of Mexico; General Bowles and his Creek nations will ſoon become her *auxiliaries*; and ſhe will either fraternize, or revolutionize the Southern States of America, already diſpoſed to break up the Union.

'Theſe, we think, will in all probability be the conſequences of Preſident Jefferſon's ſhort-meaſured politics.' p. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34.

We ſhall very briefly point out a few of the various conſiderations which are here overlooked. In the *firſt* place, admitting that a proclamation might have ſecured the colony to America, ſhe would have been involved in war with France upon Weſt Indian territory, and would in all time coming have been implicated both with Britain and France in the ſame part of the world. *Secondly*, The jealouſy of Britain muſt have been excited againſt a neighbour like the United States, independent and ſubject to none of the checks neceſſarily impoſed on colonial dominions, extending herſelf in a quarter where the Britiſh ſettlements are peculiarly valuable, and, unfortunately, not leſs weak, than worthy of being retained. *Thirdly*, It is unlikely that France, after loſing almoſt all her dominions in the Weſt Indies, would be prepared (as our author thinks, p. 32, note) to unite with her natural enemy in preventing the farther progreſs of the new Weſt Indian power. It is rather to be apprehended, that ſhe would aſſiſt America in her deſigns upon the reſt of the iſlands. *Laſtly*, The author forgets in what ſtate St Domingo has been for thirteen years; how long a period muſt elapſe, after the nominal reſtoration of the mother country's authority, before a complete reeſtabliſhment of order and conſolidation of reſources can be effected; how heavy a burthen the colony muſt in the mean time prove to every political movement; and how material a diverſion its rebellious population will for many years create in all military operations which France may undertake in the Gulph of Mexico. He has argued as if that iſland were as peaceful as it is fertile, and as ſecure for defence, or for a point of attack, as any department of the mother country. While we agree with him, in wiſhing that France could, by any ſafe means,

be

be deprived of the colony, we conceive that much leſs danger can reſult from her retaining it, than from its being transferred to the negroes, or even to the United States, poſſeſſed, as the federacy now is, of Louiſiana. And even if France regains her authority in the iſland, we are convinced it muſt be for many years a pledge of peaceful conduct, in ſo far as its commerce and cultivation may be deemed valuable, and in as much as its internal organization muſt remain inſecure.

From the commercial reſources of France, our author proceeds to conſider her proſpects in a military point of view. After remarking that the national preeminence, acquired by accidental circumſtances, ſuch as the appearance of illuſtrious individuals, is neceſſarily ſhort-lived, he inveighs againſt the 'invidious doctrine,' as he terms it, that a people, fighting in their own cauſe, are more energetic and effective, than a nation contending for lawful rulers. He maintains, that the rabble will always paſs from one maſter to another; that national ſpirit is of no avail, without obedience to a chief; and that a country poſſeſſes military ſtrength exactly in proportion to its population and means of ſubſiſtence. On this, it is obvious to remark, that the ſpirit with which a nation is animated, muſt always enter as an element into the calculations of the force which may be derived from its numbers and wealth. An undiſciplined rabble is not, indeed, a very dangerous enemy, in whatever cauſe it attempts to act. But it is to be hoped that order may eaſily be united with zeal, and that the feeling of intereſt which inſpires a multitude in a particular conteſt, may lead them to act againſt the enemy with the force derived from diſcipline, as well as the vigour that may be excited by the paſſions—may at once increaſe their ſpirit of ſubordination, and inflame their deſire of conqueſt. We fondly cheriſh ſuch hopes, more eſpecially in the preſent criſis, becauſe we conceive there is no other proſpect of ſafety for England.

The natural advantages of France in a military point of view, our author conceives to be juſt twenty *per cent.* higher than thoſe of any other continental territory equally extenſive and populous. Auſtria, he allows, may, with a population of twenty millions, maintain a peace eſtabliſhment of 260,000 men. And France, having thirty millions of inhabitants, muſt, by the proportion juſt now ſtated, be able to ſupport an army of 450,000. By a ſimilar application of his rule, he eſtimates the war eſtabliſhments of Auſtria, Pruſſia, Sweden, Denmark, and the Germanic powers, at 760,000; of which 370,000 would be neceſſary for the internal arrangements of thoſe ſtates, while France could ſend beyond the frontiers an acting army of 390,000 men.

In point of revenue, her advantage is ſtill greater. She can raiſe, by an average aſſeſſment of 15 *per cent.* on the national income, as much as all the other independent powers of the continent can procure by a burthen of 30 *per cent.* The *data* by which this part of his calculation is ſupported, are peculiarly gratuitous and unauthoriſed. How can this man, or any man, tell, that the Auſtrian landholders pay altogether juſt 33 *per cent.* of their income, the cultivators or peaſants 50 *per cent.*, and the burghers 20 *per cent.?* We know that the Bavarian peaſantry have generally been reckoned the moſt oppreſſed of any in the empire; and Mirabeau computes *their* burthens at only 44 *per cent.* of their income, eſtimating the latter ſo low as 5 *per cent.* on their ſtock. But we give almoſt as little credit to the one as to the other of theſe random valuations.

The military organization of France is deſcribed by our author as peculiarly well adapted to call forth the whole energies of the people. There are more than ſix millions able to bear arms, and two millions and a half of theſe are between eighteen and twenty-three years of age. No degree of rank or wealth exempts men from conſcription; and this evil, ſo much inveighed againſt, is only hard upon the opulent and indolent part of the community. We doubt extremely if the conſcription be practically of this univerſal and unſparing operation. If it be, the danger from the republican conſtitution is indeed imminent to the reſt of Europe; but we imagine it muſt be ſhort-lived in the ſame proportion. A ſtate of things, more incompatible with internal ſtability and the developement of national reſources, could not eaſily be figured.

The frontier of the republic, always ſtrong and flanked as it now is by the moſt advantageous works (Holland, Switzerland, and Italy), is conſidered by our author, and we think moſt juſtly conſidered, as formidable to all her neighbours in an unprecedented degree. Her colonies, however unneceſſary to a nation poſſeſſed of ſuch internal capabilities, are extremely important as ſtations from which Great Britain may be attacked in her tendereſt point—her foreign ſettlements and trade; and as the means, alſo, of commanding either the property, or, if it ſhall be deemed more advantageous, the commerce, of the Spaniſh and Portugueſe territories in the New World. In Europe, we are told, that France may ſoon add a navy to her preſent enormous forces; but that her ſhips of war will probably be ſtill found unequal to cope with thoſe of Britain—and that moſt danger is to be apprehended from her light flotillas, not only in Europe, but in the colonies. Our author adds, that depôts are preparing along the north coaſt of France for 1500 or 2000 light veſſels always

always to be kept in readineſs, and that the ſame ſyſtem is to be extended to America and the Weſt Indies. This we really believe was written during a period of apparently profound peace, and deſerves ſome attention.

The remaining part of the ſpeculations on France, is occupied with an inquiry into the line of conduct which ſhe will probably purſue towards the only two powers which can now give her any trouble, Ruſſia and England. The ſubſtance of our author's opinion upon this intereſting topic, may be compriſed in a few ſimple propoſitions.

1. France and Ruſſia are the only powers in modern Europe that have acted ſyſtematically for any conſiderable length of time. (He ſeems to forget the whole hiſtory of Pruſſia.) The plans of Louis XIV. have now been completed; the dependence of Spain ſecured; the ſovereignty of Holland acquired, and Auſtria greatly weakened. Between France and Ruſſia there is only a frontier and a few neutral ports. The object of the former is to overcome the latter; and for effecting this, it will be enough if ſhe obtains an aſcendancy in the affairs of Turkey; a conſideration which ſufficiently explains her uniform repugnance to take any joint meaſures with Ruſſia againſt the Porte. But,

2. France will begin by endeavouring to rid herſelf of all incumbrances which might hang upon her rear; and will, therefore, remain at peace with Ruſſia, until ſhe can ſecure the defenſive inactivity of Great Britain. This ſhe expects to command, by affording no points of attack, and by completing the ruin of our finances; an object eaſily attainable, ſhe thinks, by forcing us to keep up expenſive preparations, and by excluding us from the commerce of the continent.

3. Our author conceives the rupture of France and Ruſſia to be the moſt fatal iſſue of the preſent criſis to the other powers of Europe. It muſt terminate in the univerſal ſovereignty of either one or other of thoſe overgrown ſtates.

We ſhall now ſhortly indicate what appear to us the fundamental errors in all thoſe dogmas. Admitting that France could reduce Britain to inactivity by the means above ſpecified, it does not ſeem to follow that ſuch inactivity would be more than temporary. As ſoon as the reſt of the plan was attempted,—as ſoon as France began to attack the reſt of the European powers,—Britain would be at full liberty to repay, as ſhe has often before repaid, their cowardly or jealous backwardneſs in her cauſe, by making a diverſion in their favour, and aſſiſting them to repel the common enemy. But farther—Although we were to admit that Auſtria and Pruſſia are unable, by their union, to reſiſt the power of France or of Ruſſia, it would by no means follow, that they

they could oppose no barrier to her attacks upon Russia, or that they could not give a check to Russia, were she to form the design of penetrating into the west of Europe. And it is very evident, that while the existence of those states is continued, even if they are reduced to a subordinate rank, they must be ready to avail themselves of the rupture which may take place between the great eastern and western members of the federal commonwealth. Nay, such a rupture will even give the still more dependent branches of the community, the northern powers, Italy and Spain, the power of throwing off that yoke under which they at present groan. While Britain is attacking France, and while Spain, for example, shall be able to maintain a fleet of sixty sail of the line, according to our author's estimate (p. 65, note), is it not clear, that so important a state will find it easy to shake off its dependence at the first change of fortune which may attend the French arms? If, on the other hand, Russia should remain master of the field, can she at once retain her dominion over the enemy whom she shall have subdued, and forge chains for the allies by whose assistance she has conquered? We see no proof whatever in these 'Sketches,' that the present situation of affairs, dismal as it is in some respects, particularly in regard to the lesser states of Europe, will lead to a total dereliction of those sound and natural principles of policy which have hitherto preserved the independence of the chief nations in the European commonwealth.

We have one more remark to offer upon the unqualified license of calculation which our author uniformly assumes, whenever it is necessary for his argument, to exalt the probable force, or wealth or energy of either France or Russia. He thinks it sufficient to consider the natural advantages of those states, and to contemplate the tendency of such resources to expand in the course of a few years. He forgets that a proportional or a greater augmentation may in the same time be preparing the other states for coping with the increased forces of those two powers; and that nothing is more likely to accelerate this contemporary progress, than the very circumstance which renders it so desirable. This consideration is too obvious to require farther illustration. It is exemplified in the whole course of modern history; it is presented to us by a view of the comparative advances which the nations of Europe have made in all the branches of their wealth, their accomplishments, and their direct military power; it applies to every speculation in which our author has indulged—to his estimates of manufacturing and mercantile resources, as well as to his estimates of revenue and force; and it tends, in no small degree, to dispel the apprehen-

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ſions which his gloomy pencil might have raiſed in thoſe who contemplate his very partial 'Sketches' of our political views.

II. The next object of attention is the Ruſſian empire; and in this branch of his ſpeculations the author has, in our opinion, diſplayed both more ſobriety and more acuteneſs of thought. The introductory obſervations, however, bear the ſame marks of a preſumptuous and haſty inveſtigation, which we ſo frequently recognized in the former part of his work.

He lays it broadly down, that the intereſts of Ruſſia (which form the ſole guide of the government), are as little connected with thoſe of other nations, as the court etiquette at Peking is with the ceremonies of the conclave at Rome. She has no natural ally. Her frontiers are

—'one half ſurrounded with an unnavigable ocean; ſix-ſeventhſ of the other half are covered with Aſiatic nations and wandering tribes, and miſtreſs of the Baltic and Black Sea; the remaining part is inacceſſible; that is, the ſpace, we may ſay iſthmus, between Riga and Oczakow, is the only frontier the Ruſſian government has to guard; and Europe cannot organize a force that could now make any impreſſion on that quarter. Were the hero of Marengo, with all his veterans, on the banks of the Boriſthenes, it is by no means likely that he would riſk a *journée de Pultava.*' p. 108.

Inſtead of enumerating any of the various arguments which immediately ſuggeſt themſelves to refute this ſtrange doctrine—ſtrange at leaſt in the extent to which it is here puſhed—we may only refer to the greater part of the ſpeculations into which the author has himſelf entered in the preceding half of his work; more eſpecially to the following paſſage, ſo ſingularly demonſtrative of his detached and excluſive manner of viewing each part of his ſubject.

'In the preſent ſtate of things, can Ruſſia and republican France go mutual ſharers in the trade and government of the Turkiſh empire? This is by no means likely; nay, we may venture to ſay, it is impoſſible. Which of the parties then is to give up its pretenſion? The cabinet of Peterſburgh muſt certainly know, that ſhould the Conſulate be allowed to aſſume an aſcendancy at Conſtantinople, or to interméddle in the affairs of Turky, the fate of Moſcow may again be diſputed at Pultava!' p. 72.

We likewiſe find him roundly aſſerting, by ſome unaccountable miſtake or caricature of the economical theory, that the inhabitants of any country who live by trade and manufactures, 'are not only themſelves unprofitable conſumers, but their ſubſiſtence and gains are taxes or burthens on the induſtry and conſumption of others.' (p. 182.) 'The expence of this claſs in England is greater,' he adds, 'than that of the whole Ruſſian army; but while the latter is now and then adding a new kingdom to the empire,

empire, the former are depreſſing the national ſpirit, and corrupting the morality of their country.'—This has certainly not even the paltry merit of a good paradox, and may be ranked with the author's own peculiar notions of the corn-trade or the land-tax.

The length to which our remarks have already extended, prevents us from entering into a minute diſcuſſion of the doctrines maintained in the diſſertation upon the foreign relations of the Ruſſian empire. Although we are very far from agreeing with our author in the concluſions which he forms on this important ſubject, we think he has ſtated them with ſome force, and, in many points, has argued the queſtion with conſiderable plauſibility.—Much of his reaſoning is, however, founded upon facts which we have no opportunity of verifying; and the moſt important part of theſe facts, the aſſertions reſpecting the contraband trade of the neutral powers, conſiſts of ſecret hiſtory, or alluſions to private anecdotes, not authenticated by references to a ſingle name. We entertain more than ſuſpicions of his whole information with regard to the conduct of the Britiſh diplomatic affairs in the northern courts during the late war.

Ruſſia, our author maintains, has little or no intereſt in the commerce of Europe. Her immenſe reſources are all internal and independent. With ſcarcely any frontier to defend, ſhe has the moſt ample means of annoying both Europe and Aſia. Great Britain cannot invade her ſovereignty of the Baltic, without the co-operation either of Sweden or Denmark, all chance of obtaining which has been entirely loſt, together with the good-will of the reſt of the world, by the unjuſt and irritable conduct of the late adminiſtration. He inveighs with peculiar bitterneſs againſt the whole proceedings of Great Britain towards the ſecondary powers, and particularly, thoſe of the Baltic; and accuſes her of firſt forcing them into the arms of Ruſſia, and then wreaking upon their heads, that vengeance which ſhe dared not vent againſt the Great Northern Empire. He draws a compariſon between the conduct of Britain and France towards the allies whom they wiſh to gain over, and determines the preference clearly in favour of the latter.—He is decidedly of opinion, that Ruſſia will ſoon make an attempt upon our dominions in the Eaſt; and recommends, in a very earneſt manner, the acquiſition of Brazil by this country. All theſe topics, which we have only ſketched with conciſeneſs as the reſults of his ſpeculations, are illuſtrated at length, and many of them with much ingenuity. We particularly refer to his remarks upon the conduct of affairs in the Baltic; his ſtatements reſpecting the difficulties, we fear the inſurmountable difficulties, of repeating in that quarter the naval campaign

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of 1801, and, ſtill more, of extending our attacks to the Swediſh or Ruſſian ports; and his obſervations on the means which Ruſſia poſſeſſes of annoying our Eaſt Indian empire.

III. In the laſt part of theſe 'Sketches,' entitled, 'France and Ruſſia,' we are preſented with a view of the conſequences which may reſult to Great Britain from the continued alliance of thoſe powers. It is obvious that ſuch an inquiry muſt involve in a great meaſure a repetition of the previous ſpeculations. We ſhall only notice, in a very general way, the ſubſtance of ſuch of our author's concluſions as have not already come under our review.

He contends that the two great nations will endeavour to unite the Eaſt Indian powers againſt Britain, and encourage diſaffection among the Britiſh and native troops; that they will in like manner ſeduce the Weſt Indian coloniſts, by a promiſe of extending their market, and intimidate them by threats of underſelling, or of conquering them; that they will prevent Great Britain from receiving ſupplies of grain either from Europe or America; ſpare no expence to create mutiny among our forces, and diſſenſions among our manufacturers; and carry on an unceaſing war againſt our finances in every quarter of the globe. Such are the *indirect* and ſecret meaſures of hoſtility to which we ſhall be expoſed; and in order to counteract them, ſeveral expedients are pointed out by this bold and ingenious projector. We muſt entirely conquer the native princes of the Peninſula; and, after conſolidating our Indian empire by force, we muſt ſecure its future growth, as well as the continuance of ſubordination, by reforming the internal adminiſtration, deſtroying all the ſettlements of foreign nations, and aboliſhing the monopoly: We muſt at once ſecure our Weſt Indian property and compel other nations to permit a free colony trade, by laying open the commerce of our own ſettlements. At home, we muſt cultivate our waſte lands, aboliſh all premiums and bounties in the proviſion trade, and treat our fore-s with liberal attention; employing our land troops, during peace, in national improvements, and our ſeamen in the extenſion of the fiſheries. He adds, that we ought perpetually to watch the operations of the enemy; and to conſider every act of preparation, not inſtantly explained, as a ground of hoſtility. The other remedies for the injuries which our finances may ſuſtain, are vaguely and unintelligibly ſtated.

The meaſures of *direct* hoſtility to which the alliance of France and Ruſſia muſt expoſe this country, are next deſcribed. They conſiſt, chiefly, in the formidable armament of above 230 ſail of the line, between two and three thouſand ſmall craft, and 300,000 land forces, by which they will ſurround us from North Bergen

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to Cadiz; thus hemming us in upon every ſide, and compelling us to concentrate all our ſtrength at home; while they carry into effect their favourite purpoſe of diſmembering the more remote parts of the Britiſh empire. In the Mediterranean a fleet of 65 ſail of the line, with ſmall craft in proportion, will be ſtationed to protect the ſouth of Europe from our attacks, and to cover the projected deſcent upon our eaſtern ſettlements. In the weſt, our chief danger ariſes from flotillas and other light armaments. To defend this iſland, the author decidedly preſcribes the plan of multiplying our naval ſtations on the eaſt coaſt, and maintains that the ſyſtem of blocking up an enemy in his ports, at all times extremely difficult, will be utterly chimerical in the juncture now under contemplation. The ſame object may, however, be attained with complete certainty, he thinks, by a fleet of 40 ſail ſtationed between the Downs and Buchanneſs, at points where they may have good anchorage and proper ſea-room. The ſecurity of our affairs in the Eaſt and the Mediterranean is to be commanded by the poſſeſſion of Malta, or ſome ſuch impregnable ſtation between Toulon and the Dardanelles. The projects of the enemy in the Weſt Indies, are to be oppoſed, our empire there augmented, and our whole dominions, in every quarter of the globe, raiſed both in wealth and in military ſtrength, by the acquiſition of Brazil, or of ſome territory advantageouſly ſituated, and fit for the creation of a powerful army; and by maintaining, at the ſame time, a right intelligence with the United States upon the diſtribution of the larger iſlands.

On the many curious and important queſtions to which theſe various ſchemes give riſe, we do not purpoſe at preſent to offer any remarks. We muſt, however, obſerve, that it would be unfair to judge haſtily of ſeveral of them, which, like all projects of political change, when ſuperficially viewed, and detached from the facts and arguments that lead to their formation, appear very raſh and extravagant. It ſeems to us, on the contrary, that many very plauſible ſpeculations are ſuggeſted by our author in ſupport even of what timid reaſoners may be diſpoſed to call his wildeſt projects. And we are convinced, that ſeveral important conſiderations, of which he ſeems not to have been aware, may be urged in favour of the extenſion of our colonial dominions, at leaſt in the New World—a part of his theory which will probably ſtartle moſt of his readers.

ART.

ART. IV. *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland.* To which is prefixed, an Account of the Principal Proceedings of the Society, since 1799. By Henry M'Kenzie Esquire, one of the Directors. Vol. II. Edinburgh, Creech, Hill, and Constable. 1803. 8vo. pp. 556.

IN the account prefixed to the first volume of these Transactions, we are informed, that the objects of the Society are, 1. An inquiry into the present state of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and the condition of their inhabitants: 2. An inquiry into the means of their improvement: and, 3. An attention to the preservation of the language, poetry, and music of the Highlands. Before we proceed to particularize and to examine the papers which are contained in this second volume, it may not be improper to premise a few observations on each of these objects.

It is evident, that no regular and systematic plan of improvement can be laid down or pursued, until the present situation of the Highlands, and of their inhabitants, is fairly and fully ascertained. Those particular plans, indeed, which have been found to answer, in carrying on the improvement of other countries, may afford some general principles, which must be serviceable even in the Highlands; but this district of the empire differs in so many material points from every other, that the information which may be derived from the systems of improvement pursued in other countries, will either be too general, and consequently in a great degree useless, or, if adopted experimentally, will be found in many particulars inapplicable, if not prejudicial. We are therefore surprised that, in the two volumes which the Highland Society have published, there is only one very short and unsatisfactory paper on the obstacles to improvements in the Highlands. As we can entertain no doubt of the sincerity and zeal of the Society, we certainly expected, before this time, to have received, at their hands, a full, clear, and impartial account, not merely of the soil, climate, and produce of the Highlands, but also of those obstacles to their improvement, which are known to exist in the prejudices and indolence of the peasantry, and in the state of dependence or vassalage in which they are generally held by their tacksmen. It is absurd to expect, that the Highland peasantry will be inclined to take the trouble, and to run the risk of introducing the culture of wheat, rye, cabbages, &c. all of which are recommended in these Transactions, unless it be previously ascertained, from a fair representation of the soil and climate of their country, not only that they can be raised, but that they will be

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productive of more advantage than can be derived from any other mode of employing their ground.

With regard to the ſecond object of the Society—an inquiry into the means of improving the Highlands, we apprehend, that they ought, at the very commencement of their proceedings, to have applied themſelves to the determination of a few general queſtions, and to have been guided, in their particular inquiries, by the reſults of ſuch inveſtigations. In this way, it appears to us, that they ought, firſt of all, to have aſcertained, whether it would be better to extend the culture of *grain*, or to keep the Highland diſtricts entirely in *paſture*; and if the propriety and utility of the latter meaſure had been determined, to have then diſcuſſed, whether the Highlands ought to be ſtocked with *black cattle* or with *ſheep*. In the Appendix to the ſecond volume, a premium is offered for the beſt eſſay on the introduction of ſheep farming. If this queſtion had been previouſly diſcuſſed with ability and fairneſs, with the aſſiſtance of full information reſpecting the produce and population reſulting from the preſent agriculture of the Highlands, the pages now occupied with eſſays on arable huſbandry, would have been more uſefully filled with important practical obſervations on the proper breeds of ſheep, and their management. It would not be difficult to prove, that by the introduction of the ſheep huſbandry, a much greater quantity of food would be raiſed at much leſs expence, and with much leſs labour or riſk. The objection is ſtrong, merely when it appeals to our feelings, or to our national partiality: it will not bear to be examined cooly and fairly. Even if we grant that the neceſſary conſequence of the introduction of the ſheep huſbandry would be, that many of the Highlanders would be obliged to leave their mountainous diſtricts, and ſeek employment in the low country, it may very well be doubted, whether this ſtep would not be productive of great national benefit, even without the ſacrifice of any real individual happineſs. At preſent, the Highlands afford a ſcanty and precarious ſubſiſtence to a thin population. The Highlanders themſelves are indolent, becauſe they perceive that no exertion or labour can ſecure them a ſubſiſtence from their own ſoil. Under the ſheep huſbandry, the Highlands would produce ſubſiſtence for at leaſt four times as many human beings as they now maintain, while their preſent inhabitants, if they could not be employed in their native country, might find an ample and much more uſeful field for their exertions in a climate and ſoil that would more gratefully repay them. There is great reaſon to believe, however, that theſe benefits might be obtained, without the expatriation of thoſe individuals who ſtill cling to their mountains with ſo affectionate

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a partiality: if the ſheep huſbandry were introduced, and the fiſheries properly managed, there would be employment for many more people than the Highlands now contain. The introduction of ſheep would ſupply the raw material for the woollen manufactures; and the immenſe quantities of peat, and the powerful waterfals that abound in all quarters, would ſupport machinery at little expence. Such a ſyſtem would alſo be of ſervice to the other parts of the empire. At preſent, ſome of the fineſt counties in England are almoſt entirely in paſture, though no doubt can be entertained that they are well ſuited for raiſing grain, and that, if thus employed, they would afford ſubſiſtence to a much greater number of inhabitants than they now do. If, therefore, the Highlands produced that quantity of animal food which theſe counties do at preſent, the latter might, by becoming chiefly arable, increaſe the population of the country. It is neceſſary, no doubt, that there ſhould be a certain proportion of every farm devoted to the feeding of cattle, in order that manure may be ſupplied for the arable part; but, perhaps, it would be for the advantage of the kingdom, if thoſe diſtricts which are ſuited to the raiſing of grain, ſhould have no more than that proportion ſet apart for the feeding of cattle—and if thoſe which, from their ſoil, ſituation, or climate, were unfavourable to grain, ſhould be principally ſet apart for the purpoſes of paſture. Another regulation, not unconnected with our preſent ſubject, may be ſuggeſted; that manufactures, in order that they might interfere as little as poſſible with agriculture, ſhould, in general, be eſtabliſhed in grazing diſtricts, where few hands are required by the farmer. We apprehend that none of our readers will conſider theſe remarks as foreign to the preſent ſubject, whatever opinion they may entertain of their juſtneſs; as, certainly, in every attempt to improve the Highlands, it ought to be recollected that they form but a part of the empire; and every plan or ſuggeſtion ought to have reference to them, not as a ſeparate whole, but as a dependent and connected part.

The third object of the Society—an attention to the preſervation of the language, poetry, and muſic of the Highlands, we conſider as in a great degree incompatible with the introduction of improvement. A difference of language not only preſents a formidable barrier to the introduction of uſeful knowledge, but muſt alſo tend to perpetuate thoſe prejudices which it is abſolutely neceſſary to deſtroy, before any general or permanent improvement can take place. Every method, on the contrary, ought to be taken to identify the Highlander, in language and manners, with the other inhabitants of the empire; and his

prejudices, already very ſtrong, ought not by any means to be cheriſhed and continued. As the moſt effectual plans of improvement muſt, in the firſt inſtance at leaſt, depend in a great meaſure upon ſtrangers, every obſtacle which is preſented by a difference of language and manners, and by the powerful prejudices which the Highlanders entertain, ought to be done away as ſpeedily and completely as poſſible.

We have been induced to offer theſe preliminary remarks from a firm conviction of the importance of the ultimate object which the Society has in view, and from a wiſh that they may, in all their proceedings, clearly perceive it, and purſue it by the moſt direct and effectual means. We ſhall now proceed to examine the ſeveral papers which compoſe the ſecond volume.

The firſt paper is entitled 'An Eſſay on Peat, by the [late] Rev. Dr Walker, Profeſſor of Natural Hiſtory in Edinburgh.' This eſſay, conſiſting of 136 pages, contains much uſeful and curious information, conveyed in a very looſe and deſultory manner. That part of it which relates to the chemical analyſis of peat, is very inaccurate and incomplete. The reverend author appears to have been well acquainted with chemiſtry as it exiſted in the middle of the laſt century; but either to have entirely neglected, or to have learned very imperfectly, the important diſcoveries that have been made in that ſcience by the labours of the laſt twenty years. It is evident, however, that whoever attempts to aſcertain the chemical principles of vegetables, ought to have made himſelf perfectly acquainted with the pneumatic chemiſtry, and the analyſis of volatile products. At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that the following obſervations of Dr Black, contained in a letter to Dr Walker, and given by him in a note to this paper, are perfectly juſt and correct.

'The proceſs hitherto named the chemical analyſis of vegetables, cannot be conſidered as an analyſis now, (ſince the diſcoveries in pneumatic chemiſtry). It is to be viewed as a diſtinction, by which the natural combination of their principles is undone, and theſe principles enter into new combinations, very different from thoſe that took place in the vegetable matter. In the uncorrupted vegetable matter, theſe principles are united together with an arrangement and connexion, of which we have not the ſmalleſt knowledge. We only know, that it is eaſily deſtroyed by heat and by putrefaction, which produce new arrangements and combinations of theſe principles, and thus form compounds endued with particular qualities, which did not exiſt in the vegetable matter before.' p. 29.

Among the inaccuracies into which the learned Doctor is betrayed, by his inattention to theſe particulars, we need only ſpecify the following. At p. 24. he ſays, that '*calcareous earth* is

is known to promote the putrefaction of animal and vegetable ſubſtances;' and that the peat of Liſmore is very putrid, in conſequence of its mixture with the limeſtone of the iſland. Now if, by calcareous earth, the Doctor means carbonate of lime, he is miſtaken in aſſerting that *it* promotes the putrefaction of vegetable and animal matter. If he means quicklime, the inſtance he adduces is not to the point, as the limeſtone in the iſland of Liſmore is certainly the carbonate of lime. Beſides, in p. 55, he aſſerts, not very conſiſtently, that no degree of putrefaction in peat earth could be diſcovered from the mixture of either mild or cauſtic lime.

The Doctor aſks (p. 31.) why we ſhould omit azote as one of the eſſential elements of plants, as they all afford volatile alkali on putrefaction. The fact is, that no vegetable ſubſtances, except the gramineous and cruciform plants *(tetradynamia)* afford ammonia on putrefaction.

After having enumerated and explained the properties of peat as a ſoil, the Doctor proceeds to conſider what plants ought to be cultivated in it. We have already given it as our opinion, that the arable huſbandry is not ſuited to the Highlands; and we think that the peat, there, would be moſt advantageouſly employed as fuel for manufactures or for lime-kilns: the Doctor's obſervations, however, may be uſeful to thoſe *Lowland* proprietors or tenants who poſſeſs peat, though even by them, in moſt caſes, peat would be more profitably employed as a manure than as a ſoil. Where it can be advantageouſly uſed as a ſoil, we would recommend the *red oat*, in preference to the Frieſland, or indeed any other kind. The Doctor ſeems inclined to think, that bean crops would anſwer on moſſy ſoils, as the root of this plant goes deep, and requires a ſoft ſoil: but it is well known, that in a ſoft ſoil, the bean, though luxuriant in ſtraw, is by no means productive in ſeed, and would be found a very improper crop for moſſy ſoils.

In the fourth diviſion of the Doctor's eſſay, and in the ſecond paper in this volume, by Lord Meadowbank, 'On making compoſt dunghills from peat moſs,' very clear and full directions are given for this application of peat; and from the reſults obtained by Lord Meadowbank, in particular, after repeated and careful experiments with this compoſt, we think no farmer will heſitate to employ his peat rather as a manure than as a ſoil.

The third paper, 'On burning lime with peat, by Mr Jonathan Radcliff,' preſents a very clear detail of a proceſs, by which peat may be uſed to ſupply the want, or to prevent the conſumption of coals in lime-kilns.

The next eſſay, ‘ On the cattle and corn of the Highlands, by Dr Walker,’ is divided into five ſections. In the firſt ſection it is admitted, that the crops of oats and bear (big) are often much damaged by bad ſeaſons; and that ‘ the mildneſs of the climate on the coaſts of the Highlands in winter, is greatly overbalanced by the want of thoſe degrees of heat in ſummer, which prevail in the ſouth, by a leſs early autumn, and by the frequency and violence of the winds and rain.’ (p. 167.) Surely theſe circumſtances point out the impropriety of endeavouring to extend the arable huſbandry in theſe diſtricts, and the neceſſity of effecting an entire and radical change in the ſyſtem of improvement. The Doctor muſt certainly be miſtaken in affirming, that the bear uſually yields between ten and fifteen fold, notwithſtanding the badneſs of the climate and the wretched ſtate of huſbandry. Unleſs, however, the quantity of ſeed be ſpecified, this mode of aſcertaining the produce is very vague and uncertain.

We ſhould not wiſh to offer any ſtronger and more deciſive facts to prove the neceſſity of removing black cattle, and ſubſtituting ſheep, than thoſe contained in the ſecond ſection of this eſſay, ‘ On the ſtate of the Highland cattle during winter.’ Green crops, or graſſes proper for hay, can never be raiſed in ſuch certain abundance, as regularly to ſupply the cattle from the 1ſt of February to the end of April, if the Highlands, in general, were to be ſtocked with them. Some ſpots, no doubt, might be found, in which winter food, and conſequently black cattle, might be introduced with advantage; but in hilly countries, and in a climate where the making of hay muſt be ſo very precarious, ſheep ought, in general, to be preferred.

The plants recommended by the Doctor in the third ſection, are very proper for ſuch ſpots in the Highlands as ought to be tilled, or kept in hay; and ſeveral of them might be advantageouſly cultivated in the Lowlands. Beſides thoſe enumerated, we would recommend to the attention of all farmers, who are poſſeſſed of a light ſandy ſoil, the corn ſpurrey (*ſpergula arvenſis.*) This plant is much cultivated in Brabant, Holland, and Germany, and is found to be a very nouriſhing and acceptable food to cattle, both when green and when made into hay.

The ruta baga was introduced into Sweden from Lapland, and not from this country, as the Doctor affirms; who, moreover, ſeems to confound the turnip-rooted cabbage with the Swediſh turnip. Nothing can prove more clearly, that the Doctor paid but little attention to the ſoil and climate of the Highlands, than his indiſcriminate recommendation of beans and peas, wheat, and the Tartarian oat. By his own account, clay is rarely to be found in theſe diſtricts; and the moſt common ſoil is a hazel mould, often

often participating largely of ſand and gravel. Beans, therefore, we ſhould think, are abſolutely inadmiſſible. Tartarian oats are more apt to be lodged than any other kind, and are therefore improper in a climate ſo windy and wet. Peas, which anſwer well in England, are, in general, very uncertain and unproductive, even in the ſouth of Scotland. Wheat is entirely out of the queſtion. In whatever parts of the Highlands the arable huſbandry can be followed, the following crops and rotation may, from their having ſucceeded in ſituations and a climate very ſimilar, be ſafely recommended. 1. Turnips, or potatoes drilled; 2. Bear, or, *perhaps*, the common Scotiſh barley; 3. Graſs ſeeds, conſiſting of clover and rye graſs, or any other of the numerous graſſes, which might be found to ſuit the climate and ſoil; and, 4. Red oats.

It is abſurd to imagine (p. 202.) that ſeed corn brought from Norway would ripen in as ſhort a ſpace of time in the Highlands, as it did in its native country; ſince the eſſential circumſtance is wanting in the Highlands, which accelerated its growth, viz. the very great difference between the temperature of the ſummer and that of the winter, and the ſudden and permanent change.

The two next eſſays, by Alexander Macnab and Duncan Stewart, containing 'Obſervations on the economy of black cattle farms under a breeding ſtock,' appear to be written by perſons of much practical information, which is conveyed in a plain and perſpicuous manner. The catalogue of diſeaſes, to which the Highland cattle are liable, preſents another powerful argument, why ſheep ſhould, in general, be introduced in their place; as we are informed by Mr Macnab, that 'the diſtempers incident to Highland cattle, reſult chiefly from ſcanty feeding and want of water in winter.' Now, it is well known, that ſheep will live and fatten, where cattle would ſtarve, and that they require very little water.

In the ſeventh Eſſay by (the late) Mr Somerville, clear and decifive anſwers, founded on careful obſervations, and direct and repeated experiments, are given to the inquiries—'What are the ſtages of growth and ripeneſs, and what are the peculiar ſtates of the weather, and other circumſtances, in which corns, particularly oats, are rendered unfit for ſeed, by froſt, or conſiderable degrees of cold, and by what changes or modifications of theſe ſtages, ſtates or circumſtances, do the powers of vegetation remain unhurt? Will oats, that are ill-filled, or ill-ripened ſerve for ſeed; and, by what appearances, can the point of diſtinction between the good and the bad be readily aſcertained?'

In the 'Obſervations on the obſtacles to the improvement of the Highlands,' the author particularly notices the diſtance, at which many of the factors (ſtewards) reſide, and their conſequent ignorance of the improvements which particular diſtricts may admit or require;—the numerous commons;—and the advantages which would reſult from long leaſes, and from raiſing plantations on the barren hills and moors.

Mr Somerville, in the Ninth Eſſay, recommends the total eradication of heath, where the ſoil and climate will admit the cultivation of any more uſeful plant; and the burning of it in ſuch a manner, as to deſtroy the tough, hard parts, and to afford room and nouriſhment for the tender and juicy ſhoots, in every ſituation where no plants of greater value can be produced. In order to effect the former purpoſe, the heath ought to be burnt in the autumn when it is in flower, as it may then be completely deſtroyed. But, when the object is to preſerve the root, and to afford warmth and manure to the tender ſhoots, the operation ought to take place in the ſpring. The tender and juicy ſhoots, which might thus be made to ſpring annually from the burnt heath, ought to be uſed not only for paſture, as Mr Somerville directs, but alſo for hay. In Sweden this practice is commonly followed, and found to anſwer.

Mr Angus M'Donald, in his paper 'on manufactures,' offers ſome judicious obſervations on the linen and woollen manufactures of the Highlands;—points out the advantages, which they enjoy in thoſe reſpects;—and ſuggeſts ſeveral different modes, in which they might be improved and extended. We perfectly agree with him, that the Highlands might, by proper management and encouragement, become the ſeat of valuable woollen manufactures; but we imagine, in that caſe, that the raiſing and manufacturing of flax would be generally given up, as comparatively uncertain and unproductive. We are ſurpriſed that he ſhould lay it down, as 'a fundamental maxim in commerce, that no manufacture can be firmly eſtabliſhed in a country which does not produce the raw materials which it employs,' p. 242. What manufacture is more firmly eſtabliſhed, and the ſource of employment and wealth to a greater number of perſons, than the cotton manufactures of Lancaſhire and Glaſgow? In direct oppoſition to what he ſays, reſpecting the profit ariſing from bees, we can poſitively affirm, that they are unprofitable in a climate much more favourable than that of the Highlands, p. 249.

The two next papers contain 'the plan of an inland village, by the Reverend Robert Rennie; and remarks on the plan, by Colonel Dirom.' This plan, if altered according to the ſuggeſtions

geſtions of the Colonel, would certainly be well calculated to ſecure health, cleanlineſs and convenience, all of which are very much neglected in the villages of Scotland:—but, till manufactures are eſtabliſhed, it ſeems premature to be either building or planning villages. We entirely agree with Mr Rennie, that in a manufacturing village, it is much better that every feuar (every perſon who pays a ground rent) ſhould have only half as much as he might wiſh to have, than a ſingle rood too much, p. 262. Where manufactures are introduced, the diviſion of labour ought to be as complete as poſſible; but if every manufacturer poſſeſſes an acre or more, either his ground or his profeſſional buſineſs muſt be neglected; and, if he hire the labour of another perſon, the produce of his land will moſt probably coſt him more than its real value.

In the 'Extracts from an Eſſay on the Natural, Commercial, and Economical Hiſtory of the Herring, by Dr Walker,' we meet with almoſt all the facts which are known reſpecting the natural hiſtory of this fiſh;—a very long and tedious hiſtorical account of the herring fiſhery from its commencement in the fourteenth century to 1786;—and an enumeration of the cauſes, which, in the opinion of the Doctor, have lately rendered this fiſhing ſo unproductive. One of the cauſes, it ſeems, is our injudicious imitation of the Dutch, in fiſhing with large veſſels: we, on the contrary, are diſpoſed to coincide with Mr Headrick, who maintains, in a paper which will afterwards be conſidered, that if theſe large veſſels were employed by us, as the Dutch employ them, in fiſhing in the open ſea, herrings might be taken during more months, and at a time when they are in the higheſt perfection. The buſſes, at preſent, to which alone the bounty is given, are employed only in the lochs; and, when a ſhoal of herrings appear, ſend out their boats in ſuch numbers, and with ſo much confuſion, that they are both in a great meaſure unſucceſsful themſelves, and prevent the crews of thoſe veſſels which, on account of their ſmall ſize, are not allowed the bounty, from attempting to fiſh at the ſame time.

We are ſtrongly diſpoſed to queſtion the policy of granting any bounty: but if it be continued, it ought to be given to the buſſes, on the expreſs proviſion, that they go out into the open ſea, and there follow the Dutch mode of fiſhing; perhaps a ſimilar bounty ought to be given to undecked veſſels, which alone ought to be allowed to continue in the lochs. The method, which has been long practiſed near Gottenburgh, and which, on a ſmaller ſcale has lately been ſucceſsfully adopted on the Fife coaſt, would moſt probably anſwer in the Highland lochs. In the neighbourhood of Gottenburgh, eight boats, each con-

taining two or three fiſhermen, draw one large net, encloſing a ſhoal of herrings, into a creek or ſmall bay, and the fiſh being ſhovelled on the ſhore, the boats reſume their work. The advantages of this mode, over that commonly practiſed, are evident and important.

We are ſurpriſed that only conjectures are offered on the food of the herrings. As the food ſoon becomes imperceptible in their ſtomachs, from their ſtrong digeſtive powers, it is indeed impoſſible to aſcertain all the kinds: but it is well known, that a ſmall ſpecies of crab, the *cancer halecum*, which abounds in the north ſeas, is devoured by them in great quantities.

We conſider it neceſſary merely to notice and to recommend the two next papers 'On the different ſorts of herrings which frequent the coaſts of Scotland; with obſervations on the preſent mode of conducting the herring fiſhery, by Mr M'Kenzie;' —and 'An account of the Dutch herring fiſhery, with the placart of the ſtates of Holland reſpecting it.' The latter paper ought to be circulated as widely as poſſible, and followed as cloſely as a difference of circumſtances will admit.

In the four papers 'on the Natural Hiſtory of the Salmon, by Dr Walker, Mr Mackenzie, Mr Morriſon, and Archibald Drummond Eſq.' the facts and conjectures brought forward are, in general, rather curious than uſeful in a practical point of view. This obſervation applies principally and moſt ſtrongly to Dr Walker's paper, which is characteriſed by the ſame faults, as thoſe papers of his which we have already noticed. It is full and minute, even to tedioufneſs, in that part which can be intereſting only to the naturaliſt; while it is defective, or merely conjectural, with regard to thoſe circumſtances which may be uſeful to the ſalmon fiſheries. As the Doctor appears to have derived moſt of his information from books, and, in ſome inſtances, to have careleſsly received it from the unexamined and uncompared teſtimony of others; it is no wonder that he not only differs from the other gentlemen, but advances what reflection might have taught him could not be the fact. In page 349, he deſcribes the ridge which is raiſed by the ſalmon over the place where they depoſit their ſpawn, as from 'three to five inches high.' Now, it is evident, that as this depoſitation always takes place where the ſtream is rapid, the ridge and the ſpawn would ſoon inevitably be ſwept away. Mr Drummond (whoſe eſſay fully deſerves the character given of it by the editor, p. 394. note), rectifies this miſtaken notion, (in which, however, the Doctor is joined by all thoſe naturaliſts who read, rather than obſerve and examine), and expreſsly aſſerts, that the gravel, under which the ſpawn is depoſited, is always levelled with

with a wonderful nicety (p. 402). If Mr Morriſon be correct, in aſſerting that the operation of ſpawning laſts eight or ten days (p. 390), we ſhould be inclined to diſſent from the commonly received opinion, that the ſpawn is laid all together in holes, and then covered with gravel, ſince, if it were left ſo long uncovered, it would neceſſarily be carried away by the ſtream. Some naturaliſts have been induced, from careful obſervation, to maintain, that the ſpawn is not covered up at all, but ſuffered to float down the ſtream till it naturally ſinks to the bottom.

As it is of the utmoſt importance to know all the animals which are deſtructive to the ſalmon, the porpus (*delphinus phocæna*) and the ſeal (*phoca vitulina*) ought to have been mentioned by Mr Drummond (p. 409). The former is often ſeen *cruizing* acroſs the mouth of the Tweed, and not only deſtroying the ſalmon, but preventing them from entering the river. The latter ſometimes purſues the ſalmon a conſiderable way up the river: they are alſo equally inveterate and deſtructive enemies of the herring.

Mr Melvill, in his paper 'On the Fiſheries of Scotland,' recommends that the mode of fiſhing for cod and ling purſued by the Engliſh and Dutch, ſhould be adopted by the Scotch. The ſingle, undoubted, and glaring fact, that the former nations, by their ſuperior ingenuity, carry away immenſe quantities of theſe fiſh, from the very coaſts of the latter, proves the propriety of this admonition. The remarks already offered, make it unneceſſary to analyſe or examine the latter part of this paper, which relates to the herring fiſhery.

The Rev. James Headrick, in his paper 'On Improvements in the Highlands,' appears carefully to have examined the country, before he offered his ſuggeſtions. They are, therefore, much more worthy of attention, than the crude ideas and fanciful ſpeculations of thoſe, who have no accurate or practical knowledge of the ſtate of the country. The laſt ſection of this eſſay offers to our view a very probable ſource of employment and wealth, and, perhaps, the moſt proper application of the vaſt quantities of peat, in the Highlands. Mr Headrick propoſes, that an experiment ſhould be tried, to aſcertain 'whether charred peat might not anſwer as well in rendering iron malleable, or in converting it into ſteel, as charred wood,' (p. 466). If it were found to anſwer, iron-ſtones and bog-ore of iron might be obtained in great abundance in many parts of the Highlands. We have already expreſſed our doubts, how far the raiſing and manufacturing of flax or hemp, which Mr Headrick recommends, would be practicable in the Highlands, or deſireable, after the woollen manufactures were firmly and generally eſtabliſhed. We

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do not perceive how it can 'have been clearly *demonſtrated*, that the mode of occupying land, which renders it capable of yielding the greateſt rent to the proprietor, is alſo moſt beneficial to the public,' (p. 455). Paſture land, in many parts of the kingdom, yields as much rent, as arable land, to the proprietor; and yet it cannot be conſidered as equally beneficial to the public; ſince an acre under tillage will ſupport many more people, than an acre in paſture. The propriety of converting the Highlands into ſheep walks, ought not to be reſted on this principle, which is not only in many inſtances falſe, but will always be regarded with a ſuſpicious eye by the bulk of mankind. No doubt, when it is applied to the Highlands, it is perfectly true, ſince a ſheep farm, producing ſubſiſtence for 100 people with the labour of ten, which, while under tillage, or ſtocked with cattle, could not ſupport thirty people, though they all laboured on it, muſt of courſe afford a higher rent to the landlord, and benefit the public in a ſtill greater degree; as the labour of the twenty ſpare hands may be rendered more profitable and ſucceſsful.

The laſt paper contains an 'Account of the Culture and Produce of a Field of Potatoes in the vicinity of Leith,' communicated by James Bell, Eſq.

The 'Account and Deſcription of the Manner of Peparing any ordinary Ship's Boat, ſo as to render it in the higheſt degree uſeful in Preſerving Lives in caſes of Shipwreck, by the Rev. James Bremner,' contained in the Appendix, promiſes to be of great utility; as the Society, after having received a very favourable report of the boat from ſeveral competent judges, who examined and tried it, have directed copies of a deſcription and delineation of it to be ſent to the different ſea-ports of Scotland.

On the whole, we conſider the Diſſertations on Rural Economy, which occupy a great part of this volume, as almoſt entirely inapplicable to the ſtate of the Highland diſtricts, and unneceſſary in the other parts of the kingdom. More full, accurate, and impartial practical information muſt be obtained, before any general or permanent ſyſtem of improvement can take place in the Highlands. The prejudices and indolence of the peaſantry, and the feudal intereſts of the landlords, muſt not be ſuffered to interfere in the ſmalleſt degree. If work cannot be found for the former in their native country, it will be much better for the public, and ultimately for themſelves, that they ſhould go where it can be found, than that they ſhould continue to exiſt and multiply in indolence and wretchedneſs at home, neither able to ſupport themſelves, nor willing that others ſhould take their place. But we apprehend no removal would be neceſſary: The ſheep huſbandry would bring in with it manufactures, and, conſequently, villages and towns; which

which it is vain for the Society to plan, or the proprietors to build, (except on the ſea-coaſt for the encouragement of the fiſheries), while the preſent ſyſtem of huſbandry is followed. The landed intereſt ought certainly to conſider the increaſe of rent, which the ſheep huſbandry would introduce, as a ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of their feudal honours, power, and attendance.

If, beſide an entire change in the ſyſtem of huſbandry, the fiſheries, and the manufactures of woollen and bar iron were properly eſtabliſhed and regulated, the Highlands, inſtead of being thinly peopled with an indolent and wretched race, would become the abode of induſtry and comfort, and ſupport an increaſed population, not only in its own mountainous diſtricts, but over every part of the empire.

ART. V. *A Comparative View of the Public Finances, from the beginning to the cloſe of the late Adminiſtration.* By William Morgan, F. R. S. Second Edition. With a Supplement, containing an account of the Management of the Finances to the preſent time. London. Longman & Rees. 1803. 8vo. pp. 115.

SUCH of our readers as intereſt themſelves in the financial affairs of Great Britain, muſt be well acquainted with the writings of this acute and diligent calculator. The tract now before us, may be conſidered as a continuation of his 'Facts,' publiſhed in the year 1796. The object of both theſe performances, is to ſubſtantiate the charge of extreme profuſion of the public money againſt the late Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, in both, nearly the ſame mode of demonſtration is adopted. Our author details the various *items* of the national expenditure—the loans negotiated for providing ſupplies—the differences between the ſums received and the debt created—the permanent additions to our public burthens in conſequence of the augmented debt—and the ſlowneſs of the proceſs of liquidation, when compared with theſe augmentations. He lays before us a full view of all thoſe circumſtances of loſs and burthen, and compares their extent, during the laſt war, with their extent during the Seven-years war, and the American war. He finds that the amount of the loſſes incurred, and burthens impoſed in conſequence of the financial operations which the late conteſt rendered neceſſary, exceed in a very great proportion the ſimilar loſſes and burthens entailed upon the country by the two preceding wars, even after all due allowance is made for the different durations of the hoſtilities in the three periods; and he infers, that the miniſters

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under whoſe auſpices ſuch operations were carried on, are entitled, beyond any former adminiſtration, to the appellation of extravagant; that the late war has been ruinous beyond all previous example; and that the accumulated burthens of this country have now brought it to the very brink of deſtruction.

It is by no means our intention to follow Mr Morgan through all the ſtatements by which he ſupports theſe general poſitions. We ſhall, however, endeavour to exhibit a ſhort abſtract of the reſults of his calculations, which are formed apparently with great accuracy, and are certainly detailed in a very diſtinct and luminous manner. We ſhall then ſtate the general objections which we have to urge againſt the concluſions which he has thought proper to found upon theſe premiſes.

I. The chief expences of a war-eſtabliſhment, are thoſe of the army, navy, and ordnance. The average amount of the annual charges referable to theſe heads during the five years of war from 1755 to 1759 (both incluſive) was ſomewhat leſs than 8,800,000l.; the greateſt expenditure in any one year was above 13 millions; and the whole actual expence of that period, exceeded the whole eſtimated expence in the proportion of 1.43 to 1 nearly. The average amount of annual charges during the five years of war from 1778 to 1782 (both incluſive) was ſomewhat leſs than 17,600,000l.; the greateſt annual expenditure about 21¼ millions; and the proportion of the whole actual, to the whole eſtimated expences, nearly that of 1.76 to 1. The average of the annual charges during the five years of war from 1793 to 1797 (both incluſive), was above 25,800,000l.; the greateſt yearly expenditure, about 29¼ millions; and the proportion of the whole actual, to the whole eſtimated expences, that of 1.92 to 1. In the five years from 1798 to 1802 (both incluſive), the average yearly expenditure was above 29,400,000l.; the greateſt annual expence upwards of 34 millions; and the proportion of the whole actual, to the whole eſtimated expences, that of 1.27 to 1 nearly. *

II. In order to defray theſe extraordinary expences of the war eſtabliſhment, loans to a great amount have always been required. During the Seven-years war, from 1756 to 1762 (both incluſive), 48,600,000l. were raiſed in this way; during the American war, (1776 to 1782, both incluſive), 57½ millions were borrowed; during the firſt ſeven years of the late war, 141 millions, excluſive of the Imperial loan; and, during the three laſt years, nearly

* In the extraordinaries of this period, are reckoned various ſubſidies, viz. the Imperial, Ruſſian, Portugueze, and Bavarian, which are all charged to the army extraordinaries.

nearly 76 millions were raiſed in the ſame manner. When theſe vaſt ſums were borrowed, the credit of government was almoſt always ſo low as to render neceſſary the creation of a conſiderable fictitious capital of debt. In this way, the country, in conſequence of its difficulties, and of the ſcarcity of capital, came to be loaded with a debt much greater in amount than the money really received from the lenders; that is to ſay, it became bound to pay intereſt for more than they actually advanced, and could only redeem the principal at par, by paying the whole nominal amount. Calculating the annuities according to their value at the period of their commencement, the difference between the funded debt created, and the money received, was, during the Seven-years war, near 9½ millions; during the American war, near 29 millions; during the firſt ſeven years of the laſt war, about 77¼, excluſive of the loſs on the Imperial loan; and during the laſt three years of that war, above 39.

III. For paying the intereſt and other yearly expences of the debt thus contracted, various permanent taxes have become neceſſary, beſides thoſe extraordinary contributions which were levied during that part of the laſt war when an attempt was made to raiſe the ſupplies within the year. The burthens impoſed in conſequence of the debt incurred during the Seven-years war, amount to above 1,900,000l.; the American war added nearly 3¼ millions; the ſeven firſt years of the laſt war rendered an increaſe of nearly 6¼ millions neceſſary; and the three laſt years of the war entailed upon the country a farther load of above 2,900,000l., not including the income tax, upon which upwards of 56 millions were ſecured, and the repeal of which rendered new permanent taxes requiſite; ſo that the permanent addition made to the public burthens by the loans of the ſeven firſt years of the late war, may be reckoned at above 7½ millions, and the addition occaſioned by the three laſt years, at more than 3½ millions.

We ſhall now endeavour to exhibit, in the form of a Table, a comparative view (according to the foregoing details) of the expences, debts, and public burthens which have been occaſioned by the three laſt years; aſſuming the ſtatements for the Seven-years war as unity, except where a proportion is given.

A GENERAL TABLE of the RELATIVE EXPENCES of the THREE LAST WARS, the Expence of the Seven-Years War being taken as Unity.

Effects of War eſtabliſhments.	Seven-Years War.		American War.		Late War. *From 1793 to 1802 (both inclusive).*			
	Five firſt Years.	*Seven Years.*	*Five firſt Years.*	*Seven Years.*	*Five firſt Years.*	*Five laſt Years.*	*Seven firſt Years.*	*Three laſt Years.*
Average annual expence of army, navy, and ordnance - - -	1.000	—	2.000	—	2.944	3.340	—	—
Greateſt yearly expence of ditto - - -	1.000	—	1.634	—	2.250	2.615	—	—
Proportion of actual to eſtimated expence of ditto - - - - -	1.43:1	—	1.76:1	—	1.92:1	1.27:1	—	—
Total of money borrowed - - - - -	—	1.000	—	1.187	—	—	2.900	1.563
Difference between money received and debt created - - - - -	—	1.000	—	3.052	—	—	8.131	4.105
Taxes occaſioned by debt contracted -	—	1.000	—	1.705	—	—	3.947	1.842
Total increaſe of the funded debt - -	—	1.000	—	1.487	—	—	3.772	1.993
Columns - -	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.

This Table condenſes the whole argument which can be drawn againſt the late war, and the financial operations that accompanied it, from contraſting its expences with thoſe of the glorious conteſt which gained America and India, or with thoſe of the diſaſtrous ſtruggle which deprived us of half our foreign dominions, and ſhook the whole empire. By comparing columns I, III, V, and VI, an eſtimate is eaſily formed of the relative effects produced by the three wars, during the ſame period of five years; a compariſon of columns II, IV, and VII, exhibits the relative effects of the wars during the ſame period of ſeven years; and the VIII. column continues the compariſon through the laſt three years of the late war. All Mr Morgan's accuſations againſt the late adminiſtration, derived from comparing it with former miniſtries, are therefore comprehended in this Table; while the whole caſe is thus brought forward, as well as the part favourable to his ſide of the queſtion.

'From theſe ſtatements (ſays our author) the predeceſſors of Mr Pitt, by a ſyſtem of progreſſive extravagance, appear, during the courſe of a century, to have accumulated a debt of two hundred and thirty-two millions, which their more prodigal ſucceſſor, in ſeventeen years, has increaſed to more than five hundred millions. Compared, therefore, with thoſe of the late miniſter, how weak and contemptible are all former exertions! The maſs which, in other hands, required one hundred years for its formation, has, under his management, been doubled in one twentieth part of the time; and the nation, long accuſtomed to regard the approach of the debt to one hundred millions as an approach to certain bankruptcy and ruin, have been led, by the experience of his adminiſtration, to believe that public credit is almoſt as boundleſs as miniſterial profuſion. Beſides the addition of three hundred millions to the funded debt of the kingdom within the laſt eight years, a further ſum of ſix millions Sterling has been annually raiſed, from the year 1798, by triple aſſeſſments, voluntary contributions, income-tax, convoy duty, and other meaſures of finance, equally new and extraordinary. Had theſe enormous ſums been procured, like the reſt of the ſupplies, by the uſual method of a loan, it would have appeared that the expenditure of the preſent war had already added above three hundred and fifty millions to the capital of the Public Debt, or one hundred and twenty millions more than all the wars that have deſolated the country ſince the Revolution.' p. 13. 14.

The means by which the late miniſtry were enabled to borrow ſuch vaſt ſums, and to provide for the intereſt of the loans, are diſcuſſed by Mr Morgan in a ſuperficial and partial manner. The negotiation of loans could not, he thinks, be facilitated by the opulence of the nation, nor by the ſtate of its credit, ſince the poor-rates have been rapidly increaſing, and the funds have been lower than in any former period of our hiſtory. As ſoon as

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the terms of borrowing began to riſe conſiderably, various expedients were adopted for raiſing great part of the ſupplies within the year. During three years, extraordinary burthens were impoſed, in the form of triple aſſeſſments, voluntary contributions, and income tax, until the whole of the new ſyſtem of finance being found inadequate, and the calculations of its productive powers being completely diſappointed, recourſe was again had to the funding ſyſtem; and this has been revived with increaſed vigour, partly in conſequence of the relief given to the funds by the new meaſures of the former years, but principally in conſequence of the ſuſpenſion of ſpecie payments at the Bank of England, which enables that body to aſſiſt ſpeculators with unlimited credit, and of the diſaſtrous ſtate of trade which turns an unnatural proportion of the national capital into the public funds. He roundly aſcribes the ſtoppage of bank payments to the exportation of ſpecie occaſioned by the foreign loans and ſubſidies. The means adopted for providing the intereſt upon the new loans, have been taxes which are chiefly productive during a ſeaſon of war; and many of them have already failed in ſupplying the requiſite ſums. If, before the peace, thoſe impoſts preſented a deficit of half a million, our author predicts that more than eight times this ſum will be wanting after the war is concluded. With reſpect to the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund, a full and clear ſtatement is given of the effects which the war produced upon that part of the reſources; and it is proved, we think, with ſufficient preciſion, that Mr Pitt's eſtimates of the increaſe were generally much above the truth. According to our author, it would appear that, during ſeveral years of the war, the ſtatement of certain ſums as ariſing from the ſurplus, was only a transference to the ſame amount from monies raiſed by loan, or, in other words, certain ſums were borrowed and applied in defraying the charges upon the conſolidated fund, in order to be ſtated as a ſurpluſage in the produce of that fund. He admits, however, that in the earlier part of the war, the real ſurplus was conſiderable, at one time even much greater than its average amount during the previous years of peace. As to the ſtate of the fund during the preſent adminiſtration, our author declares that it is almoſt impoſſible to comprehend this or any other part of the finances, from the great obſcurity and confuſion which prevails through the whole revenue department. Several examples which he gives are, if accurately ſtated, ſufficiently demonſtrative of this ſevere charge.

'In ſhort,' he obſerves, 'the further we proceed in inveſtigating the ſtatements given of the public finances, the more we ſhall find the difficulty

difficulty increaſe of obtaining any ſatisfactory information from them. I do not know, indeed, that theſe accounts were ever remarkable for their perſpicuity, or for according with each other. But what was formerly perplexed is now rendered unintelligible; and the taſk of thoroughly underſtanding the preſent ſyſtem of finance, is become as hopeleſs as the attempt to reform it.' p. 95.

We have now laid before our readers the ſubſtance of the grounds upon which Mr Morgan accuſes the late adminiſtration of unexampled profuſion, and predicts the ruin of the finances from the diſaſters entailed by the late war on our national revenue. Without entering into a minute detail of the objections that may be urged againſt his ſtatements, we ſhall proceed to point out, as briefly as poſſible, the general defects which we perceive in the chain of his argument, more eſpecially in that very important link of it, which connects all his calculations and facts with the concluſions they are made to ſupport.

In the *firſt* place, admitting the general method of reaſoning to be correct, which our author adopts, it may be obſerved, that the caſe made out againſt the financial operations of the late war, by the comparative view formerly given, is far from being ſo ſtrong as he would have it to appear. The argument, in this point of view, appears to be, that all the diſaſtrous conſequences of the Seven-years war, were aggravated in the American war; and that, in the late conteſt, the evil has advanced with ſtrides ſtill more gigantic. Now, this is by no means conſiſtent with the detail, as may be ſeen from the comparative table above drawn up. Several very important effects of the war eſtabliſhment upon the finances of the country, are proved, by that table, to have increaſed in a much ſmaller proportion during the late war, compared with the American, than during the American compared with the Seven-years war. The average expence of the military and naval departments, for inſtance, was twice as much in the American as in the Seven-years war. The ſame expence was increaſed by conſiderably leſs than one half in the late war, compared with the American. Had the proportion been continued, that is, had the expence of the late war borne to the expence of the American war, the ſame proportion which the expence of the American bore to that of the Seven-years war, the military and naval eſtabliſhment would have been as 4.000 inſtead of 2.944 (Table, col. V.) The ſame remark may be made upon the greateſt annual expenditure, and upon the exceſs of the actual above the eſtimated expences of the war. In the ſtill more important article of the fictitious capital added to the debt by thoſe wars, the late war appears alſo to fall ſhort of the proportion. The difference between the money received and the ſtock created, was above three times greater in the Ame-

rican than in the Seven-years war. This difference was, in the laſt war, much leſs than three times its amount in the American war. (See Table, col. II. IV. & VII.) A great number of material conſiderations have, therefore, been altogether omitted by Mr Morgan on one ſide of the account, while he is endeavouring to ſtrike a balance.

But we may obſerve, in the *next* place, that ſuch compariſons are extremely unfair, if made without a much fuller conſideration of circumſtances. The ſucceſſive wars in which a ſtate engages at ſhort intervals of time, are far from being unconnected with each other in a financial point of view. They are not inſulated events, which may be compared without any allowance for their reciprocal influence. The credit of the country, in every conteſt, is neceſſarily affected by the event of the ſeveral previous conteſts which have in former years brought it into difficulties. If fifty millions were added to the public debt in the Seven-years war, much more than the ſame ſum muſt have been added to the debt in the American war, in order to raiſe as much money as was formerly procured for fifty millions. And, in like manner, the amount of the debt in conſequence of the two previous wars, neceſſarily rendered its increaſe more rapid during the late war than it would have been, if no former burthens of this nature had exiſted.

But, in the *third* place, we have a general and peremptory objection to the whole method of argument uſed by Mr Morgan in this performance. His object is to prove, not that our expences have been increaſed, but that our Government has been extravagant. Now, we do not conceive it poſſible to eſtimate the extravagance of Government during any war, by merely ſumming up the money diſburſed, and the debt contracted. This is only one ſide of the account; and to infer, from the reſult of the calculation, any poſitive charge of profuſion againſt thoſe who ſuperintended the diſburſement, is to be guilty of the ſame error that a merchant would commit, were he to boaſt of his profits, or complain of his loſſes, without ſtriking a balance in his books. Mr Morgan, in fact, endeavours to ſolve the queſtion, without attending to the neceſſary *data*; and the whole reſult of his calculation muſt, of conſequence, be indeterminate. There are only two ways in which a war can be demonſtrated to be extravagantly carried on. Either we may deny its neceſſity and utility, which are indeed one and the ſame thing; or maintain that the ſame object might have been obtained at a ſmaller expence. Mr Morgan expreſsly diſclaims all political diſcuſſions that are not neceſſarily involved in his examination of our finances; but we conceive that the political queſtion of the origin of the war, on the one hand, and

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the peculiar method of conducting its expenditure, on the other, are neceſſarily involved in the inquiry which he has undertaken to conduct. In his former works, he ſeemed to be aware of this conſideration; for he there attempted to ſhow, that the loans might have been negotiated on terms more advantageous to the public. In the preſent eſſay, he never once points at any ſuch compariſon; and, without a proof of this nature, or a demonſtration that the war ought not to have been waged, or, if waged, that it could have been carried on with ſmaller military and naval eſtabliſhments, or a ſtatement of the ſavings which might have been made in the diſpoſal of the revenue, all his calculations of the abſolute amount of loans, expenditure and taxes, preſent us only with a view of one ſide of the account—one part of the *data*, from which no concluſion whatever can be drawn as to the profuſion or economy of the Government.

Such being our general objection to the political logic of Mr Morgan in this pamphlet, we are the leſs anxious about the particular arguments which he has taken occaſion to intermix with his calculations. The melancholy proſpect which he holds out of the diminution that the revenue appropriated to defray the expences of the debt muſt experience after a peace, has been contradicted by the immenſe increaſe of that revenue during the laſt two years. The idea of the unlimited iſſue of bank paper allowing every needy ſpeculator to bid for loans in ſafety, is too obviouſly inconſiſtent with the facts reſpecting the bank buſineſs, to require any detailed refutation. The notion, that the unfavourable courſe of exchange which led to the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments at the bank was produced by the exportation of bullion to ſubſidize foreign princes, can ſcarcely be deemed any thing leſs than thoughtleſs and violent party declamation, in one who is ſo well acquainted with the vaſt commercial reſources of this iſland, who ſtates the whole amount of the foreign ſubſidies at little more than the comparatively paltry ſum of five millions, and who ought to be acquainted with the plaineſt principles of this branch of political economy. In fact, notwithſtanding our author's apparent predilection for arguments ſtrictly arithmetical, and his careful diſavowal of any deſire to enter upon political topics, we cannot help ſuſpecting that he has adopted this mode of reaſoning from figures, as the moſt plauſible and ſpecious plan of attacking the financial operations of the late miniſtry, and has avoided the diſcuſſion of more general ſubjects, only becauſe the reſult of ſuch a diſcuſſion muſt have eſſentially affected the application of his political arithmetic to the queſtion at iſſue. In ſpite of the purely arithmetical guiſe in which he attempts to veil his ſpeculations, and the unqueſtionable ſkill with which he conducts all his numer-

ical operations, we have no hesitation in pronouncing the performance to be completely factious in its whole design and execution, and eminently inconclusive in its principles of reasoning.

ART. VI. *Travels from Hamburg, through Westphalia, Holland, and the Netherlands, to Paris.* By Thomas Holcroft. Two vol. 4to. with folio plates. pp. 950. London, Philips, 1804.

FROM the pen of Mr Holcroft we expected at least something amusing; but the greater part of this work does not rise above the denomination of light reading; and light reading, when it is dilated into two capacious quartos, is apt to become as burdensome to the intellect as matter more substantial.

These travels are evidently composed in imitation of the Sentimental Journey of Sterne; and the model has been copied with such scrupulous exactness of imitation, that none of its faults are omitted. The offensive familiarity, the affected oddity and abruptness, the frequent interjections, the apostrophes to imaginary persons, the egotism and levity that distinguish the style of Sterne, are at least as remarkable in his imitator, as his wit, pathos, or originality. Such a manner of writing could only please, we should imagine, in the hands of the original inventor; and though it might help to set off a series of appropriate fictions, was evidently unsuitable for a distinct and continued narrative of real occurrences. Such is the style, however, which Mr Holcroft has thought proper to adopt as the vehicle of all that profound observation, authentic anecdote, and philosophical description, by which he flatters himself that he has paved the way to 'the formation of an universal and permanent code of ethics.' Of the common offences of such imitators, vulgarity, pertness, and trifling or absolute sillyness, Mr Holcroft has certainly his full share to answer for: It would be unjust, however, not to add, that he is occasionally lively, ingenious and amusing; that he is generally good-natured and tolerant; and that there is an air of authenticity in most of his narratives, that recommends them to the belief of the reader, in spite of the affectation of the language in which they are delivered.

The professed object of Mr Holcroft's book is to delineate the manners of the people among whom he travels; and, by fixing the facts and the philosophy of national character in the most important part of Europe, to enlarge the sphere, and increase the accuracy of our moral observations. He contrives, however, not to be very much constrained by the exclusive nature of his object; for whenever he finds himself disposed to describe a building, a picture,

picture, or a dinner, he immediately discovers that the manners and character of a people cannot possibly be better elucidated than by an inquiry into their taste in architecture and the other arts of refined life. In devoting himself to the delineation of national manners, Mr Holcroft was probably determined, not merely by the great interest and attraction of the subject, but, in some degree, by a consciousness of the limits of his own qualifications. To the naturalist—the man of science—the agriculturist—the merchant, or even the admirer of the picturesque, he does not pretend to be capable of affording either information or delight.

This book is entitled, *Travels* through Holland, Westphalia, &c. to Paris: but the reader will be grievously disappointed, if he expects to be amused with a moving picture, or a succession of new scenes and adventures through the whole of the performance. About one third of the first volume conducts Mr Holcroft and his family from Hamburg to Paris; and the remaining 800 quarto pages are entirely occupied with the description of that city, and with a full and particular account of every thing the author saw, heard, did, read, felt, thought or imagined, during the eighteen months that he remained among its inhabitants.

Mr Holcroft begins his work with some good plain observations upon the pain of parting with friends, and gives us a sober, dull narrative of the manner in which he was cheated by his landlady at Hamburg;—but he does not grovel long in this vulgar track; in the third page he flies off in this dramatic exclamation.

'How forgetful I am! Or rather how much I have to remember! Do, my good and dear Doctor, accompany these ladies, to whom you have always been so friendly, as far as the boat. I must run to the banker, and the bookseller, and above all to the man who has so disinterestedly and essentially served me, the friend whom I shall not easily forget, Mr Schuchmacher; with whom I have still some business to arrange.

'When did M******* refuse a kind office?' p. 3.

He gets over all his engagements, however, and arrives at the boat-house soon enough, as he elegantly expresses it, 'to take a parting glass' with his friends.

The next chapter sets off with this splendid specimen of the *onomatopoeia*—which is meant, it seems, to represent the action of smoking a pipe.

'Pff! pff! Hu, hu, hu! I am stifled!—Will you be kind enough, Sir, to let this lady sit on the other side of you? *Ja wohl, mein Herr:* sir—"Willingly, Sir: but—"

'This *but* was very significant. Every man had his pipe; and it was in vain to change places. We had lived two years among these eternal smokers.' p. 5.

In the end of the ſame chapter we have a very fair ſpecimen of the ſelf-complacency with which Mr Holcroft purſues his lucubrations, of the eaſe of his ſtyle, and the fineneſs of his feelings.

'Theſe marſh lands are uncommonly prolific; and their inhabitants are a very good kind of people. So be it. I bleſs my ſtars, I am but a paſſenger.

'I had ſuppoſed Harburg to be a village: and the imagination had ſome relief, as I approached, to diſcover it was a fortified town.

'It had juſt been taken poſſeſſion of by the Pruſſians; and this was another ſubject for meditation. It affected me. It brought to remembrance the conteſts of power, the ſufferings of the unoffending, and the whole train of melancholy reflexions by which the mind, diſpirited, fatigued, and worn, had been ſunk to apathy or deſpair. What do theſe men do here? ſaid I. Why do they not ſtay at home; and build bridges, repair roads, drain bogs, and fructify the barren ſands of Brandenburg? Would not this be to gain territory? Cannot ambition occupy itſelf more profitably and more nobly than in rapine? Ambition a noble quality? Oh, no! It is blind, ſelfiſh, ſtupid, and almoſt as ignorant as it is hateful.' p. 6. 7.

Of the country, Mr Holcroft aſſures us that 'nothing could be ſeen except *cold* and green nakedneſs;'—the inns, too, were very bad, and the *ſtuhl-wagen* jolted abominably. At Bremen he meets with a German petit-maître, who is not ill deſcribed; and at Delmanhorſt the ſight of ſome Pruſſian ſoldiers reminds him that the great Frederic was 'great for dealing in human ſlaughter.' At Groningen, where ſome of the natives were rude enough to laugh at the outlandiſh appearance of his party, Mr Holcroft takes occaſion to make the following profound and intereſting obſervations.

'Theſe are trifles; and in fact we laughed in turn. I ſuppoſe it was virtue in us, that we concealed our laughter from the objects of it: though I leave it to better caſuiſts to decide how far this kind of laughter, or, if they are in the humour to diſpute, any kind of laughter, is a mark of ſound ſenſe. I own, I wiſh I could laugh oftener: yet I am very wrong, if I wiſh for folly; and I do not very well know how pure wiſdom ſhould excite laughter. Bleſs us! we have many doubts to ſolve; and, as I fear, much rubbiſh to remove.

'Are we in the land of metaphyſics; or of moral philoſophy; or where? We ought to be at Groningen; ſober Groningen: where the people appear to have a deal of common ſenſe. Be it remarked, however, that here, in ſober Groningen, we met with the firſt tree of liberty.

'What warring ſenſations did the ſight of it inſpire! What is a revolution? And what has this revolution effected? The mafs of evil, and the mafs of good, put in oppoſite ſcales: which ſhall preponderate? I ſolemnly declare, in the face of mankind, my heart aches, oppreſſed

preſſed with a ſenſe of paſt miſeries, though I ardently hope, nay am ſeriouſly convinced,' &c. p. 42.

Mr Holcroft however does not always triffle or rave ſo abſurdly. His deſcription of a Dutchman, though not original, is correct and amuſing.

'The Dutchman, living in continual danger of inundation, and of loſing, not only the fruits of his induſtry, but his life, becomes habitually provident. His foreſight is admirable, his perſeverance not to be conquered, and his labours, unleſs ſeen, not to be believed.

'They aſtoniſh the more, when the phlegm of his temper and the ſlowneſs of his habits are conſidered. View the minuteneſs of his economy, the ſolicitude of his precaution, and the inflexibility of his methodical prudence! Who would not pronounce him incapable of great enterprize? He builds himſelf a dwelling: it is a hut in ſize; it is a palace in neatneſs. It is neceſſarily ſituated among damps, upon a flat, and perhaps behind the bank of a ſluggiſh canal: yet he writes upon it, *My Goenoye*, "My Delight;"—*Landluſt*, "Country pleaſures;"—*Landſigt*, "Country proſpect;"—or ſome inſcription that might characterize the vale of Tempe, or the garden of Eden. He cuts his trees into fantaſtical forms, hangs his awning round with ſmall bells, and decorates his Sunday jacket with dozens of little buttons. Too provident to waſte his ſweets, he cunningly puts a bit of ſugar-candy in his mouth, and drinks his tea as it melts: one mouſel ſerves, let him drink as long as he pleaſes. Around him is every token of care, caution, and cleanlineſs; but none, in his domeſtic habits, of magnificence, or grandeur of deſign.

'Having well conſidered him in theſe his private propenſities, the eye turns with amazement on his public works. The country, which nature appears to have doomed to ſtagnant waters and everlaſting agues, his daring and laborious arm has undertaken to drain, has overſpread with verdure, and has covered with habitations. The very element, which ſeemed to bid him utter defiance, he has ſubdued and rendered his moſt uſeful ſlave,' &c. Vol. I. p. 37. 38.

To this may be added, the following account of the general appearance of the lower orders at a Dutch fair:

'The chief thing which affects the eye of a foreigner, as ſomething unuſual, is the general coſtume; the dreſſes, phyſiognomies, and peculiar appearance of the lower claſſes, decked in their holiday finery. Broad pewter and ſilver buckles; large and ſmall buttons, both in excreſs, and both of ancient uſage; ſome with ſhort veſts, and others with coats down to their heels, each of them fitting cloſe, and ſhowing the waiſt; projecting hips, the men wearing eight or ten pair of breeches, the women at leaſt as many petticoats; ſtockings of various colours, not excepting purple, red, and yellow; peaſant girls in ſhort jackets, with their gold ornaments and rich Bruſſels lace; tobacco pipes, various in their form and ſize; and countenances with a frequent tinge of the

livid. These are a few of the many marks which catch the stranger's eye, and characterise the people.' Vol. I. p. 91. 92.

It is not long, however, before Mr Holcroft returns to his favourite style of consequential trifling; and, among other things, is obliging enough to communicate the process of thought by which he was enabled to discover how there were no water-mills in a country where there was no running water. This is done with great solemnity, as follows:

'An observation had forced itself upon me, soon after I entered the United Provinces. The country abounds in water, and the Dutch neglect no opportunity of profiting by the gifts of nature; yet I do not recollect to have seen a single water-mill. The reason was before us. There were innumerable canals, but no streams: it was almost a level surface.' Vol. I. p. 77.

As an instance of great humour and originality, we then find the pleasure of meeting with an intelligent man, who speaks your language abroad, compared 'to the green mould of Cheshire cheese;' and afterwards, upon mentioning the fatigue which his wife suffered from the rough shaking of the diligence, an imaginary personage is brought in to say—

'But how could you be so cruel to your wife as not to travel in your own carriage, so built as that she might repose at her ease?

'Ay, dear Madam, how indeed! And how could you and others, who may question me, be so cruel as not to provide her with such a carriage? Though I perfectly know the disgrace annexed to it, I will whisper a secret to you, trusting to your generosity not to make it public. The man, to whom Fortunatus left his purse, was not a poet. Do not imagine, dear Madam, that I complain. Oh no!' &c. Vol. I. p. 117.

A little farther on, we are told—

'*Cars* drawn by dogs *is* a common *practice* here. It is highly condemned by some writers in Paris, where likewise the practice is not unknown; and I do not think the powers of the animal are well calculated for this labour. Is it not very wrong to pervert the animal powers?' Vol. I. p. 127.

If Mr Holcroft had not written his novels with a little more spirit and meaning, we can scarcely imagine that they would have been in such request even at the circulating libraries. In entering France, he endeavours to compare the impressions which the general appearance of the country makes upon him, with those which he received when he first visited it in 1783. The following remarks are rather interesting.

'In passing through France formerly, the variegated colours of the land in cultivation always caught the eye of an Englishman, as a singularity. In perspective, they looked like long stripes of riband; in different shades of yellow, brown and green. The reason of this was,

that

that different peasants had each his long slip of land to cultivate, and that each grew the species of plant or grain which suited his purpose, or pleased him best. We remarked these appearances still, but I think much less frequently.

'The wretched mud huts, of which I had formerly seen such numbers, many of them still remain: I believe, but dare not affirm, they are diminished.

'Two things to the advantage of the present moment I can speak of, without any doubt or fear of misleading: the peasants are now better clothed, in general, than they were; and their looks I will not say are more merry, but rather more sedate, yet more truly cheerful. There still are many beggars among them; but the numbers now are not so great. If the large and spreading picture of poverty, I may say of wretchedness, be not exceedingly lessened, I am exceedingly deceived. The last day of our journey was Sunday; and we saw too many of the people, both old and young, cleanly in their dress, and with satisfaction in their faces, for these signs of ease and better days to be mistaken. The rags, the poverty, the harassed looks, the livid tints, the pictures of misery, I had formerly seen, cannot be forgotten.' Vol. I. p. 134. 135.

All traces of sober inquiry, or rational speculation, however, are dispelled as soon as he comes within sight of Paris; and he breaks forth into this edifying soliloquy:

'Permit me to pause. Recollection is a duty. Why am I here? The question confounds. I have parental ties that call on me, and family affections to indulge: but the grand purpose of my journey is to examine and endeavour to understand a nation, by which, during twelve years, the world has been held in astonishment. And who am I, that I should undertake this labour? It is no trick, no oratorical flourish: no; by the honesty of my soul, I shrink and tremble at my own temerity! Paris, the city which sat in judgement on ages past, while the present, involved in the decree, waited in dread to hear! Paris, whose mandates to-day were the emanations of divinity; to-morrow, the rules and ordinances of the damned! Paris, whose intrigues nothing less than omniscience could comprehend, nothing less than omnipotence could disentangle! Paris, whose frivolities Folly herself despises, while Wisdom stands enraptured at her science! Pretend to give the world a picture of Paris?——Let me recover!' Vol. I. p. 139. 140.

The *entrée* itself, which was made at midnight, is described in a very pompous manner, but not without some force of colouring.

'The streets reverberated; the reflecting lamps cast the broad shades of the massy stone buildings: they were so lofty that they concealed the skies; and we seemed to be winding through intricate and endless caverns. These are not fanciful pictures, but real impressions, such as the place is calculated to give. *La rue Bouloi* is in the centre of Paris; and to that we were driven.' Vol. I. p. 143.

Among

Among other *bizarre* reflections that ſuggeſt themſelves at the view of thoſe barriers by which the proſcribed were formerly ſhut in for deſtruction, Mr Holcroft, to prove his orthodoxy, obſerves, 'Would they had been the walls of Jericho, and that the horns of rams had been ſounded before them!' There is then a long account of his negociation about lodgings; and in the 160th page he finally takes a poſition, and begins his grand work of obſervation.

Of the remainder of this work, we find it extremely difficult to give any diſtinct account. It is made up of ſuch a multitude of unconnected trifles, and exhibits ſuch a collection of ſuperficial and minute obſervations, that it is utterly impoſſible to give any intelligible abſtract, and extremely difficult to find any grounds for ſelection. Coffee-houſes, quack-doctors, ſign-poſts, hand-bills, illuminations, feſtivals, public places, courtezans, education, adultery, actors, artiſts, &c. &c. are all treated of by Mr Holcroft in the moſt copious, diſorderly, and deſultory manner imaginable. The deſcription of what he ſees, bears but an inconſiderable proportion to the expoſition of what he thinks; and the neceſſity of making a large book, has diſtended the account of what he reads, to a bulk ſtill greater than either. In going over this miſcellaneous aſſortment, we ſhall no longer pretend to follow the arrangement of the author, or to preſent our readers with any thing like a complete account of the innumerable objects he has introduced to their notice. As a ſpecimen of the kind of entertainment that may be expected from this great work, however, we ſhall endeavour to give a view of thoſe parts of it that appeared to us moſt extraordinary and amuſing.

As we cannot perſuade ourſelves, with Mr Holcroft, that the moſt inſtructive traits of national character are to be found among the hawkers, the jugglers and ballad-ſingers of a great city, we rather chooſe to extract the following general obſervations on the preſent coſtume of the nation.

'The revolutionary ſpirit has not been limited to political and civil inſtitutions; it has pervaded every department of life. Monks and abbés, with muffs, ſilk coats, arm hats, and all the affimilating coſtume, have diſappeared. The well-dreſſed men are either military, or habited ſo like the Engliſh as to ſeem almoſt the ſame people. They are chiefly to be diſtinguiſhed from us by difference of deportment, difference of phyſiognomy, and by an overgrown buſh of hair on each cheek.

'But the well-dreſſed men are very few: the revolution has far from entirely corrected the propenſity of the lower orders to ſlovenlineſs. Long pantaloons, once put on and never changed till they are entirely worn out, linen not fit to be ſeen and therefore concealed, a great coat dangling to the calf of the leg, buttoned up and worn alſo while it will laſt,

hat, a rusty round hat, uncombed hair, fierce whiskers, a dirty chin, and a handkerchief tied not under but over it, and not of muslin or silk but of coarse-coloured linen rarely washed; such is the figure not perhaps of the majority, but certainly of great numbers of the men to be met of an evening, even in coffee-houses; such are hundreds of the figures that crowd together at all hours of the day, and walk the Palais Royal, fill the billiard rooms, and exhibit themselves in all public places where the entrance is free. At some even of the dancing gardens on the *Boulevards*, they find it necessary to write over the door—'Admittance to persons decently dressed.'

'The French character is enterprising, forward, impelled by curiosity, not easily repulsed, and with little of that shyness which in the English is sometimes pride, and sometimes a foolish feeling of shame, but often likewise a decent sense of propriety. It appears as if a Frenchman imagines he has only to show himself to be admired. If he publicly write, speak, or act, he assumes importance. If his portrait be painted, his head must be thrown back, his breast forward, and his air must either be smiling, dignified, or disdainful: in his own language it must *impose*.' p. 169. 170.

The reader may also take the following picture of the Boulevards.

'Stalls of dirty books; trestels with toys; sellers of cakes and canes; fan-menders, bead-stringers, beggars, quacks, tumblers, and show-booths; fellows displaying tricks of legerdemain; venders of miraculous dyes and powders, who dip bits of white ribbon in a liquor that turns them pink; orators parotting over twopenny systems of geology, and the order of the universe; teachers of secrets that will enable the buyer to cut glass under water, etch landscapes upon egg-shells, engrave portraits by pricking paper with pins and dusting it with lamp-black: these, intermingled with the display of milliners, linen-drapers, print-sellers, and a variety of trades, continued through an avenue two miles in length, spacious, enlivened as I have said with carriages, and adorned by lofty trees, gardens, and hôtels, with the gates, or rather the triumphal arches of St Denis and St Martin, the structure that was the Opera House; these, I say, and thousands of other objects, which no memory can retain, if the reader can arrange and put them together, will form a something that he may imagine to be the *Boulevards* of Paris.'

After four or five chapters of similar, but more detailed description, Mr Holcroft comes to give an account of the *national festivals* which he had occasion to witness during his stay in Paris. Upon this subject, our readers will perhaps be surprised to hear that he has bestowed upwards of 120 pages, although the *spectacle* and preparations were very nearly the same in every one of them. Concerts, illuminations, temples of painted boards, firing of artillery, dancing and displays of agility, formed the grand ingredients of all those exhibitions; but though Mr Holcroft goes over all this detail with as much fatiguing exactness as could be found

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in a herald's account of a coronation, it would ſtill have been impoſſible for him to have filled one third part of the ſpace we have mentioned, had it not been for two notable devices. The one is, by taking a retroſpective view of all the feſtivals, proceſſions, and public rejoicings which hiſtory repreſents as having taken place ſince the foundation of the royalty within the precincts of Paris. By the aſſiſtance of Saint Foix and Dulaure, he accordingly goes back to the time of Charles VI. and Louis XI., and entertains his readers with a long and particular account of the myſteries and pantomimes, and the ſaints and heathen deities that were conjured up for the delight of the Sovereigns and people of thoſe days. He then comes to the tournaments and emblematic pageantries of a ſucceeding age; and paſſing leiſurely through the claſſical affectations of Louis XIV., terminates his hiſtorical review with a minute deſcription of the great feſtival of the Federation, which was celebrated in the Champ de Mars on the 14th July 1790. Having thus arrived at the modern period of the hiſtory of French feſtivals, when books can no longer be found to tranſcribe, Mr Holcroft has recourſe to his *ſecond* contrivance for prolonging his own deſcriptions, and the gratification of his readers. This conſiſts in tranſcribing at full length the various addreſſes, decrees or enactments by which the ſolemnity was appointed, and alſo fairly copying over the program or advertiſement in which the particulars of it are always announced to the public. With this advertiſement in his hand, Mr Holcroft then proceeds to ſurvey the actual appearance of the exhibition; and is miſchievouſly particular in pointing out where the execution was defective, and in what particulars the preparations were incomplete. Few things, we acknowledge, have been more fatiguing to us than this proceſs of verification: nor are we to this hour altogether ſatisfied that the national character is completely elucidated by ſtating that the Temple of Concord, which ought to have been open in the morning, was not ready till the afternoon, or that the national column was erected of rafters covered over with painted paper. In a humour if poſſible ſtill more childiſhly ſentimental, Mr Holcroft then exclaims againſt the abominable brutality of making diſcharges of artillery a part of any joyful ſolemnity, and laments that 'the peaceable world ſhould be thus wantonly reminded of carnage, deſtruction and horror, by the command of its governors.' A little after, we have a coarſer ſentence about 'the ox and frog monument of that chief of the Bobadils, Louis XIV.'

After Mr Holcroft is happily delivered of his diſſertation on feſtivals, he preſents us with a number of looſe remarks upon national prejudices, which are leſs novel than juſt, and more remarkable for their liberality than their acuteneſs. He then ſtrings together

together a number of common-place anecdotes, and ſtories of Gaſcons, waiting-women and profeſſors. We do not think any of them worth repeating. After ſome bewildering diſcourſes on the nature and cauſes of a Frenchman's partiality to Paris, we are ſurpriſed to find ourſelves engaged all at once in an abſtract diſſertation on the ambiguity of language. This iſſues at laſt in ſome common-place lamentations over the unſettled notions of *honour* that prevail in the world; and ſo totally does Mr Holcroft forget that he is writing travels in France, or at leaſt a deſcription of Paris, that he favours his Engliſh readers with a *diatribe* on the horrors of boxing, and coolly copies out for them the account given in the Morning Chronicle of the famous match between Belcher and Firby in April 1803. From this he makes an eaſy tranſition to the ſubject of duelling, the antiquities of which he details with great preciſion, and digreſſes into the kindred topic of ordeals by fire and water; upon all which he is as learned and ſatisfactory as if his ſubject had compelled him to treat of them upon a very ſhort warning.

Theſe diſquiſitions carry us a little way into the ſecond volume, when we meet ſomewhat abruptly with this pathetic exclamation—

'Honeſty and preciſion of language, oh! when ſhall your benign influence purify the heart, make it bluſh at its cowardly GLOSSARIES, bid it ſhrink from diſſimulation, and, while it detects the practice, accuſtom it to abhor the conſequences of hypocriſy!' Vol. II. p. 26.

This pious ejaculation turns out to be the prelude to a long hiſtorical account of the gallantry and habitual adultery of the French, in which is engroſſed an abridged hiſtory of all the royal miſtreſſes from the days of Philip the Long and Charles VII. down to thoſe of Louis XV. This edifying legend occupies nearly forty pages; and twenty more are filled with extracts and tranſlations from interludes, epigrams, and ſatires, illuſtrating the unaltered corruption of modern manners. Upon this important ſubject, we cannot help regretting, that Mr Holcroft has not been able to come to a clearer concluſion. This is the oracular ſentence with which he diſmiſſes it—

'Though I dare not affirm, I hope and *believe* the number of wives faithful to their huſbands is the greateſt: yet what I have ſo frequently obſerved makes it with me *exceedingly doubtful.* Vol. II. p. 61.

He adds in another place—

'I can teſtify that French women, as well young as old, will, without ſcruple, and it may by miracle be without meaning, beſtow their kiſſes unaſked, and deſcribe charming gardens and retired groves, in which they will invite you to walk, propoſing themſelves to be your guide.' Vol. II. p. 84.

Upon

Upon the ſubject of decency and cleanlineſs, Mr Holcroft philoſophiſes and exemplifies, in a manner that is in the higheſt degree nauſeous and diſguſting, though we really believe that he does not intend to give any offence. This inquiry ends in a diſcourſe upon dreſs; for the full elucidation of which, all the faſhions from the time of Francis I. are made to paſs in review; and upon the alternations of faſhion between London and Paris, he is pleaſed to obſerve, that 'it cannot be denied that theſe things are indications of that higheſt of all high conſiderations, the ſtate of mind and of morals.' A little after, he ſays, with ſtill more ſolemnity, but at the ſame time with all the laudable caution that was natural in venturing upon ſo alarming a remark,

'There is an aptitude in the mind to ſyſtematiſe on its own conjectures: Of this, I wiſh the reader to be aware, when I ſay I am miſtaken if female decency, nay, if chaſtity and morals, be not injured by the *diſuſe of hats* which has ſo long prevailed in France.' Vol. II. p. 117.

We paſs over the author's treatiſes on courtezans and on nurſes, in the latter of which he maintains that many an old woman has more power than Bonaparte. On the new plan of education, by central and departmental ſchools, he only obſerves, that the Firſt Conſul has engroſſed to himſelf the whole patronage and regulation of theſe inſtitutions; and that, in the polytechnic ſchool at Paris, in particular, it is an underſtood thing, that if the father or relation of any ſtudent expreſs diſapprobation of the government, the boy is immediately expelled. During the war with Touſſaint, all the youths of colour were diſmiſſed with ignominy.

Mr Holcroft admits that the French have ſome pretenſions to politeneſs, though their merit in this way, he ſays, lies chiefly in that *forbearance* by which quarrels and outrages are generally avoided. Many of the obſervances to which they aſcribe ſo much importance, he juſtly conſiders as mere local and arbitrary uſages; and, in ſome points, he endeavours to ſhow that their manners are abſolutely rude. In proof of this, he alludes to the *quizzing* which his ſpectacles and ſpencer drew upon him from the populace, and to the ingratitude of diverſe individuals to whom he lent books at the opera, and ſhowed other civilities. The charge, however, we will confeſs, becomes more ſerious, when he adds, that he repeatedly ſaw women of the town *kicked* in the *Palais Royal* by the waiters; and that in one of the theatres, an old gentleman actually ſtruck a lady with his fiſt, in conſequence of ſome diſpute about a place. The pit, he adds, is always extremely turbulent at Paris, and abſolutely rages as often as a lady lays her cloak or handkerchief over a box, or turns her back upon the audience.

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Mr Holcroft next calls in question that gayety of heart on which the French are so apt to value themselves. His first reasons for doubting its reality, did not indeed appear to us to be very substantial—the height of their houses, for instance, and the darkness of their court-yards and *portes cocheres*, or the heavy form and dusky colour of their furniture. The frequency of suicide, however, is an argument rather more convincing. In the *Morgue*, a place in Paris where dead bodies are deposited till they be reclaimed, upwards of 130 are supposed to be annually exposed; but as the fashionable mode of death is by drowning, the victims must be much more numerous. Mr Holcroft was informed from a very respectable quarter, that there had been 193 suicides in the metropolis within the last ten months, and about as many in the departments. Beggars are more numerous in Paris than in London, but, in general, not so importunate. Credulity and superstition still retain a good deal of influence over the lower orders, though Mr Holcroft thinks that the hierarchy will never be able to renew either its tyranny or its impostures.

The association of ideas by which Mr Holcroft is guided in the distribution of his subjects, is rather more capricious than most authors would choose to follow in a serious composition. In speaking of credulity, he happens to glance incidentally at the general behaviour of the Parisians in places of worship; and this leads him to give some account of the festival observed on the birth-day of Bonaparte, *because* the greater part of it was solemnised in churches: and then the mention of this festival naturally leads him to say something of the character of the First Consul himself. This, however, is a subject which cannot fail to attract curiosity in whatever way it may be introduced; and Mr Holcroft has contributed his quota of anecdotes and reflections with great good will and liberality. The great interest of these speculations, however, is now over: among those who live beyond the sphere of his power, there is no longer any dispute about the character of this fortunate usurper. Mr Holcroft, with all his admiration for energies and sublime capabilities, is obliged to admit the selfish littleness and violence of his temper, and to allow that he is merely acting over the vulgar part of an ambitious tyrant, with all its common accompaniments of rant and atrocity. There is something of a poetical rapture in the style which he assumes upon this occasion; but it is the best written part, we think, of his performance.

'Of republicans he was the first, the most magnanimous, and the least to be suspected: the love of freedom, the emancipation of slaves, and the utter expulsion of bigotry, were the pictures he delighted to exhibit to the admiring world. Cæsar, nay, Alexander himself, who professed

profeſſed to conquer only to civiliſe, appeared to be outdone by a ſtripling; a ſcholar from the military ſchool; concerning whom his playmates began now to ranſack memory, that they might diſcover in what he had differed from themſelves.' Vol. II. p. 272.

The world, in general, only changed their opinion by degrees; but Mr Holcroft detected the hypocrite in one deciſive act.

'The unhappy period at length approached, that was to ſhow him a character of vice and virtue ſo dangerouſly combined, as to alarm penetration, and warn the world to beware. He landed in Egypt; and, by a ſtroke of his pen, he and his whole army became Muſſulmen.

'Every doubt was then removed: he was a man to whom, could he but gain the end in view, all means were good.' Vol. II. p. 273.

The ſame propenſity to account for every thing by the ſuppoſition of ſome ſingle and palpable cauſe, induces Mr Holcroft to aſſure us, that the tyranny of Bonaparte ariſes almoſt excluſively from his having been accuſtomed to command armies before he aſcended the ſeat of civil dominion. The following obſervations, however, are entitled to attention.

'Accuſtomed to gain the grandeſt advantages by ſecrecy of plan, celerity of action, and thoſe ſtratagems that beſt can maſk and miſlead, the ſame habits remain, and the ſame means are adopted, when the conqueror ſeizes on the rule of ſtates as when he ſends forth his cohorts to the plunder of cities, and the capture of provinces. He alone muſt project; he alone muſt command; reward and puniſhment muſt be at his ſole diſpoſal: no community, no ſingle creature muſt act but as he wills. That to make his will known is impoſſible; that it varies in himſelf from day to day; that men cannot reſign their intellect, cannot reſiſt the impulſes of habits and the deciſions of the judgement; and that the taſk of regulating the actions of millions by the will of an individual is the moſt extravagant and abſurd of attempts—are truths of which he has no knowledge, or has loſt all recollection.' Vol. II. p. 277.

The barefaced violence by which all the journals were ſilenced, but thoſe which became the organs of the government, has been long known over all Europe. Mr Holcroft adds a number of well authenticated facts of the ſame nature, and mentions the names of ſeveral unfortunate authors who were ſentenced to baniſhment or impriſonment for having written what did not meet with the approbation of the Firſt Conſul. Even his philoſophical aſſociates are now excluded from his preſence; and, on ſome occaſions, the contempt with which he treats the adulation which his tyranny has extorted, reminds us of the capricious inſults of Tiberius to his degraded ſenate.

'In the true ſpirit of French declamation, ſome one affirmed, ſpeaking to Bonaparte, that England was far behind France in truly underſtanding the principles of liberty: To which he replied, "It would be

be well for the latter, if it did but enjoy one tenth part of Englifh freedom."

'He will feldom condefcend to argue; and, when he does, he confiders it as infolence, in any one, who dares to be of a different opinion.' Vol. II. p. 288. 289.

In every fociety, Mr Holcroft affures us, Moreau is praifed, and advantageoufly contrafted with Bonaparte. 'Their buffs,' he adds, 'are expofed to fale on every ftall; and before I left Paris, that of Moreau was faid to fell much the beft.'

'According to good information, the ungovernable anger of Bonaparte is become fo exceffive, that, when a meffenger brings unpleafant news of any kind, but efpecially if it relate to foreign affairs, the perfons in waiting are each afraid of being the reporter. His fits of paffion are fo violent, that it is faid he is now frequently provoked to ftrike; and that it is very common for his footmen to receive blows.' Vol. II. p. 301.

Mr Holcroft fays, that he has every reafon to believe that the angry and intemperate attacks upon the Englifh nation, which appeared in the *Moniteurs* during the peace, were written by the Firft Conful himfelf.

'From an engineer, who was with him in Egypt, I learned that it was his cuftom, when he had fummoned a council of war, to liften to the opinions of others, to give no opinion himfelf, to act in a manner that could be leaft expected, and to do this with fuch determination and celerity, that, faid the narrator, it was like a torrent. So great was his afcendancy, that, when he was prefent, the generals acting under him appeared like fo many fchoolboys.' Vol. II. p. 303.

In executing thefe plans, it is notorious that he is utterly indifferent to the waffe of life that may be occafioned: he has no fympathy with the fufferings of his followers.

'During the extreme fummer heats in Italy, it happened that the enemy was certain on fuch a day that his army was at fuch a diftance. It was well known that forced marches were with him common occurrences: but the feafon would not admit of them, without an abfolute and certain lofs of men; which muft be exceffive in proportion as their fpeed fhould be great.

'Bonaparte was not to be retarded by fuch motives. On this very occafion, he iffued his orders as he lay in the warm bath, of which he makes frequent ufe, and the men were driven forward, the foot by the horfe, with fuch violence that thoufands perifhed on the march. Some remonftrances were attempted by the officers, but they were repulfed with contempt and threats. The horfe and advanced troops fecured various paffes, the fuppofed impoffibility was overcome, the enemy attacked, and the end of the conqueror obtained. A whole diftrict fell the common prey; and the living, in the triumph of victory and the revel of plunder, thought no more of the dead.

'The contributions he laid were without mercy; and his treatment

of the magiſtrates of the conquered, when they ventured to make any ſtrong appeal againſt cruelty or injuſtice, was ſuch as man would ſcarcely beſtow on a dog.' Vol. II. p. 307. 308.

We ſhall conclude theſe extracts with the following phyſiognomical ſketch.

'Sallow complexion, length of face, a pointed noſe, a projecting chin, and prominent cheek-bones, have diſtinguiſhed the countenances of fanatics and perſecutors. Fanatics and perſecutors were often men of powerful minds, but violent paſſions; and between ſuch men and Bonaparte, allowing for times and circumſtances, in phyſiognomy, in talents, and in manner of acting, there is great reſemblance.' Vol. II. p. 320.

We cannot go through the remainder of this work. It conſiſts principally of a *catalogue raiſonnée* of all the public performers of any eminence, and of the men of letters and authors whoſe names are in circulation in Paris. It alſo comprehends a rapturous account of the national muſeum, of which the following ſentence may ſerve as a ſpecimen.

'The harmonious *Guido; Barbieri, Corregio, Titian, Da Vinci*, and *Raphael!* Giants, that exterminate their imitators: each a Saturn, devouring his children.

'Why do I indulge in a ſtyle that reſembles rhapſody? It is, that I am vainly ſtruggling to perform a taſk to which I am unequal. It is, that multitude and volume palſy all effort to individualize, and give me the right to ſay, go, and behold, that thy eyes may bear teſtimony to the truth.' Vol. II. p. 439.

After a ſhort *reſumé* of his obſervations on coffee-houſes, gaming-houſes, and priſons, Mr Holcroft leaves Paris, and returns to England by the way of Calais, without meeting with any adventure.

Upon the whole, we think that this book is a great deal too long, and that it has attained this magnitude by the moſt intrepid and extenſive application of the approved recipes for book-making that has yet come under our conſideration. If every thing were deducted that has no relation to the preſent ſtate of the countries which the author propoſes to deſcribe, and every thing which is tranſcribed from books that might as well have been conſulted at home, the publication, we are perſuaded, would be reduced to one third of its preſent bulk. The lofty pretenſions, too, with which the author ſets out, and the ſolemnity with which he continually ſpeaks of his labours, form a ridiculous contraſt with the inſignificance of the matters upon which he has reſted his attention. Inſtead of dwelling only upon thoſe things which poſſeſſed in themſelves ſome degree of intereſt or attraction, he has attempted to tranſport his readers into Paris, by ſetting before their eyes every thing which his own could diſ-

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cover in that ſituation; and has thought there was no way ſo ſure of omitting nothing characteriſtic or important, as by ſetting down every thing that occurred, and thinking nothing too trifling to be omitted. In this way, he has undoubtedly brought forward ſome groupes in a lively and animated manner; but he has taken all dignity, unity and diſtinctneſs from his performance, conſidered as a whole; and has crowded and confuſed its inferior compartments in ſuch a manner as ſcarcely to leave any other impreſſion on the eye of the obſerver, but that of diſorder and fatigue.

Of the ſtyle and language of this book, a tolerable judgement may be formed from the extracts we have already given. Its ruling vice is affectation, which is frequently combined with a greater degree of grammatical inaccuracy than is uſual, even in works of this deſcription. In the preface, the author informs us, that 'his principal ſubject is the city of Paris, its inhabitants, and the marks by which *they* are diſtinguiſhed from other *cities* and other nations.' A few pages afterwards, he chooſes to ſay, 'In their common diſcourſe much, and in their daily actions more, the opinions of a people are broadly written.' He talks alſo of 'murders and atrocities, *ſuch as the very image of makes* the ſoul revolt;' and of 'four children, *none of whom not* having a parent's care,' &c. He informs us, moreover, that '*cars* drawn by dogs *is* a practice,' &c.; and that a man with a dirty ſilk coat was 'ſurveyed *with continued repetition* by his companions.'

This book is very handſomely printed, and the plates have the dimenſions at leaſt of magnificence: the greater part of them, however, are very indifferently executed; and the two general views of Paris are in every reſpect abominable. The vignettes are by far the beſt, and many of them are both deſigned and finiſhed with great taſte and elegance.

Art. VII. *Memoires du Compte Joſeph de Puiſſaye, Lieutenant General, &c. &c. qui pourront ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du Parti Royaliſte Français, durant la derniere Revolution.* 2 vol. London, E. Harding & Dulaw. 1803.

M. Puiſſaye has devoted his retirement in Canada to the vindication of his character from charges which have obtained a very extenſive circulation. He informs the public, that he has compoſed theſe volumes under the preſſure of an almoſt uninterrupted ſtate of bad health, and that, from that cauſe,

he is obliged to offer them to the world in an unfiniſhed ſtate; and it is ſo uncertain whether he ſhall live to complete the taſk he has begun, that he has made arrangements for the publication of the papers to which he meant to refer, in caſe of his deceaſe.

In the firſt of theſe volumes, he delivers his ſentiments on the cauſes which produced the French Revolution, and the events which followed, down to the diſſolution of the firſt National Aſſembly. The ſecond volume contains an account of the meaſures adopted by M. Puiſſaye to form a Royaliſt army in Normandy and Brittany, down to September 1794, when he came to England to concert meaſures with the Britiſh Government. In this volume M. Puiſſaye's perſonal adventures and conduct occupy the greater part of the narrative; and many hiſtorical anecdotes are related, which have hitherto been little known to the public.

M. Puiſſaye's reflections on the cauſes which produced the French revolution, are delivered with ſingular temper and moderation. He imputes the whole to the diviſions and diſunion which prevailed in every order of the State. Our readers are probably well acquainted with many of the abuſes which led to the downfal of the ariſtocracy of France; but much more than uſual is aſcribed by our author to the diviſions which prevailed between the nobleſſe of the Court and of the provinces. The courtiers were poſſeſſed of all ſituations of power or emolument, while the provincial nobility were precluded, by the prejudices of their order, from filling many of the moſt important ſituations in life. The ſtudy of the ſciences, the exerciſe of the liberal arts, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, were almoſt entirely engroſſed by men whom the higher nobility conſidered as an inferior claſs. Although they occupied nominal ſituations, and poſſeſſed a fictitious preeminence, they had loſt every thing which could give them a real preponderance in the event of a ſtruggle. Their degradation was completed by the venality of the Court. Every office, every ſpecies of diſtinction, was bought and ſold. Titles were ſo rapidly multiplied, that every freſh creation made thoſe who had formerly been enobled impatient for ſome new promotion. At the ſame time that the ſtate of the nobility was ſuch as indicated the weakneſs of the government, the people poſſeſſed few privileges which could give them any attachment to the conſtitution of their country. Some of the provinces indeed had the right of holding meetings of the ſtates according to the capitulations by which they had been united to the Crown of France; and hough this *privilege* had been reduced to the right of making remonſtrances, which were generally repreſſed by menaces, or anſwered

ried by time, place and accident, and they will read the hiſtory of their fathers, of their deſcendants, or perhaps of their own æra.'

The reſult of M. Puiſſaye's reaſoning is, that a foundation had long before been laid for the French revolution; and if the ſame opening had preſented itſelf, a political change of the ſame magnitude might have taken place in the time of Lewis XV. Theſe obſervations bring forcibly to our recollection a ſtriking paſſage in one of Lord Cheſterfield's letters. After taking notice of the changes which had taken place in the opinions of the French nation, upon matters of religion and government, his Lordſhip concludes: 'In ſhort, all the ſymptoms which I have ever met with in hiſtory, previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exiſt and daily increaſe in France *.' This opinion was delivered at a time when many perſons, deceived by the exterior ſplendour of the French monarchy, conſidered it as fixed on the ſureſt foundations, and when diſappointed politicians lamented the inſtability of a mixed government.

The preliminary part of the work before us preſents ſo large a field for obſervation, that we feel ourſelves obliged to omit many diſcuſſions which the peruſal of it has ſuggeſted. There is one fact which we have already taken notice of, which appears well worthy of obſervation; that a ſtriking difference was perceived between the conduct of thoſe provinces which poſſeſſed ſome ſhadow of a free government, and that of thoſe which enjoyed no protection againſt the inroads of arbitrary power,—that theſe provinces afterwards ſhowed a ſuperior degree of energy and reſolution in arming themſelves againſt the tyrannical meaſures of the revolutionary government. This fact is peculiarly important, from the ſtriking illuſtration it affords of the energy with which men poſſeſſed of rights and of privileges may be expected to act, when they are forced into a conteſt with tyranny and oppreſſion.

Another fact of the ſame deſcription occurs in the courſe of the narrative. The emiſſaries of the convention endeavoured to ſtir up the people of Normandy, by propoſing an agrarian law; a doctrine which has ſo many charms for the lower ranks of every ſociety. The landholders in this province were, however, ſo much more numerous than in other parts of France, that the orators found themſelves obliged to relinquiſh that topic, and were in danger of being deſtroyed even by the populace whom they had endeavoured to ſeduce.

We ſhall now lay before our readers, ſome of M. Puiſſaye's reflections upon the particular events which preceded the Revo-

* December 25. 1753.

lution, during the reign of Lewis XVI. Our author pronounces a moſt eloquent eulogium upon that unfortunate Monarch; and aſcribes his misfortunes to the meanneſs and perfidy of his courtiers. We are told, that when they deceived him, they availed themſelves of his love of juſtice, his regard for worth, and his diffidence in his own talents. The Queen is deſcribed as poſſeſſing every thing which could render her an object of love and admiration. But ſhe was ſurrounded by courtiers, whoſe compoſition was perfidy, whoſe profeſſion was deceit. They had recourſe to every art, and aſſumed every diſguiſe; and ſeemed by turns humane, compaſſionate, diſintereſted, enthuſiaſtic in behalf of virtue, and indignant at vice. In the midſt of ſuch a ſcene of deception, it was almoſt impoſſible for perſons of virtue to approach. All lucrative ſituations were ſecured by the flatterers; but from the diviſions which took place amongſt them, the miniſtry was always in too precarious a ſituation to be an object of their ambition. They preferred the advantage of diſpoſing of it, to the riſk of poſſeſſing it.

The events which more immediately led to the Revolution, are already known to our readers *. Our author's remarks upon them are thoſe of a diſpaſſionate obſerver. The only character to which he diſcovers any partiality, is that of M. Caloone; and he records ſome anecdotes †, that reflect great honour upon the memory of that unfortunate ſtateſman.

M. Puiſſaye concludes the general view he takes of the cauſes of the Revolution, with obſerving, that although his ſpeculations upon them may appear very remote from the hiſtory of his life, he conceived it neceſſary to enable his contemporaries to judge of his conduct ſince the Revolution, by putting them in poſſeſſion of the opinions and principles which he held before it. He then enters upon his private hiſtory. He is deſcended of one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in Perche, and was originally deſtined for the church; but abandoned his ſtudies at an early age, and obtained a commiſſion in a regiment of cavalry. He afterwards left the army, and married in 1788. In the year following, he was elected to repreſent the nobility of Perche in the States-General, without any ſolicitation on his part. The inſtructions with which he was then provided were, to renounce for his conſtituents all claim to pecuniary immunities; but not to conſent to any impoſt until the conſtitution ſhould be ſettled upon the baſis of an acknowledgement of the inherent powers of the States-General to make laws and impoſe taxes. It was recommended to him to ſupport the diviſion of the States into ſeparate deliberative bodies.

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* No. I. Art. I. † Vol. II. p. 9.

The firſt queſtion which divided the Nobles was, whether the powers they received from their conſtituents ſhould be examined by all the orders, or by each order ſeparately? Both the majority and minority of the Chamber of Nobles conſidered this as deciſive of the great queſtion, whether the three orders ſhould deliberate together, or ſeparately? Our author, with a degree of refinement which ſuch queſtions do not appear to admit, voted for having the powers of each repreſentative examined by all the orders, though he, upon all occaſions, declared his reſolution to oppoſe the legiſlative junction of the three orders. In vindication of this conduct, M. Puiſſaye maintains, that every member of the aſſembly had a juſt right to be ſatisfied with the powers of thoſe who exerciſed legiſlative functions. The queſtion he conſidered as in itſelf too trifling to be conteſted, and as likely to exaſperate the third eſtate, from whom more ſubſtantial conceſſions were to be required. We muſt obſerve, that, independently of the endleſs diſputes to which ſuch an examination would give riſe, the members of every repreſentative body are beſt acquainted with the rights of their conſtituents, and are moſt intereſted to preſerve them. It may ſometimes be neceſſary, in order to counteract the effects of partiality and intrigue, to delegate ſuch a taſk to a ſmaller number, on whom the reſtraints of character and reſponſibility may operate more powerfully. But it never can be a wiſe meaſure, to place minute and tedious inveſtigations in the hands of a more numerous body. Neither can we agree with M. Puiſſaye, that ſuch a conceſſion was likely to produce any good effects.

Our author gives many ſtriking inſtances of the intrigues and cabals which prevailed at this time. He complains loudly of the monotony of talents which prevailed, and of the want of a man of commanding genius, able to awe and repreſs the ſilly orators, who daily came forward, and who were ready to ſacrifice every principle to the pleaſure of making a ſpeech. What our author lamented, was a matter of exultation to others. A courtier who ſat near M. Puiſſaye could not conceal his ſatisfaction 'at having as yet heard nothing which made him feel any apprehenſions;' and added, that 'he began to think that he would have ſome weight.' Vol. I. p. 223.

M. Puiſſaye then illuſtrates his favourite poſition, that the downfal of the monarchy cannot be attributed to the effort of any individual, or of any party, by a ſketch which he draws of Orleans.* It is too long to lay before our readers; but we ſtrongly recommend

* Vol. I. p. 238.

mend it to their peruſal, as ſhowing uncommon acuteneſs, and great powers of obſervation. The concluſion which he forms is, that no party exiſted during the firſt years of the Revolution. No faction poſſeſſed that degree of union, attachment, or mutual cooperation which could entitle them to ſuch appellation. The Orleans faction, he obſerves, ſo far from forming a party, to which the fall of the ſtate can be attributed, was merely the reſult of the general relaxation of order, and the imbecility of the government.

M. Puiſſaye, from having voted with the minority on the firſt queſtion, was invited to attend their meetings, and was at laſt perſuaded to go to one held at the Marquis of Monteſquiou's, maſter of the horſe to Monſieur, now Lewis XVIII. He was then ſurpriſed to find, along with the deputies of the minority, at leaſt an equal number of thoſe who in public acted along with the majority. Nothing remarkable took place at this meeting, or nothing which could induce our author to vary from the principles which he had already adopted, of avoiding all political connexions. In conformity with the inſtructions of his conſtituents, and his own opinion, he ſteadily oppoſed the meaſure of uniting the three orders into one chamber. This important meaſure was at length agreed to by the Court, after a feeble ſhow of oppoſition, which deprived them of any temporary popularity which ſo important a conceſſion might have produced. Our author conſidered this as a meaſure which was calculated to lead to all the diſorders which afterwards took place; and his firſt reſolution was to reſign his ſeat, and retire to his province, until he ſhould be called upon to act. By the advice of his friends, however, and the entreaties of his conſtituents, he was prevailed upon to remain; but when he returned to the Aſſembly, he gave in a proteſt againſt the union of the three orders, and refuſed to deliver up the inſtructions of his conſtituents. After giving an account of the violent meaſures which were daily adopted by the Aſſembly, our author enlarges upon the diſgraceful partiality with which they paſſed over the riots of the 5th and 6th of October, in which, according to the report of the *Chatelet*, the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, and many others of the Aſſembly, were deeply implicated. Some of the minority ſigned a proteſt againſt it. Our author, who had not been acquainted with their intentions, drew up a declaration of the ſame nature for himſelf, which was inſerted in the Gazette of Paris.* M. Puiſſaye complains that ſome

* M. Puiſſaye cautions the reader againſt confounding the *Gazette de Paris* with the *Journal de Paris*,—papers diametrically oppoſite,

ſome of the agents of the Royaliſt party at Paris afterwards endeavoured to ſpread a report, that he had belonged to the faction of Orleans; and he refers to a letter from *Brothier* and *La Villeheurnay*, which proves that they wrote to him that they intended to reprint M. Puiſſaye's declaration, and to diſtribute it anew, at the very moment when they were privately propagating theſe falſehoods. This, our author obſerves, is but a ſmall ſpecimen of the intrigues and infamous devices by which he has been aſſailed for a long courſe of years.

Though M. Puiſſaye had retained his ſeat in compliance with the wiſhes of his conſtituents, and occaſionally attended the meetings of the National Aſſembly, he determined to take no active ſhare in its deliberations. He felt that even reaſon, eloquence, and truth, could have no effect upon men who were determined to reſiſt conviction; and he therefore reſolved not to ſanction the proceedings of an Aſſembly which he conſidered as illegal, by becoming one of its orators. He then lays before his readers a letter addreſſed to the Compte d'Artois, in 1797, in which he vindicates himſelf from the charge of having ſat on the left ſide of the Aſſembly. He throughout kept the ſame ſeat which had been appointed for him as a repreſentative of the nobility; and when the members afterwards came to arrange themſelves according to their factions, the one upon the extremity of the left ſide, and the others upon the right, he, along with ſome other repreſentatives of the nobility, retained the ſeat which had been originally aſſigned him. He conceived that ſtruggles and intrigues in that place could now be of no avail; and he endeavoured to form thoſe connexions which might be of uſe in the more ſerious conteſt which he foreſaw to be approaching. He occaſionally attended the Aſſembly, to prevent any ſuſpicions being entertained with regard to him; but he refuſed to become a member of any of the committees for which he was elected, and avoided all connexion with clubs or ſecret aſſemblies. When the King came to the Aſſembly, M. Puiſſaye took the conſtitutional oath along with the other members. He was, however, by no means blind to the glaring defects which that Conſtitution contained. After expreſſing his contempt for its authors, and enumerating its defects, he obſerves—

'This is, however, that conſtitution which I have ſworn to maintain along with twenty-nine thirtieths of France. I do not blame thoſe who refuſed to do ſo; but I conſidered it as the laſt reſource, as the only weak prop which might ſtill ſupport for a time the ſtate, which was already on the point of diſſolution: and I have not heſitated to ſacrifice my own ideas and perſonal intereſts to that motive.' Vol. I. p. 372.

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The ſtate of affairs, at this period, was widely different from what it was at the commencement of the Revolution, when delay and uncertainty were moſt pernicious; but, now, it was by delay alone that a favourable opportunity could be obtained. The next remarkable circumſtance which occurred after the King's acceptance of the conſtitution, was his flight to Varennes; a ſtep, which was occaſioned by the outrages of the one party, and the ſolicitations of the other. Our author obſerves, that on this, as well as on many other occaſions, the Royaliſt party adopted the very meaſures which their enemies wiſhed them to take. After the King's flight to Varennes, and his arreſt, he no longer enjoyed even the appearance of freedom which made his orders binding; and our author felt that the conſtitutional oath was annulled in point of fact, and that the time was come when force alone could reſcue France from the abyſs in which it was almoſt ſwallowed up. Our author had to chooſe between two meaſures—that of emigration or inſurrection; and he preferred the latter. Subſequent events, he aſſures us, have not affected his opinion upon that ſubject. He felt that it was his duty to ſave his King and his country; and it did not occur to him to begin by abandoning both. (Vol. II. p. 6.) The interior of the kingdom offered much greater reſources for the formation of a Royaliſt army; and the meaſure of aſſembling an army in a foreign country, where they muſt be entirely dependent on the powers with which they connected themſelves, was calculated to defeat the ſucceſs of the plan.

M. Puiſſaye enters into a diſcuſſion of the policy which it was expedient for foreign nations to obſerve when the French Revolution broke out; and he maintains, that the true intereſt of foreign powers was to avoid all offenſive meaſures, and to form a defenſive league to prevent any encroachment upon the part of the Revolutionary government. Before the Revolution, France was an object of jealouſy to the other powers of Europe, from the extent of its territory, and the character of its population. When it changed its government, it was likely to become ſtill more formidable. Offenſive operations were, however, directly calculated to increaſe the power of the Revolutionary rulers, and to afford the means of forcing various claſſes of men to concur in their meaſures, who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to oppoſe them. The ſame concluſions are drawn from a particular conſideration of the policy of each individual nation. The combined powers, according to M. Puiſſaye, deviated from that policy, from views of aggrandizement which they were encouraged to entertain from the aſſurances they received of the weakneſs of the French government. The retreat

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of the Duke of Brunſwick, which has often been conſidered as ſo great a myſtery, may thus be explained upon obvious principles. He entered France with the idea that he was to meet troops without courage or diſcipline, and an army whoſe officers were either ignorant of their profeſſion, or diſpoſed to betray them. The arrangement which had been made in that perſuaſion, and the expectations which had been built upon it, fell at once to the ground, when he found himſelf oppoſed by an army commanded by a moſt ſkilful general, who, after retreating from one ſtrong poſition, was able to occupy another ſtill more formidable. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that Pruſſia then perceived its miſtake, and returned to that ſyſtem of policy which ſhe ought at firſt to have obſerved. It is noway improbable, however, that many ſecret intrigues may have taken place at this period. They would depend upon the ſtate of the Pruſſian Court, and may have been as extraordinary and as myſterious as ſome writers have repreſented them. They are however to be conſidered, in that inſtance, as the reſult of a change of policy which naturally took place when that power diſcovered the groſs error upon which it had proceeded, and not as the cauſes which produced it.

M. Puiſſaye, although he expoſes the errors committed by the emigrants, profeſſes the higheſt veneration for many individuals who were the victims of a high ſenſe of honour, and of the moſt diſintereſted attachment to the cauſe of Royalty. The meaſure of emigrating, he obſerves, was adopted at the inſtigation of men who were ſtrongly influenced by their own perſonal ſituation; whereas thoſe who were able to remain in France, and who were by far the moſt numerous body, were the perſons whoſe intereſts ought to have been principally conſulted. M. Puiſſaye calculates that the emigrant army, before it was diſmiſſed, amounted to no more than 30,000 men; while ſome inſolated individuals in *Poitou*, in *Bruttany*, and *Anjou*, raiſed at different times upwards of 500,000 men. M. Puiſſaye therefore conceives that he does not overrate the magnitude of the army which might have been raiſed, if the French noblemen had remained in the country, when he ſtates it at a million. He then anſwers the objection, that if the nobles had remained in the country, they would have been maſſacred in detail without being able to make any reſiſtance. He obſerves, that the greater part of thoſe who emigrated, were obliged to leave their aged relations, their wives, and their children behind them, expoſed to all the violence of the reigning tyrants; and from his own experience, he declares, that the republicans were not ſo much diſpoſed to indulge in maſſacre or pillage, when they knew

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there was a powerful party in the country able to retaliate upon their perſons and their property. In juſtice to the emigrant armies, he obſerves, that their conduct has ſufficiently ſhown, that the nobility of France were eager to expoſe their lives, where that could promote the ſucceſs of their cauſe: And if they had remained in the country, many of the maſſacres would have been prevented by the apprehenſions of the cowardly aſſaſſins who effected them. If the emigrants had remained in the country, they would have had no occaſion to court the protection of foreign powers; and therefore, any negociations they entered into with them, would have been made upon a more independent footing, and they might have acted in concert with them without injuring their own cauſe.

M. Puiſſaye endeavoured to follow out the views of inſurrection which he had formed. The inhabitants of *Meuilles*, who were ſufficiently numerous to form a battalion, unanimouſly choſe him their commander. The diſtrict of *Devereux* afterwards had recourſe to him to ſuperintend its organization, and he obtained the command of about 4000 men. The meaſure of emigration now came to operate generally, and thoſe who reſorted to that meaſure adopted it with enthuſiaſm: on the other hand, thoſe who did not concur in it, became violent on the other ſide. The refuſal of invitations to emigrate produced reproaches, which were followed by threats. The Royaliſts even went ſo far as to keep liſts of the dates of emigrations; and a week ſooner or later was held to form a ſhade of difference in their pretenſions. So confident were they of ſucceſs, that they conſidered thoſe who were late in joining them, as intruders among thoſe on whom the rewards of the reſtoration were to be beſtowed. In theſe circumſtances, few men could remain neutral, except thoſe feeble ſpirits who, in times of diſtraction, endeavour to ſave themſelves by keeping up connexions with both parties. The number of ſuch men, we are told, was immenſe (Vol. II. 68, 69.); and it was only in Brittany, Poitou, Anjou, and ſome of the ſouthern parts of France, that any energy was ſhown. M. Puiſſaye, however, found a ſufficient number of men whom he could depend upon, to intruſt with the moſt important ſtations. All that he could do with the reſt, was to lead them indirectly to the object he had in view. While he was employed in procuring the information, and forming the arrangements neceſſary for his purpoſe, the horrors of the 10th of Auguſt took place. The electoral aſſemblies were at that time convoked, to elect their repreſentatives in the Convention. M. Puiſſaye was upon the point of being choſen; but the Jacobins had recourſe to

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an intrigue, which prevented his election. Our author declares, that although he took no ſteps to obtain votes, he would have accepted the ſituation. He had no longer the ſame motives to reſtrain him from acting, which had operated ſo powerfully upon him in the Conſtituent Aſſembly; and he thought that his efforts might have contributed to preſerve the life of the King, and that the ſituation would have been favourable to the plans he had in view.

Baron Wimpffen, the defender of *Thionville*, was one of the perſons whoſe aſſiſtance M. Puiſſaye was moſt deſirous to procure. He did not at once diſcloſe to him his ultimate deſigns, but propoſed to him the meaſure of raiſing an army of the line in Normandy. He repreſented to him the probability, that undiſciplined troops raiſed in other parts, would be ſent there under the command of ſome ignorant and inexperienced Jacobin, and that this inconvenience would be avoided by raiſing an army entirely compoſed of men in the country commanded by M. Wimpffen. M. Puiſſaye engaged to get the two departments of *l'Orne* and *l'Eure* to propoſe the plan, while Wimpffen undertook for the departments of *Calvados* and *La Manche*. M. Wimpffen appeared to enter into all his views, and M. Puiſſaye entertained hopes of ſaving the King, which were ſoon afterwards diſappointed by his ſudden trial and execution. After this event, General Wimpffen was choſen commander of the army which was to be raiſed in Normandy, and our author was placed at the head of his ſtaff. The army was to conſiſt of 17 or 18,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry. There was at that time at *Caën* a regiment of light cavalry newly raiſed, commanded by Colonel *Dumont*, a brave and loyal officer.

While M. Puiſſaye was employed in carrying on theſe arrangements, the downfal of the *Girondiſts* took place. The members of that party who eſcaped from Paris, endeavoured to prevail upon the provinces to take up arms in their behalf. M. Puiſſaye had no attachment to their characters or plans; and declares he has no doubt that, if they had ſucceeded, they would have ſubjected France to a tyranny not leſs odious than that which was ultimately impoſed upon it, though probably more permanent, as the work of greater reflection. In the preſent ſtate of his preparations, he felt that adopting their cauſe would be ruinous to his deſigns; though, if his preparations had been farther advanced, he might have availed himſelf of the opportunity to overthrow the power of the convention. He was invited to attend a general aſſembly of the members of the diſtricts and municipalities at *Alençon*; and the meeting ſeemed diſpoſed

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to adopt the cauſe of the fugitives, when his opinion was aſked. He prevailed upon them to take no further ſtep than that of ſending deputies to conſult with the other departments. He was prevailed upon to go as one of theſe deputies; and on his way he received intelligence that *Wimpffen* had been forced to accept the command of the inſurrection, and that when he at firſt refuſed to do ſo, his life was threatened. M. Puiſſaye felt himſelf called upon to abandon his own opinion, and join his commander. When they met, Wimpffen confirmed the accounts which he had received upon the road, and, from the language he held, ſhowed he had no expectation of ſucceſs. M. Puiſſaye now felt himſelf bound to uſe every exertion to ſupport his friend and commander. When he returned to *Alençon*, he found that a material change had taken place in the ſentiments of the people. The Jacobins had uſed every meaſure to make themſelves popular; and M. Puiſſaye was reminded that he had held very different ſentiments a few days before. It was in vain he repreſented that the other departments had not at that time declared themſelves, and that it was neceſſary to do nothing with precipitation; but that after having determined, it was their intereſt and duty to join in a cauſe which was now no longer that of individuals. The intrigues and money of the Convention, however, prevailed, and it was with difficulty that our author eſcaped from *Alençon*.

The events which followed are minutely detailed, and are ſuch as might be expected to take place in an inſurrection of men, whoſe ſentiments and ideas were ſo widely different. *Schœrer*, afterwards miniſter of war, was appointed to command the troops oppoſed to them by the Convention. M. Puiſſaye was ſent to ſtop his march; and took the poſt of *Coſberil*, after a ſlight reſiſtance. In this command, he had many difficulties to contend with. Each of the battalions of volunteers brought along with them one or two commiſſaries from their reſpective departments, who claimed a right to direct, or at leaſt to be conſulted upon all occaſions. *Bougon*, procureur-general of the department of *Calvados*, was particularly abſurd and troubleſome. Some perſons ſuſpected him of holding a correſpondence with the Convention. M. Puiſſaye acquits him of that charge; but, at the ſame time, deſcribes him as one of thoſe vain and weak characters, who, while they graſp at every perſonal advantage, in caſe their party ſhall ſucceed, endeavour to ſecure a retreat in caſe of failure. When M. Puiſſaye determined to attack the enemy, *Bougon*, after uſing every expedient to prevent a meaſure ſo oppoſite to his ſentiments, conſoled himſelf, by drawing up a proclamation, which he

he inſiſted on having read, even after the enemy had begun their fire, in order, as he ſaid, that it might at leaſt be known that *they had begun firſt.* The engagement took place upon the 14th of July, near the Caſtle of *Brécourt*, which is ſituated between the foreſts of *Vernon* and *Pacy.* The troops of the convention began the attack. They were, however, thrown into confuſion upon the firſt charge. M. Puiſſaye was then deſirous to purſue them; but he found that his cavalry, who were not accuſtomed to the ſound of cannon, were thrown into confuſion —the enemy got into the woods—and the commiſſaries inſiſted upon the danger of ambuſcades and maſked batteries in caſe they purſued. M. Puiſſaye then wiſhed to return to *Pacy*, where he would be ſecure from ſurpriſe; but the commiſſaries oppoſed this alſo, and magnanimouſly inſiſted upon keeping poſſeſſion of the field of battle. After giving orders for placing the proper guards, M. Puiſſaye, who had ſuffered ſeverely from exceſſive fatigue and the heat of the weather, which had brought on an attack of the eryſipelas, had not been above two hours in bed, when he was awaked by an attack of the enemy. Finding that they were not purſued, the conventional troops had rallied, and had paſſed the outpoſts, without being perceived by the guards, who had fallen aſleep. The greater part of M. Puiſſaye's troops immediately took flight, and cried out they were betrayed. One corps alone remained. In the midſt of the confuſion, M. Puiſſaye, with ſome difficulty, got two guns pointed at the enemy, which diſmounted one of their cannon. They immediately ceaſed firing, took to flight, and their cavalry did not ſtop until it arrived near Verſailles. The confuſion on the part of the victorious troops was however irretrievable. Although there was no enemy near them, no perſuaſion could induce them to return to the ground they had occupied. Even the patroles that were ſent out, were ſo much terrified, that before they had gone a mile and a half, they returned with aſſurances that the enemy was in their immediate neighbourhood. This panic was deciſive of the fate of the inſurrection. The money diſtributed by the emiſſaries of the convention completed what terror had begun; and M. Puiſſaye was obliged to follow his troops to *Evereux*, and afterwards to *Caën*. *Wimpffin* propoſed, if he could have obtained a thouſand men, to have maintained a ſtrong poſition before Caën; but none were willing to engage in the ſervice, and they were obliged to ſeparate.

The whole of theſe tranſactions are extremely characteriſtic of the ſtate of the country, and of the conduct of the perſons and troops engaged in the buſineſs upon both ſides. The inſurgents either retired to places of concealment, or endeavoured to obtain terms from the convention. *Carrier*

entered Rennes, and made all that affected diſplay of humanity which the revolutionary cut-throats at one time thought proper to profeſs. Tranſparent lamps, repreſenting the national colours, were hung up in the ſtreets upon a rejoicing which took place. *Carrier* went up and down the ſtreets breaking with his ſtick thoſe tranſparencies which were red. 'That colour,' ſaid he, 'fills me with horror—it conveys ideas of blood.' *Carrier* held this language! Vol. II. p. 216.

M. Puiſſaye, with ſome other aſſociates, retired into Brittany, where he remained for ſome time in concealment. We do not wiſh to diminiſh the intereſt our readers will take in reading the book, by anticipating the account of the many eſcapes and adventures he paſſed through. He found a great party of the people diſcontented with the Convention, and others decided Royaliſts. Moſt of their prieſts ſtill remained among them in diſguiſe, and were concealed in mines and places under ground. M. Puiſſaye vindicates them from the charge which has been made againſt them, of endeavouring to excite their pariſhioners to revolt, by employing tricks and fanatical devices. Our author declares, that in the midſt of all their perſecutions, they uniformly preached doctrines of the pureſt morality. M. Puiſſaye gradually obtained the confidence of the people among whom he was concealed, and was invited to place himſelf at their head. His plan was, to form his partizans into very ſmall parties, and to accuſtom them gradually to face an enemy. He was aware that if men are undiſciplined, it is impoſſible for them to act with effect in large bodies. His reflections upon this ſubject, though they have rather the air of a moraliſt than of a revolutionary leader, ſhow great powers of diſcrimination.

'True courage,' he obſerves, 'is the reſult of reflection. It is a proſtitution of that word to apply it to the effects of any paſſion, although they ſometimes ſupply its place. Experience confirms and developes it. I have ſeen a man who had run away before my eyes at the firſt ſound of a ſhot, after ſome experience face the greateſt dangers with intrepidity. It is abſurd to ſay ſuch a nation is brave—ſuch another is not. There is not a nation, on the face of the earth, which has not at ſome periods been diſtinguiſhed for its valour. If we go back to thoſe periods, we ſhall ſee, that this courage, ſo much celebrated, proceeded from long ſervice. There is no more merit in being brave after a few battles, than in making good ſhoes after a long apprenticeſhip. A ſoldier is formed like an artizan. The firſt National Guards of France began by flying tumultuouſly before the allied armies. Hardened by experience, they would have removed the frontiers of their country to the boundaries of Europe, and overturned the world. In this reſpect, thoſe powers, whoſe armies took but a ſmall ſhare

ſhare in the laſt war, have loſt more than they are aware of, in caſe, what is more than probable, Europe ſhall again become the theatre of war, before the other nations ſhall have loſt, by repoſe and tranquillity, the incalculable ſuperiority they have received. This obſervation the accuracy of which is proved by every day's experience, confirmed me in my fixed reſolution never to expoſe myſelf to an important defeat by aſſembling too great bodies together, and to ſpare the lives of men who, although at firſt timid, and perhaps, even on a ſecond occaſion not much at their eaſe, would ſooner or later become excellent ſoldiers. On this account, I had at firſt introduced the cuſtom of diſperſing, if victory did not very ſoon declare itſelf in our favour. All the roads and by-paths were known to our troops; the enemy, who were ignorant of them, found it impoſſible to purſue; and the inhabitants of the country either gave them falſe information, or conducted them into ambuſcades. When the enemy was broken, that circumſtance operated againſt them. Their defeats were followed with ſlaughter. Thoſe of the Royaliſts did not coſt them the life of a man.' vol. II. p. 416.

From other paſſages which occur in theſe Memoirs, theſe remarks muſt be underſtood with conſiderable limitations, and as applying only to the mechanical or inſtinctive influence of fear. M. Puiſſaye ſeems fully aware of the powerful effect of moral motives upon the conduct of men, in enabling them to act with ſuperior courage and energy. In the courſe of theſe Memoirs, he frequently celebrates the heroic qualities of his countrywomen. Upon moſt occaſions he employed them to reconnoitre the enemy, and to procure intelligence, and they executed their truſt with great intrepidity and addreſs.

The tyranny of the Convention, and the cruelties exerciſed by the Jacobins, greatly augmented the numbers of M. Puiſſaye's partizans. The frequent executions which took place, while they awed the inhabitants of the towns, rouſed the inhabitants of the country to revolt. The victims were by no means ſelected from the higher ranks of the people: the loweſt claſſes ſuffered equally. After the decree which was paſſed againſt what were called the enemies of the people, perſons of all deſcriptions were involved in the maſſacres which took place. The firſt perſon who was condemned in conſequence of this decree, was a hackney-coachman, accuſed of having formed a conſpiracy againſt the people. M. Puiſſaye aſſures us, (vol. II. p. 491.), that beſides the regulations which carried away men of theſe claſſes from their wives and children, and the blood they ſhed in order to raiſe a few of their pretended friends to ſituations in which they inſulted their miſery, nine tenths of the victims who periſhed on the revolutionary ſcaffolds, in *noyades* and *fuſillades*, were compoſed of the loweſt claſſes of the people. Amidſt the many melancholy reflections to which the peruſal of theſe ſtate-

ments muſt naturally give riſe, the mind is ſomewhat relieved by the many inſtances which are related of humanity, fidelity, and heroiſm upon the part of the lower ranks. At a time when the tyranny exerciſed by the Jacobins was ſuch, that the diſcovery of any article of dreſs of a finer texture, a ſhirt or a piece of fine linen, was ſufficient ground for condemning the inhabitants of the houſes, M. Puiſſaye met with kindneſs, fidelity, and protection. In all the plans which he afterwards formed, the great cauſe of his ſucceſs was the tyranny of the Jacobins; and the moſt formidable obſtacles he encountered, aroſe from the imprudence of the emigrants, and the conduct of the allied powers. Political information was now widely diffuſed through all ranks of the people. They required ſome aſſurance that the threats originally held out by the Royaliſts ſhould not be realized, and that the abuſes of the old government ſhould not be reſtored. M. Puiſſaye obſerves, that the French Princes have been ſtrangely deceived when they were told (p. 395.) that a word or an order was ſufficient to put all the Royaliſts in France in motion. This was not language to be held, when they were not able to afford protection or offer rewards, and had not a gun or a piece of money to beſtow. M. Puiſſaye obſerves, that

—'attachment to principles, love of your country and your king, and devotion to the cauſe of religion and of the laws, are aſſuredly reſpectable and powerful principles; but it is chimerical to ſuppoſe that they are ſufficient, if they are not ſupported by the feeling of individual intereſt, which is ennobled by theſe motives. That feeling is neceſſary to bind together a maſs compoſed of ſuch various and unequal materials. I have ſeen few Royaliſts who have not ſuffered more or leſs from the effects of the Revolution. I have not ſeen one of the partizans of that party who did not expect to gain more or leſs by declaring in favour of it.'

There appears a great deal of truth in theſe obſervations, though it will not be eaſy to perſuade princes of their juſtice.

M. Puiſſaye ſteadily adhered to his plan of organizing a large force, and avoiding any great enterprize, until he ſhould have a reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs. In order to complete his arrangements, he left the departments of *Ile and Vilaine*, in which he had chiefly reſided, and traverſed that of *Morbihan*. After having acquired the neceſſary information, he ſet out, on the 15th of September 1794, for England, in order to concert meaſures for a cooperation upon the part of that power.

Theſe intereſting Memoirs here terminate where they become moſt important; and it is with ſome anxiety we look for the continuation of them which is promiſed, and which will include an account of the events which led to the peace of *Prevalaye*, and the fate of the expedition to Quiberon.

It

It would be premature to offer any obſervations upon M. Puiſſaye's conduct, before we are poſſeſſed of the ſubſequent part of his Memoirs. It is in that part we expect to find an anſwer to the moſt important charges which have been brought againſt him. We have no heſitation in recommending theſe two volumes to our readers as the work of a man of very ſuperior talents. The occaſion upon which they are written, and the ſituation in which they were compoſed, are a ſufficient excuſe for many defects which a little care and attention might have removed. We cannot help, however, expreſſing our regret that an author who is able to write ſo well, ſhould have ſo frequently fallen into that diffuſe and declamatory ſtyle which has for many years been too prevalent among French writers.

The political reflections which are made in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, are a ſufficient proof that the author is poſſeſſed of an acute and penetrating underſtanding, which has been carefully cultivated; and we are anxious for the continuation of a work from which we expect to derive much intereſting and curious information.

ART. VIII. *Specimens of Britiſh Minerals, ſelected from the Cabinet of Philip Raſhleigh, of Menabilly, Eſq. M. P. F. R. S. & F. A. S.* London, Part I. 1797. Part II. 1802. Quarto.

THEY are truly wiſe who, when poſſeſſed of the rarer products of nature or of art, are liberal enough to gratify public curioſity. Gold has no value in the ſtrong-box; it is only when put into circulation that it repays the toils of acquiſition; and rarities are only valuable to moſt collectors, in proportion to the current coin of admiration for which the ſight of them can be exchanged; and this ſpecies of barter is ſo agreeable and advantageous to both parties, that no means ſhould be neglected to encourage and extend it.

The remote ſituation of Menabilly prevents many mineralogiſts from availing themſelves of the liberality with which Mr Raſhleigh exhibits his collection of minerals. With a highly laudable diſpoſition to diffuſe information, he has publiſhed this work, decorated by delineations of ſelect ſpecimens, and illuſtrated by ſhort deſcriptions of the minerals, and indications of their localities. He modeſtly diſclaims an intimate acquaintance with the refinements of modern mineralogy and chemiſtry; and, contented with a ſimple ſtatement of facts, leaves to his readers the amuſement of accommodating them to their favourite hypotheſis.

We need not beſtow any particular conſideration on the text, which is obviouſly introduced merely to render the plates intelli-

gible. The few explanatory obſervations are ſo unobtruſive and unpretending, that they afford little room for remark; and though we regret that they leave us with only limited information of the objects they mention, we cannot juſtly complain of that being only imperfectly done, the performance of which we had no reaſon to expect. Though the modern changes in chemical nomenclature may not be familiar to the writer, yet we may obſerve, that as his work is chiefly intended for the amuſement and inſtruction of thoſe who are remote from Cornwall, he ſhould not have uſed the technical provincialiſms without explanation. We fear that to the inhabitants of the greater part of Britain, *lodes* and *elvans* will ſound rather unintelligible.

The plates form the moſt important part of this work; and upon them we ſhall venture ſome obſervations. There is no department of natural hiſtory which has not been made the ſubject of painting; but all its branches are not equally capable of being illuſtrated by the imitative art. Generally ſpeaking, there is no viſible object, of which painting cannot communicate a more or leſs perfect idea; but the important application of ſuch repreſentations to ſcientific purpoſes, muſt depend on the facility and preciſion with which the eſſential characteriſtics of the object can be expreſſed. The three great diviſions of natural objects are very variouſly ſuſceptible of illuſtration from painting. Of animals it affords the moſt correct and intelligible deſcription; for nearly all their characteriſtics are eaſily and diſtinctly repreſented; and ſo trifling are the differences between thoſe of the ſame kind, that a ſpecies is eaſily recognifed from the portrait of an individual. The diverſities of vegetables of the ſame ſpecies being greater than thoſe of animals, and the eſſential characteriſtics being lodged in the parts of fructification, which are often ſo minute as not to be expreſſed by the pencil with proper diſtinctneſs, render their delineation a leſs perfect deſcription. In vegetables, however, as well as animals, the eſſentials are always apparent; and the application of painting to their deſcription is only regulated by the facility of the repreſentation. But in minerals, the eſſential characteriſtic ſeldom reſides in the viſible external characters, except in caſes of accurate cryſtallization. The hardneſs, the ſpecific gravity, the tenacity, muſt all be known; the fracture remains for painting, but even that cannot be expreſſed with any correct reſemblance of the natural appearance. Colour may indeed be approximated; but in minerals, it is of all characters the moſt unimportant, and the peculiarities of luſtre, which are of more conſequence, are proportionably difficult to repreſent. It is not enough that a general ſimilitude be attained. Place the object itſelf at a ſmall

diſtance,

diſtance, and no mineralogiſt can aſcertain its ſpecies. It may be cinnabar, or red copper, or iron ore, or red jaſper, or a piece of brick. A near and minute examination of texture, colour, and luſtre, may reveal what the ſubſtance is; but, let the painter attempt to transfer theſe peculiarities to his canvas, and the patience of a Mœris or a Gerrard David will ſink in the attempt. Delineation can only be eſſentially advantageous to mineralogy, by tracing cryſtalline forms with preciſion; but, for that purpoſe, the ruler and compaſſes are wanted—away with the pencil and colours.

The ſplendid volumes before us afford a ſtriking illuſtration of theſe remarks. Almoſt every one of the highly coloured plates which it contains, bears a ſtrong general reſemblance to the delineated object. To the ſuperficial obſerver, this may appear quite enough; and to thoſe who merely look at minerals as children do at pictures, to regale their eyes with vivid colours, this work will be a treaſure. Surely it was not for their uſe only that it was deſigned; and yet we fear few others will find it profitable.

We cannot attribute this failure (for ſuch we muſt conſider it) to any neglect on the part of Mr Raſhleigh to give his book every perfection of which it was ſuſceptible. The ſtyle in which the plates are executed, proves him to have employed an artiſt of conſiderable ability, who has only failed, in not being able to extend the empire of painting over a province which we fear will ever refuſe her ſway. He has, however, given us many brilliant and beautiful, if not characteriſtic and inſtructive engravings; and the delineations of two organic bodies, a foſſil bivalve ſhell and an echinus, ſerve to illuſtrate his own ſkill, and define the boundaries of his art.

He ſeems very naturally to have ſhrunk from the difficulties of his undertaking, and to have preferred a general felicity of effect, to an accuracy which, however deſirable, prodigious labour might have failed in attaining; to have daſhed out groups of cryſtals with daring indiſtinctneſs, and to have truſted to the outline of a detached cryſtal, magnified, for conveying a more correct idea of the object intended to be repreſented. Even theſe detached figures are inaccurately drawn; and the artiſt ſeems to have depended more on delicate tints, than on the correctneſs of his forms.

Though the colours that adorn ſome minerals are ſuperb, it muſt not be imagined that every ſpecimen glows with the priſmatic hues, though this is an opinion which the greater number of theſe prints is calculated to diſſeminate. Yet ſome allowance muſt be made for the inaccuracy of the inferior artiſts who are

employed to transfer to prints the tints of an original drawing.

The minerals repreſented in this work are moſtly extracted from the mines of Cornwall, and not a few of them are peculiar to that diſtrict. The fibrous tin ore, very improperly called wood tin, has never been found elſewhere; and the continental mines have only produced very imperfect ſpecimens of arſeniate of copper, a ſubſtance whoſe beautiful and numerous varieties have been the ſubject of the accurate analyſis of Mr Chenevix, and of a cryſtallographical deſcription by the Count de Bournon, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. Mr Raſhleigh has favoured us with a drawing of hydrophanous chalcedony inveſting tin ore. We are ſurpriſed that the beautiful ſtalactitic capillary and inveſting chalcedonies of Trevaſkus mine have been omitted by him, and that he has given us no drawing of the ſchorls, of which Cornwall produces beautiful ſpecimens. The phoſphates of lime adhering to talc, preſent ſome of the rare cryſtalline modifications; but no notice is taken of them, or of the capillary native ſilver of Herland mine, or of many other ſingular products of the country. Such minerals would, we think, have proved more generally intereſting than the Derbyſhire calcareous ſpars and fluors, or the foſſil ſhell and the echinus in fluid, which laſt is far from appearing to us a clear demonſtration of the Neptunian origin of the flint. The agency of the aqueous formation would have been more ſtrikingly illuſtrated by ſome of the ſpecimens of martial pyrites inveſting pieces of unaltered wood, and ſometimes completely aſſuming its form, by pervading its ſubſtance; which are abundantly found in the peat that covers the gravel mixed with tin ore at the ſteam work at Carnon.

ART. IX. *A Syſtem of Chemiſtry.* In Four Volumes. By Thomas Thomſon M. D. Lecturer on Chemiſtry in Edinburgh. The Second Edition. Edinburgh: Printed for Bell & Bradfute and E. Balfour; G. & J. Robinſon, London; and Gilbert & Hodges, Dublin. 4 vol. 8vo. 2638 pages.

THE firſt edition of this work was publiſhed a little while before the commencement of our undertaking; and we are much pleaſed to find that its ſucceſs has been ſo great, as already to give us an opportunity of noticing it in its preſent improved ſtate. With the very great merits of the former edition we were well acquainted; and muſt regret, with every lover of the ſcience, that it met even with one ſolitary inſtance of uncandid ſeverity.

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We peruſed the firſt part of the preface with much ſatisfaction. We admired the author's ſpirited defence of the ſtate of chemiſtry in Britain, againſt the miſrepreſentations of foreigners; and fully ſubſcribed to the juſt encomium which he finds it neceſſary to pronounce on his own merits. The ſecond part, however, in which he in ſome meaſure developes the plan of his work, rather checked our growing partiality; for, inſtead of returning thanks to our fellow labourers on the other ſide of the Tweed, for the almoſt unqualified approbation which they beſtowed on his former edition, or ſoliciting the ſame attention to the preſent, he boldly ſets our whole corporation at defiance, and denies the competency of our tribunal. Indeed, it is not difficult to diſcover that it is the Doctor's honeſt opinion, that no perſon is qualified to judge of his performance but himſelf; for who elſe is there 'who has the ſame turn of thinking, who poſſeſſes the ſame information, and who has beſtowed on the ſubject the ſame patient meditation?' In the deſcription of thoſe capable of criticizing his arrangement, he is, if poſſible, ſtill more faſtidious. They muſt not only poſſeſs all the neceſſary mental qualifications, but they muſt be authors or teachers, and muſt have no arrangement of their own. In ſhort, Dr Thomſon's arrangement muſt not be criticized. But if, in our author's opinion, extraordinary qualifications be neceſſary to judge of his plan and arrangement, ſtill more extraordinary abilities were neceſſary to contrive it. 'Few conſider that the art of arranging is one of the moſt difficult taſks of the philoſopher; that it requires a comprehenſiveneſs of mind, a clearneſs of judgement, and a patience of labour, which fall to the lot of a ſmall number only of the human race.' Whatever Dr Thomſon may think of his own abilities, compared with thoſe of other men, there is certainly ſome degree of imprudence in this publication of his ſentiments; for he ought to be aware, that though men may ſometimes forget to applaud the modeſty of an author, they never fail to reſent his arrogance.

'The object of this work is to exhibit as complete a view as poſſible of the preſent ſtate of chemiſtry, and to trace at the ſame time its gradual progreſs, from its firſt dawnings as a ſcience, to the improved ſtate which it has now attained.' It alſo comprehends 'the application of that ſcience to ſubſtances as they exiſt in nature, conſtituting the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms.' The plan, abſtractly conſidered, is excellent; but there have been, it ſeems, ſome people ſo narrow-minded, and others ſo extravagant in their ideas, as not to be pleaſed with it; the one ſet pretending that it contains too little, the other that it contains too much. Theſe oppoſite opinions,

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our author thinks, refute and exactly neutralise each other, and suggest to him this very comfortable conclusion, that in all probability he has not deviated very far from that happy middle path which he ought to follow. But, in the fulness of his joy, he seems to have forgotten that these premises afford room for another conclusion, namely, that it may contain too much of what it should not contain, and too little of what it should contain; too little chemistry, for example, and too much extraneous matter. This, at least so far as regards the manner in which the plan is executed, appears to us to be really the case; but our reasons for entertaining this opinion, will appear as we proceed in the analysis of the work.

The work is divided into two principal parts; the first comprehending the science of chemistry, and the second the chemical examination of nature. The first part contains three books, which treat, in succession, of simple substances—of compound bodies—and of affinity. The two first classes are again divided and subdivided into orders and species. Nothing can be more simple, scientific and beautiful than the arrangement. Indeed, our author seems so much enamoured of it himself, that he gives it as his decided opinion, that 'if this work possess any superiority over others, if it be more perspicuous or complete, we must ascribe it to the arrangement.' The superiority of this book to most other systems of chemistry we are not disposed to deny; but we are less inclined to ascribe it to the merit of the arrangement, than to the circumstance of its having been written *after* all the other systems, and to the patient industry of the author in observing and collecting facts. Indeed, so well has Dr Thomson availed himself of these advantages, that we have no doubt but his system will be considered as a valuable repository of facts long after the peculiarities of its arrangement shall be forgotten. It may appear strange, that we should value at so low a rate an arrangement which, we are told by its contriver, 'is independent of hypothesis, and as nearly inductive or analytical as was consistent with the state of the science,' which 'presupposes no previous knowledge of the subject, and begins with those parts which have been most successfully investigated, and which therefore admit of a plainer and simpler mode of illustration.' To the whole of this eulogium, however, we can by no means subscribe; on the contrary, we are inclined to think that an arrangement, possessing all the advantages he describes, is, in the present state of the science, impracticable; and that Dr Thomson himself has found it so.

The first peculiarity of Dr Thomson's arrangement, is the attempt to communicate the knowledge of a physical science in the same way in which it was originally acquired, by simply stating, in the

the firſt place, all the particular facts, and gradually aſcertaining the general laws by induction. This method certainly poſſeſſes one evident advantage. The general principles of the ſcience can be afterwards explained in the fulleſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner, as we are already in poſſeſſion of the immenſe maſs of facts from which they are derived, and by which they may be illuſtrated. But the diſadvantages with which it is attended are infinitely greater. From having no general principles to direct us at the outſet, the detail of facts muſt be dry and unintereſting; their relative importance cannot be perceived when they are ſtated; their connexion with each other will be overlooked, and they will be remembered with infinitely greater difficulty; while the general doctrines may be ſufficiently explained by numberleſs familiar facts and illuſtrations, eaſily underſtood by every one entering on the ſtudy of chemiſtry. Thus, Dr Thomſon himſelf, under the very firſt article, Oxygen, finds himſelf obliged to explain the general doctrine of Affinity; and under the ſecond, Sulphur, gives an account of the different theories of combuſtion. We are therefore inclined ſtill to prefer the common didactic method of firſt explaining the more general doctrines, to Dr Thomſon's apparently more philoſophical arrangement of arriving at all his general doctrines by induction.

The other peculiarity of Dr Thomſon's arrangement, if we can call that a peculiarity which has been adopted by others, is the diviſion of bodies into ſimple and compound. Now, the Doctor has told us, that 'very poſſibly the bodies, which we reckon ſimple, may be compound; but, till this has been actually proved, we have no right to ſuppoſe it;' and as ſome ſubſtances which have not been decompoſed, are very analogous in their properties to others whoſe compoſition is aſcertained, it neceſſarily follows, that if we arrange them among the compound bodies, our ſyſtem becomes hypothetical; and if we rank them as ſimples, it becomes artificial and unnatural. Beſides, there are very few, even of thoſe which are conſidered as ſimple ſubſtances, which ever were the objects of any of our ſenſes, except in a ſtate of compoſition. Let us examine, for inſtance, thoſe called ſimple ſubſtances by our author. His *unconfinable* bodies, light and caloric, are refrangible, and may be decompoſed into rays. Of the confinable ſubſtances, the metals and ſimple combuſtibles, according to the hypotheſis which our author adopts, are compounds of an unknown baſe and light. Azote and muriatic acid are ſuſpected by him to be compounds. At any rate, they, as well as oxygen (the only remaining ſimple ſubſtance) never exiſt but in a ſtate of combination.

But even granting, for the ſake of argument, that the preſence

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of the unconfinable bodies does not make ſubſtances compound, which would otherwiſe be ſimple, Dr Thomſon has found himſelf under the neceſſity of departing moſt materially from the principles of his arrangement, the moment he attempts to apply them. Two alkalies and nine earths, although they have never been decompoſed, are claſſed by him among the compounds; and, on the contrary, of thirty-ſeven acids, three only have not been decompoſed; and of theſe three, two are left among the compound bodies; while one, the muriatic, is ſeparated from all the others, and placed among the ſimple ſubſtances. Nothing can demonſtrate more forcibly that theſe principles are either fundamentally erroneous, or at leaſt inapplicable in the preſent ſtate of the ſcience. The earths and alkalies are claſſed with compounds, not only on account of their analogy to ammonia, but becauſe all other ſimple bodies, it ſeems, are connected together, either by common properties, or by the part which they act in combuſtion; whereas theſe have no ſuch connexion. The latter of theſe two arguments is of no weight whatever; for it certainly does not follow, that becauſe ſome ſimple bodies have an affinity for oxygen, all ſimple bodies muſt have ſuch an affinity. The analogy to ammonia is not more ſatisfactory; for if Dr Thomſon had followed up his own principles of arrangement, and divided compounds, as he has done ſimple bodies, into ſupporters, combuſtibles, and incombuſtibles, the ſubſtances in queſtion muſt have been ſeparated from ammonia; that alkali being combuſtible, and the earths and other alkalies incombuſtible. The analogical reaſons for claſſing the muriatic acid among ſimple bodies, are ſtill leſs convincing. 'Even muriatic acid,' ſays our author himſelf, 'though its reſemblance to azote is ſtriking, differs from it in ſo many particulars, that I dare not venture to ſeparate it from the claſs of acids under which it has been hitherto arranged.' Since our author himſelf confeſſes that azote, and muriatic acid, differ in many particulars from each other, it will ſave us the trouble of proving it; but we muſt obſerve, that although he has not ventured to ſeparate muriatic acid from the claſs of acids, an account of its characteriſtic properties occupies the ſecond ſection of the chapter on *ſimple* incombuſtibles, while, in compliance with the uſual cuſtom of chemiſts, he has reſerved an account of the properties of liquid muriatic acid for the chapter on acids, where it is again miſplaced among the acid ſupporters. In all this, there is much of that inconſiſtency which muſt neceſſarily ariſe when we attempt to accommodate facts to an arbitrary and artificial ſyſtem.

His ſimple ſubſtances are ſubdivided into confinable and unconfinable. One reaſon given for employing theſe words, is ſatisfactory—

tisfactory—that they were neceſſary to expreſs the ideas he meant to convey; namely, 'that we are able to confine the firſt ſet in veſſels, but that the ſecond cannot be confined in any veſſel.' But when we come to find the uſe he makes of theſe terms, and eſpecially when he adds, that 'all the terms that have been hitherto employed to characteriſe theſe two ſets of bodies, convey ſome hypotheſis or other, which, in a work of this kind, it is neceſſary as much as poſſible to avoid,' we find ourſelves compelled to object, firſt, that the application of his terms is inconſiſtent with fact; and, ſecondly, that other terms have been already employed which conveyed no hypotheſis. It appears to us, that whatever can be excluded, can alſo be confined; and whatever can be impeded in its progreſs, is not abſolutely unconfinable. The bodies which he calls unconfinable are, light, caloric, electricity, and magnetiſm. The two laſt are not treated of in this work. With regard to caloric, the difficulty with which it permeates certain bodies is well known. Clothing is uſed to confine the warmth of the body; our furnaces are conſtructed of bad conductors, to prevent the diſſipation of the heat; and caloric may be abſolutely confined in a veſſel of ice, as long as the veſſel itſelf will laſt. Light is ſtill more confinable. Every room is furniſhed with ſhutters to exclude it, and the dark-lanthorn was contrived to confine it. The circumſtance of theſe bodies poſſeſſing no determinable gravity, or being imponderable, which has been already employed to characteriſe them, is the ſimple enunciation of a fact, and not liable to ſimilar objections. Dr Thomſon's confinable bodies are ſubdivided into oxygen, ſimple combuſtibles, and ſimple incombuſtibles.

The compounds are divided into primary and ſecondary. The former conſiſt of two or more ſimple bodies united together, and the latter of two or more compounds. In this arrangement, there is no place allotted for the combinations of compounds with ſimple bodies. But beſides this omiſſion, the diviſion of compounds into primary and ſecondary in the preſent ſtate of the ſcience, muſt be entirely arbitrary or hypothetical. It is not only expoſed to the general objection ariſing from our total ignorance of what bodies are really ſimple; but many of our author's primary compounds are, in fact, only known to us in a ſtate of farther compoſition. Almoſt all the acids, as objects of our ſenſes, are compounds of acid and water; and many of them, independently of this, are ſecondary compounds in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word. But, waving as frivolous this objection, which applies to all ſubſtances compoſed of two ingredients which combine in more proportions than one, we are completely ignorant of the nature of the combinations formed by the union

union of three or more simple substances. We do not know whether the immense variety of these are primary compounds, resulting from various proportions of A, B, C, or whether A first unites with B, and then forms a secondary compound with C. Indeed, according to the opinions which Dr Thomson afterwards advances when treating of affinity, there can be no secondary compounds.

In his subdivisions of the primary compounds, Dr Thomson entirely renounces his general principles, and arranges them under the five heads of alkalies, earths, oxides, acids, and compound combustibles—natural classes which have been adopted by all preceding systematic writers. In thus deviating from his own peculiar principles, Dr Thomson is certainly inconsistent; nor are we satisfied with his reasons for being so. These are stated in a preliminary note, in which he gives us a sketch of the arrangement he might have followed; and adds, 'but in the present imperfect state of the science, the advantages attending this arrangement would not compensate for the violence of the changes which it would introduce. It would oblige us to classify substances together, which have always been considered as distinct; and to separate many bodies which have hitherto been always grouped together. Besides, we would be forced to omit a number of substances which are still undecompounded, and which are not the less important, because they cannot with propriety be introduced among the simple substances.' The first argument, we confess, we did not expect from our author, who on so many occasions calls in question opinions the most universally received, and advances others so contradictory to all former observation, that he is in greater danger of being accused of temerity, and affectation of singularity, than of being blamed for blindly following established authorities, or regarding the prejudices of others. The second argument militates directly against the whole system. For what are we to think of an arrangement, in which a number of important bodies cannot with propriety be classed among the simple substances, and yet are positively excluded from any place among the compounds? We are the more astonished at this reason being given by our author for not following up the principles of his arrangement, as the objection might have been easily removed, and indeed, in strict conformity to the philosophy of arrangement, ought to have been removed, by adopting the same characters for distinguishing the orders of the compounds with those employed for the simple substances. Compound supporters, combustibles, and incombustibles, would have comprehended every compound body.

Under the head of secondary compounds, are included some commonly received and natural families; but the classification is exceedingly defective.

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The third book of the first part treats of Affinity.

The second part of this great work contains the chemical examination of nature; a subject certainly most intimately connected with the science of chemistry, but so far distinct from it, as not to be a necessary part of an elementary treatise, which ought to contain a complete view of the principles of the science, totally independent of its application to any purpose whatever.

We have been thus particular in our account of the arrangement of this work, because so much superiority has been ascribed to it by its author, and, in our opinion, without sufficient reason. It is every where inconsistent with its own principles; it is incomplete; it sometimes classes together bodies which have little analogy; but more frequently divides and subdivides the account of a connected subject into minute portions, which are scattered through very distant parts of the work. If it had been rendered totally independent of hypothesis, and completed on the same general principles, it might have afforded a very good tabular view of the science; but, as the outline of a detailed system, or as the text-book of a lecturer, it seems to be by no means preferable to those in common use.

It now remains to examine the execution of the work. In doing this, it will only be possible to notice such parts as appear particularly interesting, more especially those in which an author, of so great reputation, has committed errors, which might mislead readers less disposed to question his infallibility than we are. The definition of Chemistry is as unintelligible as abstract definitions of science usually are. It is said to be 'that science which treats of those events or changes which are not *accompanied* by sensible motions.' Dr Thomson may probably consider it as an instance of vulgar prejudice; but we must confess that we have always considered the bursting of a bomb-shell and the elevation of the piston of a steam-engine as sensible motions. The definition is also particularly defective, in taking no notice of the most indispensable condition of chemical action, namely, the reciprocal action of at least two kinds of matter, and the change of properties occasioned by it.

After mentioning concisely the different epochs in the history of chemistry, Dr Thomson enters upon his account of the simple bodies. The general manner in which he treats each of these, is, first to tell how it is procured, then to mention its physical properties, and, lastly, to detail its mode of action upon those other bodies which have been already described. The account of oxygen is necessarily very brief, as not one of its chemical properties can be explained, without supposing some previous chemical knowledge. This inconvenience is not peculiar to Dr Thomson's arrangement, and indeed cannot easily be avoided.

voided. But it would ſurely have been better to have commenced with a claſs of tangible bodies, than to have plunged his readers, in the very firſt page, into all the intricacies of the deſcription of a pneumatic apparatus, and to have perplexed them with diſferent kinds of gaſes, before they can be ſuppoſed to have formed any conception of air being a body poſſeſſing chemical properties, or indeed to have any conception of chemical properties at all. This ſection concludes with an explanation of affinity; which ſhews, in the firſt place, that Dr Thomſon cannot proceed a ſingle ſtep, without explaining the general doctrines of chemiſtry; and, ſecondly, how few facts are ſufficient to make them intelligible even to beginners.

The ſecond chapter treats of the ſimple combuſtibles; and, firſt, of ſulphur; which gives Dr Thomſon an opportunity of briefly explaining the theories of combuſtion propoſed by Stahl and Lavoiſier. The other ſections treat of phoſphorus, carbon, and hydrogen. Carbon is here ſynonymous with diamond; of courſe, Lavoiſier's carbon becomes carbonous oxide, or charcoal. But, throughout the whole work, Dr Thomſon has neglected to attend to this diſtinction; and conſequently, in the very next chapter, we are preſented with a pretty full account of the carburetted hydrogen gaſes, chiefly taken from the experiments of Mr Cruickſhank; although we think that neither their ingenious contriver nor Dr Thomſon has drawn from them the concluſions they warranted. For example, in the third experiment, 16 grains of carburetted hydrogen were detonated with 40 of oxygen; the products were 36 grains of carbonic acid gas, and 20 of water. Now, 36 grains of carbonic acid gas are compoſed of 29.56 oxygen, and 6.44 carbon; and 20 of water of 17.12 oxygen, and 2.88 hydrogen. From the total quantity of oxygen in the product, 46.68, deduct the 40 added, and we have 6.68 oxygen, 2.88 hydrogen, and 6.44 carbon, as the elementary conſtituents of the 16 grains of carburetted hydrogen.

The following table exhibits a view of the conſtituents of all the ſpecies calculated in this way, and as given by Dr Thomſon.

	Oxygen.		*Carbon.*		*Hydrogen.*		*Water.*	
Carb. hyd. from ſtagnant water, &c.	35.54	+	46.40	+	18.06			
			52.35	+	9.60	+	38.05	Dr T.
From ether	35.02	+	45.15	+	19.83			
			45	+	15	+	40	Dr T.
From alcohol	41.76	+	40.23	+	16.01			
			44.1	+	11.8	+	44.1	Dr T.
From wet charcoal . . .	58.77	+	23.43	+	17.80			
			28	+	9	+	63	Dr T.

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These differences arise from two causes. Mr Cruickshank did not calculate the constituents of the carbonic acid produced according to its analysis by Morveau; and he supposed that the whole water produced existed in the gas in a state of solution. But it is highly improbable that any gas is capable of dissolving its own weight of water; and as the carbonic acid gas produced must be saturated with vapour, it is, on the contrary, probable, that the whole water precipitated was formed at the moment of decomposition. We therefore think ourselves warranted to conclude, that these gases are not carbureted hydrogen, holding their own weight of water in solution, but that they are hydro-carbonous oxides, and therefore should be referred to a different place in Dr Thomson's arrangement from that which is now assigned them.

The chapter on Combustibles is concluded, as indeed all the chapters are, with some general reflections. The next chapter treats of the Simple Incombustibles, in which the association of azote and muriatic acid as analogous bodies, is the only thing remarkable. An account of the metals concludes the simple confinable bodies.

The second division of the simple bodies comprehends those which Dr Thomson has denominated *unconfinable*. In this work, he only treats of light and caloric; but we are happy to learn, that an author so capable of doing justice to the subject proposes to consider electricity in a separate work. The chapter on Light is exceedingly well written. That on Caloric, is perhaps the most remarkable in the whole work, from the very curious speculations which it contains.

Caloric passes through some bodies with the velocity of light, and through others extremely slowly. Its motion in the first case in which it is said to be transmitted, is explained by supposing the particles of caloric to repel each other; but the explanation of its second kind of motion is not so easy. It has hitherto been considered as the operation of a positive force, which has been called the conducting power; and bodies were named good or bad conductors, in proportion as caloric moved through them with greater or less facility. Dr Thomson has, however, advanced an hypothesis directly the reverse of this; for, observing that caloric is transmitted through some bodies with immense velocity, he has seen the necessity of accounting for the retardation of its progress when it enters conductors. This he ascribes to an attraction or affinity existing between the particles of caloric and those of the conductor, by which the caloric is entangled and detained; so that bodies which were called bad conductors, are in fact good retarders; and the con-

ducting power is a mere nonentity. This opinion might have appeared extremely ingenious to a chemist ignorant of the principles of mechanical science. But surely, if Dr Thomson, who so often makes use of algebraic expressions to render unintelligible to many of his readers what, in common language, could have been mistaken by no one, had allowed himself time for reflection, he never would have committed an error which has betrayed him into so many inconsistencies. He has himself proved that affinity is capable of accounting for the motion of caloric through conductors; it cannot therefore retard the motion which caloric is supposed to derive from its repulsive force, unless it acts in an opposite direction: but in the case of conducting bodies, the affinity always acts in the same direction with the repulsive force; and, instead of retarding the progress of caloric, it ought therefore to accelerate it. But some bodies conduct caloric better than others; and Dr Thomson thinks it 'probable that their affinity is in all cases in the inverse ratio of their conducting power.' The originality of this opinion is truly singular; for no common mind would have conceived that an effect could be *inversely* as its cause. Bodies also differ in the distance to which they are capable of conducting caloric; and this difference, Dr Thomson tells us, 'is always proportional to the temperature to which that body can be raised before it changes its state.' The reasoning upon which this opinion is hazarded, is perfectly inconclusive; for it proceeds on the supposition, not only that the decreasing series of affinities for additional doses of caloric, is the same in all bodies, but also that the conducting power depends *entirely* on affinity. Now, the first supposition is altogether arbitrary, and the second absolutely erroneous. Dr Thomson's general law is equally contradicted by experiment; for lead, tin, and the other fusible metals, conduct caloric much farther than glass; and that most refractory substance, pure clay, cannot be made, by any intensity of heat, to conduct caloric farther than the fusible metals.

All solids *conduct* caloric; but fluids also *carry* it. Count Rumford was the first who paid particular attention to this subject; and endeavoured to prove, by the most ingenious experiments, that fluids only carry caloric, and never conduct it. This opinion of the Count, however, is now completely disproved, especially by the experiments of Mr Murray. On this subject, Dr Thomson has entered at more than usual length, and has divided, between himself and Mr Dalton, the merit of having been the first who, by various experiments, rendered the Count's opinion improbable; although it is inconceivable that he should be ignorant of being anticipated by Dr Hope, whose ingenious

genious experiments on the same subject were publicly exhibited in his lectures.

The tables of the conducting power of different bodies are extremely imperfect, and are constructed upon no uniform principle. For example, M. Meyer's table is given, without any explanation, immediately after Dr Ingenhouz's; although the experiments of the latter showed the comparative *length* of wax-coating, which cylinders of different metals melted when their extremities were plunged in boiling water, and, those of the former, the *times* which equal spheres of wood took to cool the same number of degrees, from which the conducting powers were calculated, on the hypothetical supposition that they were inversely as the times of cooling. Dr Thomson has also determined the conducting power of some fluids from his own experiments; but his statements can be of no use, until we know the *data* on which they are founded. He has, however, erroneously calculated the affinity of these bodies for caloric, from these observations on their powers of conducting it.

The next section is on the Equal Distribution of Temperature. Some bodies cool much more quickly than others; and Dr Thomson tells us, 'that, in general, other things being the same, the rate of cooling may be considered as nearly inversely as the conducting power of fluids.' But he before attempted to prove, that the affinity was inversely as the conducting power; so that the rate of cooling should be *directly* as the affinity, or, in other words, those bodies which have the strongest affinity for caloric, should part with it most readily! The equilibrium of temperature is principally produced by the repulsive force of the particles of caloric, which always tends to separate them, until it be counterbalanced by an equal pressure in the opposite direction. That affinity has also some share in this process, seems to be proved, by the rate of cooling being slower *in vacuo* than in air. But if the effects of this cause were very considerable, bodies should heat quickly and cool slowly, in proportion to their affinity, which, as far as we know, is not the case.

The next section treats of the Effects of Heat, the first of which, Expansion, is well explained according to the original and interesting ideas of Mr Dalton. In his observations on the caloric of fluidity, we meet with another instance of our author's rashness in drawing general conclusions. In all Dr Irvine's experiments on this subject, he sees 'this rule to hold, that the caloric of fluidity increases with the temperature at which liquidity takes place.' Dr Thomson has evidently been induced to draw this conclusion, by imagining that Dr Irvine's numbers expressed the caloric of fluidity of the substances which he exa-

their place in this new edition; and his observations on the latter are equally inconclusive.

On the subject of Cold, Dr Thomson quotes Pictet's celebrated experiment of its apparent radiation, as the only fact which gives any countenance to the opinion, that cold is a body. But although Prevost's explanation of this phenomenon is, as Dr Thomson justly observes, unsatisfactory, we see nothing in it but an example of the radiation of caloric. If we had room in this place for such a discussion, we think it would not be difficult to show, from what is now established as to the radiation and reflection of heat, that the sinking of the thermometer in M. Pictet's experiment, is to be imputed entirely to the subtraction of caloric occasioned by the introduction of a cold body; and that, in consequence of the intercepting and reflecting powers of the mirrors, this caloric is drawn in larger quantities from the focus where the thermometer is placed, than from any other point in the circumference. The heat which flows into the cold body is radiated in part from the surface of the nearest mirror, and the heat thus drawn from its surface is supplied again by parallel rays reflected from the surface of the opposite one, the whole of which will be found, from the angle of their reflection, to proceed from that focal point in which the thermometer is situated. There is a greater drain upon the caloric of that focus, therefore, than upon any other point in the circumference; and its temperature is lowered proportionally. This explanation, perhaps, is too concise to be satisfactory; but we are persuaded, that all the facts may be accounted for by the radiation of caloric, and that the apparatus merely determines the point from which the radiation is to begin. The curious fact discovered by Mr Dalton, that the expansion of water is the same for any number of degrees above or below 42.5, is a much stronger argument for believing that cold is a body, and, if the same law obtained in all other bodies, would be almost unanswerable.

The Sources of Caloric form the next subject of consideration. Of these, Combustion is treated in a masterly manner. In the history of its theory, the opinions of others are fairly and candidly stated; while, in the account of that hypothesis which is adopted by our author, he allows their full share of merit to the German philosophers who advanced it, and states his own opinions, which are very ingenious, with a degree of modesty and philosophical doubt which are extremely honourable to him.

The heat produced by percussion, is ascribed entirely to condensation. This unquestionably is a source of heat, but appears totally insufficient to account for the great increase of tempera-

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ture produced by percuſſion. Iron is eaſily heated to redneſs by hammering; yet it only ſuffers a condenſation of $\frac{1}{111}$. Air, condenſed to $\frac{1}{2}$, ſcarcely raiſes the moſt delicate thermometer a few degrees. Mr Dalton ſhews indeed, by calculation, that the real increaſe of temperature is 50°; but this would be very trifling in proportion to the caloric given out by hammering iron, if we were to eſtimate what is waſted during the operation. The brittleneſs of iron hammered to redneſs, was aſcribed by Dr Black to the deficiency of the caloric thus expreſſed from it; and upon this hint, Dr Thomſon, filled with the philoſophic ſpirit of generalization, at once perceives, that 'brittleneſs ſeems *in moſt caſes* owing to the abſence of the uſual quantity of caloric;' and refers, for the illuſtration of his opinion, to the phenomena of unanealed glaſs. But he has not only failed altogether in proving that glaſs, cooled quickly, contains at the ſame temperature leſs caloric than glaſs cooled ſlowly; but, in a ſubſequent part of his work, he has, with more truth, aſcribed the brittleneſs in the former caſe to its unequal contraction.

It is undoubtedly true, that water conſtitutes a part of almoſt all mixtures in which a change of temperature takes place; but our author certainly goes much too far in ſtating it to be eſſential; for, beſides the mixture of gaſes which he mentions as the only apparent exception to this rule, there is an extrication of heat and light when ſulphur acts upon the metals, and probably in many other inſtances. Water, indeed, is no more eſſential to the production of heat from mixture, than it is to chemical action in general.

Having concluded the ſubject of caloric, our author ſubjoins ſome obſervations on ſimple bodies in general, which are only remarkable for the ingenuity with which he moulds nature to ſuit his particular opinions, by firſt limiting the ſimple ſubſtances to thoſe concerned in combuſtion, and then ſagaciouſly obſerving, that oxygen is capable of uniting with all ſimple confinable bodies.

We are now come to our author's Compound Subſtances; but, from the very great extent of the work before us, and the immenſe variety of ſubjects which it embraces, it would far exceed our limits to notice the whole of theſe in the manner they deſerve; and as their arrangement has been already pretty fully explained, we ſhall confine ourſelves to a few curſory obſervations. In juſtice to our author, however, we muſt not omit to mention, that they will principally regard his own opinions, when they appear to us erroneous or doubtful. Whatever we paſs over in ſilence, is at leaſt good; often excellent. In the account of the compoſition of water, ſome errors have crept into his calculation, which differs from the ſtatement given under hydrogen. As an accu-

rate knowledge of the conſtituents of water is of great importance in analyſis, and as the calculations have not been reviſed ſince the real conſtituents of carbonic acid have been diſcovered, we have corrected them from the original *data*. The quantity of gaſes employed were,

Hydrogen	25980.563	French cubic inches.
Oxygen	13475.198	
Atmoſpheric air	15.	

The products of the combuſtion were,

Azote	467	Cubic inches.
Carbonic acid	39	
Oxygen	465	
Hydrogen	16	
Water	7245	French grains.

The carbonic acid was produced from a ſmall quantity of carbon diſſolved in the hydrogen. It weighed 26.9 grains, and contained 22.09 oxygen, and 4.81 carbon. From the hydrogen employed, the 16 inches in the reſiduum muſt be deducted; and the remainder, 25964.563, multiplied by its weight per inch 0.040452, gives 1050.32 grains; from which, the 4.81 of carbon, being deducted, leaves 1045.51 grains as the real weight of hydrogen conſumed. But the oxygen contained 404.256 cubic inches of azote mixed with it; which, with 465 of oxygen found in the reſiduum, being deducted, and the 4 contained in the 15. atmoſpheric air being added, gives 12609.942 of oxygen. This, multiplied by its weight per inch 0.493986, gives 6229.33 grains; from which the 22.09 expended in the formation of carbonic acid, being deducted, leaves 6207.24 oxygen. There were therefore conſumed,

	French grains.		*Troy grains.*		*Decimals.*
Hydrogen	1045.51	=	857.736	=	14.42
Oxygen	6207.24	=	5092.420	=	85.58
	7252.75		5950.156		100

which is but 7.75 French grains, or 6.36 Troy, more than the water obtained.

That important claſs of bodies, the Acids, are divided by our author into products, ſupporters, and combuſtible acids; a diviſion, which is of ſome uſe in our general views of the ſubject, but, on the other hand, would become inconvenient if ſtrictly followed in the detail. To this chapter ſome obſervations on the acid principle are prefixed, in which our author endeavours to ſhew that oxygen is not an eſſential conſtituent of acids. But we think

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the matter ſtill doubtful; for, beſides the three undecompounded acids, the only others in which Dr Thomſon has denied the preſence of oxygen, are, the Pruſſic acid and ſulphureted hydrogen. Now, the former certainly contains oxygen; for if Vauquelin's experiments were not of themſelves ſufficient to prove it, an *oxide* of carbon, charcoal, is admitted to be one of its conſtituents; and our acquaintance with the compoſition of the latter is certainly not enough to allow us to aſſert that it contains no oxygen *.

The claſs of compound combuſtibles is exceedingly deficient. It ought to have contained the greater part of animal and vegetable ſubſtances; and our author's reaſons for excluding them are moſt unſatisfactory—'They are too little known, and their utility as chemical inſtruments is too inconſiderable!' A ſyſtem of chemiſtry ought to be complete in its arrangement, and totally independent of any eſſays on meteorology, mineralogy, or phyſiology. Theſe form, it is true, beautiful applications of the ſcience, and they cannot be underſtood without it; but they have no more pretenſions, than the chemical arts and other uſeful applications, to be forced in as eſſential parts of a ſyſtem of chemiſtry. To the chemiſt, each individual ſubſtance is the ſame, from whatever kingdom of nature it may be derived, and to whatever purpoſe it may be applicable.

Our author gives an erroneous idea of the compoſition of fixed oil, in aſſerting it to conſiſt of carbon and hydrogen only. It is a compound oxide. Lavoiſier's analyſis, by burning oil with oxygen gas, gives the following reſults.

Employed.			*Products.*
Olive oil	15.79	Carbonic acid	44.50
Oxygen	50.86	Water	22.15
	66.65		66.65

Now the elementary conſtituents of theſe are,

Carbon.	*Oxygen.*	*Hydrogen.*	
7.9566,	36.5434,	—	in the acid.
	18.95597,	3.19403	in the water,
	55.49937		
From which —	50.86		employed in the combuſtion

being deducted, 4.63937 are left, which, with the carbon

* In the Appendix we find our opinion confirmed by Dr Thomſon himſelf, who, ſpeaking of an oxide of ſulphur he has diſcovered containing

ton and hydrogen, exactly amount to the 15.79 grains of oil burnt. Therefore the conſtituents of oil are,

Carbon	50.39	And not 79.	Carbon
Hydrogen	20.225	21.	Hydrogen
Oxygen	29.385		
	100		100 of Dr Thomſon.

The analyſis, given by our author, is that of Lavoiſier; but Lavoiſier was unacquainted with pure carbon, and gave that deſignation to charcoal, which is an oxide of carbon. Therefore, in ſpeaking of Lavoiſier's carbon, Dr Thomſon ſhould have always diſtinguiſhed it by the appellation of charcoal, and in all analyſes have remembered that it was an oxide, which he has ſeldom if ever done. His negligence in this reſpect is the more inexcuſable, as, by uſing one term to expreſs two very different ſubſtances, he has often both miſled himſelf, and rendered his ſtatements ambiguous to others. Theſe obſervations apply ſtill more ſtrongly to his account of the compoſition of wax and alcohol, becauſe he has founded on the preſence of oxygen in theſe ſubſtances, as demonſtrated by various experiments, to prove that the experiments of Lavoiſier, from which that philoſopher concluded that the former conſiſted of carbon and hydrogen, and the latter of carbon, hydrogen and water, are not to be depended on. Unexceptionable they are not; but, for the preſent ſtate of the ſcience, they are remarkably accurate; and until we have better *data* to go upon, we muſt conſider them highly valuable. When the calculation from them is corrected, their compoſition appears to be

	Wax.	*Alcohol.*
Carbon	53.12	18.2
Hydrogen	16.91	16.76
Oxygen	29.97	65.04
	100	100

Whether any of the hydrogen and oxygen exiſted combined in the ſtate of water, we have no means of aſcertaining.

The Salts are the moſt important claſs of the ſecondary compounds. The common diſtribution of theſe into the two great families of the metalline, and earthy and alkaline ſalts, is properly retained; the genera of the latter being diſtinguiſhed by the acid, and of the former by the metal they contain. The alkaline and

taining 6.2 per cent. oxygen, ſays, 'I have ſince found reaſon to believe that it is this oxide, and not pure ſulphur, which exiſts in ſulphureted hydrogen gas, and probably in all the hydro-ſulphurets.'

and earthy ſalts are moreover divided by Dr Thomſon into the two orders of combuſtible and incombuſtible; but it would have been more conſiſtent with other parts of his arrangement, to have formed a third order of the detonating or ſupporting ſalts, which are at preſent claſſed with the incombuſtible. We may alſo mention, that the ammoniacal ſalts are all combuſtible, and therefore, in ſome inſtances, do not properly belong to the ſame order with the other ſpecies of the genera.

The genera of the metalline ſalts are not eaſily claſſed in different orders; but the ſpecies of each genus form ſeveral natural groups. Our author has divided them into detonating, incombuſtible, combuſtible, metallic, and triple ſalts. This arrangement is deficient with regard to unity; for it is formed upon *two* principles, which interfere with each other; the three firſt diviſions being taken from the properties, and the two laſt from the compoſition of the ſalts. The two laſt indeed appear to be altogether unneceſſary; for all the metallic and triple ſalts are either detonating, incombuſtible, or combuſtible. They form, however, very natural ſubdiviſions of theſe groups. The ſalts are by far too numerous, for us to enter into any examination of our author's account of them. We may only mention, that he ſeems to have been rather haſty, notwithſtanding Chenevix's excellent experiments, in annihilating the genus of oxymuriats; for it is certain, that many of them poſſeſs the property of bleaching, which, in all probability, depends on their containing oxymuriatic acid, ſince neither the muriatic, nor hyper-oxymuriatic acid, deſtroys vegetable colours. The hydro-ſulphurets and ſoaps are the only other ſecondary compounds noticed, although there are ſeveral other claſſes of them.

Having finiſhed his account of the ſecondary compounds, Dr Thomſon proceeds, as uſual, to draw ſome general inferences from the facts he has detailed; and, in the preſent inſtances, he ſeems extremely unfortunate; for not one of the four he has ſtated is admiſſible: 1. He has diſcovered 'a ſingular and remarkable correſpondence between ſecondary compounds and ſimple bodies; for neither of them poſſeſs that activity, that violent action upon other bodies, which diſtinguiſh primary compounds.' This is not ſimply a miſtake; it is a miſtatement. Our author ſelects ſuch ſubſtances, and places them in ſuch circumſtances, as ſuit his purpoſe, although numerous facts exiſt in obvious and direct oppoſition to his general concluſion: Does he conſider combuſtion as a proof of the inactivity of oxygen, and of the ſimple combuſtibles? or do the oxymuriats and metalline ſalts appear to him examples of the inertneſs of ſecondary compounds? Nay, he himſelf has quoted *potaſs* as the extreme example of the activity of primary compounds; but until he proves potaſs to be a compound

pound body, it completely diſproves his concluſion. 2. 'No ſecondary compound is gaſeous.' What is etherized nitrous gas? 3. 'None of them are combuſtible.' Spirit varniſh is not combuſtible! The detonating ſalts are not ſecondary compounds!! 4. 'The *ſecondary* compounds have been inveſtigated with more preciſion than any other claſs of bodies; from them almoſt all our notions of affinity have been derived; it is to them we have always recourſe to illuſtrate theſe notions,' &c. &c. But of the *primary compounds* we were alſo told (vol. II. p. 263.), that *they* were the 'claſs of bodies which have been the longeſt known, which have been moſt accurately ſtudied, and which conſtitute, without doubt, the moſt important inſtruments of chemiſtry;' and, in the preface, it was mentioned as one of the characteriſtic merits of our author's arrangement, that it begins with thoſe parts which have been moſt ſucceſsfully inveſtigated. But this kind of inconſiſtency is of very little conſequence, if it at all promote our author's view of exciting the attention of his readers, by exaggerating the importance of every ſubject which ſucceſſively engages them.

Having collected the immenſe maſs of facts contained in the two firſt books, our author now proceeds to treat, in the third, of thoſe general laws by which the whole are regulated. Our imperfect knowledge of theſe, is aſcribed by him partly to the unaccountable negligence of the greater number of chemiſts, 'who have been more anxious to aſcertain particular facts, than to inveſtigate general principles, and who have often ſeemed to look upon general principles as altogether foreign to their ſcience.' There may be ſome truth in this obſervation; but, ſuch an opinion, coming from ſo high an authority, may be attended with very bad conſequences, in miſleading young men to waſte their time and labour on idle ſpeculations, and to deſpiſe the leſs brilliant, but more ſubſtantial reputation, of increaſing our ſtore of facts. For our part, we are perſuaded that even Dr Thomſon himſelf, notwithſtanding the extent of his knowledge, and the univerſality of his talents, has done infinitely more ſervice to chemiſtry by his induſtry as a compiler, and his aſſiduity in obſerving the reſults of mixtures, undirected by general views, than by all his attempts at generalization.

The firſt chapter of this book is ſaid to treat of Affinity in general. Many chemiſts diſlike the term *affinity* altogether; but with Dr Robiſon we think it is of uſe, as 'it diſtinguiſhes very compendiouſly the phenomena of combination (which are the chief objects of chemiſtry) from the phenomena of coheſion, adheſion, capillary attraction,' &c. In this limited ſenſe alone, as ſynonymous with chemical attraction, and in contradiſtinction to coheſion and the other ſpecies of attraction, has it been hitherto

employed,

employed. By Dr Thomſon, however, it is arbitrarily, and, we think, injudiciouſly extended to include, as a generic term, every ſpecies of contiguous attraction, and to comprehend thoſe very forces from which it was invented—to diſcriminate that attraction which is properly chemical. The neceſſary conſequence of this innovation is not only embarraſſment to Dr Thomſon's readers, but real ambiguity and confuſion in his writings, where it is ſometimes employed in the limited, and ſometimes in the extended ſignification. Adheſion and coheſion are claſſed together, as 'homogeneous affinities,' while chemical attraction is diſtinguiſhed by the phraſe 'heterogeneous affinity.' But theſe innovations are at variance with fact; for heterogeneous bodies adhere, and, if we miſtake not, cohere alſo, as in ſome compound ſtones. Since, therefore, heterogeneous bodies attract each other, independently of combination, heterogeneous affinity is an inaccurate expreſſion for chemical attraction.

Contiguous attraction is ſaid by our author to reſemble ſenſible attraction, in increaſing with the maſs of the attracting bodies, and diminiſhing as the diſtance increaſes. Of this, however, he is able to adduce no proof; and the reſemblance muſt be therefore conſidered as merely hypothetical. Indeed, he confeſſes himſelf unable to determine, whether contiguous, like ſenſible attraction, decreaſes in the ratio $\frac{1}{d^2}$, or in a greater ratio; but if it be at all proportionate to diſtance, it muſt follow a much greater ratio; for, at a diſtance greater than contiguity, it becomes altogether inſenſible, or bears no proportion to the force of gravitation; whereas, whenever it becomes ſenſible, it is more intenſe than gravitation. But the moſt important character of contiguous attraction is, that it varies in intenſity in different particles; on which occaſion, our author indulges himſelf in ſpeculating, whether it be one force, or many forces; whether it be owing to the figure of the particles, or whether it be the ſame with gravitation; and after exerting all his ingenuity, he leaves himſelf and his readers juſt as wiſe as when he began. Coheſion is treated at conſiderable length, according to the hypotheſis of Boſcovich; and we are told, that it is deſerving of notice, that the cohefive force of ſimple bodies is greater than that of compounds, except in the caſe of the metals and elaſtic fluids—that is, except in 26 caſes out of 29! To which liſt of exceptions he ſhould have added ſulphur and phoſphorus, which are not ſo hard as moſt of the ſulphats and phoſphats: ſo that diamond turns out to be the only ſimple ſubſtance which is harder than all its compounds. Haüy's theory of cryſtallization is very neatly ſtated; but the influence of the free acceſs of air in promoting cryſtallization, cannot be explained on the ſuppoſi-

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tion that it carries off caloric; for, upon that supposition, crystallization should take place at the same temperature, whether the air be excluded or admitted.

We now come to the most important chapter in the whole work, that on Heterogeneous Affinity. From the arrangement adopted by our author, the expectations of his readers may reasonably be raised to the highest pitch; but we are much afraid that their disappointment will be equally great, not, however, from any inability or negligence on his part, but from the view he has taken of the subject. Instead of being satisfied with ascertaining the general laws of combination by fair induction, he has treated chemistry as a mere branch of mechanical philosophy; he has considered chemical attraction as the same force with adhesion, and as subject to the same laws; and is so completely absorbed in the attraction and repulsion of particles, that he loses all sight of what is peculiar to chemistry, and only notices its laws accidentally in the course of his more general and abstruse speculations. These, we confess, are not uninteresting, and may be acceptable to those who delight in what may be called philosophical intoxication, but appear to us extremely misplaced in an elementary work, which should be adapted to the capacity of all its readers; and, if it ever enter into such speculations, should treat them merely as of secondary importance, and matters of curiosity. Our opinion, indeed, may be the effect of prejudice; for we may be misled by the high authority of our instructors in chemistry and mechanical philosophy, the one of whom thus speaks of the manner in which the other considered this very subject: 'The worthy author of these lectures was always more anxious to communicate what may be called a clear and confident knowledge of the doctrines of pure chemistry, than to lead his pupils into abstruse or refined speculations on the unseen and unknown immediate causes of chemical combination. He considered every such question as rather out of the pale of chemical science; and so it certainly is. Whenever we speculate about the attractions and repulsions of particles, as the immediate agents in effecting the chemical changes, we are no longer chemists, but mechanicians. We are considering questions about local motion, and the mathematical determinations of the effects of moving forces. Not only is the occupation not chemical, but the questions themselves give little addition of chemical knowledge *.'

Dr Thomson, however, thinks otherwise; and it is our duty to follow him in his speculations; the first of which is, that he considers it very probable, that there exists a reciprocal affinity between every species of the particles of bodies. But his

* Black's Lectures, by Professor Robison, vol. I. p. 512.

his proofs of its existence in those numberless cases where it is commonly denied, are very unsatisfactory. For, the solution of soap in water, and lime in nitric acid, certainly do not prove that oil has any affinity for water, or lime for azote. In this last case, as well as in many others, a substance is found to have a strong affinity for a compound, which, in every circumstance, refuses to unite with either of its constituents; while, on the contrary, there are also numerous examples of substances refusing to unite with a compound, which have a strong affinity for its constituents. But this change of property, which is the strongest character of chemical action, seems to be totally overlooked by our author in all his reasonings about affinity. Bodies are in general believed to differ in the intensity of their affinity for each other; and M. Berthollet has lately shewn, that this is much modified by their comparative masses. But it by no means follows from the nature of affinity, that if a particle A attract B with a force $= x$, that two particles A ought to attract B with a force at least $= y > x$; for B may unite with one particle A, and form a compound C, which has no affinity for a second particle A. The same argument is equally conclusive against the opinion supported by our author—that difference of intensity of affinity is insufficient to account for decomposition, unless some other force, such as elasticity or cohesion, intervene to determine the exclusion of some particular bodies. Indeed, if this opinion be true, when compound bodies unite, the combination does not take place between them as compounds, but amongst the elementary particles of which they are composed; and no such thing as a secondary compound can exist. Saturation is sufficiently well defined—the balancing of affinity with its antagonist forces, cohesion and elasticity. It is owing to this that the freezing point of water is lowered when it holds some bodies in solution. But our author carries his reasoning rather a little too far, when he concludes that a table of the freezing points of different saline solutions would be a pretty accurate indication of the affinity of the different salts for water. On this principle, how will he account for the fact, that sulphuric acid, combined with a certain proportion of water, actually raises its freezing point, but with a larger quantity lowers it considerably? And as the same reasoning ought to apply to vaporization, how comes the boiling point of some saline solutions to be lower than that of water? Neutralization takes place, when bodies unite in such proportions that they mutually destroy or disguise the properties of each other. In this state, our author supposes their combination to be as perfect as possible, and that their affinities are equal, that is, that the affinity of A for B is equal to that of B for A. He

next

next proceeds to demonſtrate, that, in all combinations, there is a *maximum* and *minimum* in the proportions of the conſtituents, beyond which they can never paſs; but he cannot determine whether they are capable of combining in any indefinite proportion between theſe limits, or only in certain determinate proportions. In the latter caſe, therefore, with unuſual caution he conſults experience; and he certainly would have acted more wiſely to have done the ſame in the former caſe; for his reaſoning is founded on principles purely hypothetical, and leads him to concluſions directly contrary to fact—for example, that elaſtic bodies can only combine with each other in one proportion. Now, azotic gas combines with oxygen gas in four proportions; and the proportions of the carbonates of ammonia are the moſt unſteady of all the cryſtallizable ſalts. We are alſo told, that all compounds, of which the ingredients combine only in certain determinate proportions, have an elaſtic fluid for one of the ingredients; yet we have the tartrat and ſuper-tartrat of potaſs, the ſulphurets and ſuper-ſulphurets of the metals, &c.

We now come to the conſideration of the various methods which have been propoſed to expreſs the ſtrengh of every affinity in numbers. The firſt that meets with our author's approbation, is that of Morveau, founded on the ſuppoſition that the affinity of bodies for each other is directly as the force neceſſary to overcome the adheſion of their ſurfaces. But, beſides the impracticability of carrying it into effect, which even the ingenious ſuggeſtions of our author will not remove, it is merely hypothetical, and cannot be admitted unleſs it be found to coincide with fact. But a diſk of glaſs adhered to water with a force of 258 grains, and to a ſolution of potaſs, though denſer, only with a force of 210; yet water has no chemical action on glaſs, and a ſolution of potaſs has. From a ſeries of hypothetical principles, Berthollet concluded, that the affinities of bodies were inverſely as the maſs of each body capable of neutralizing the other; and, to bring this concluſion to the teſt of experience, our author has calculated the affinities of the acids and baſes for each other from Kirwan's laſt table of the ſalts; from which he concludes, that it is exceedingly probable that the real order of affinities does not deviate far from that given in his tables, derived from theſe calculations. Now, the beſt way of aſcertaining the probability of ſuch an hypotheſis, is to compare it with the facts. Accordingly, this has been very properly done by Dr Thomſon; and he finds that the affinity of the baſes for the acids follow preciſely the inverſe order of that given by Bergman. This objection, however, is of little importance; for Bergman truſted to the clumſy mode of experiment, by aſcertaining what ſalts decompoſed each other;

and

and decompoſition is certainly no teſt of the ſtrength of affinity. The affinities of the acids follow the order which has long been recognized in the metallic ſalts. It is true, they are apparently different in the ſalts from which theſe tables have been calculated: but that, according to Dr Thomſon, is of no conſequence, as the muriats are all more ſoluble than ſulphats. With regard to the carbonic acid, its affinities as calculated from theſe tables are inconſiſtent with fact; but *they* muſt not be taken into conſideration, becauſe the compoſition of the carbonats is very imperfectly determined. This kind of reaſoning, however, we cannot admit. The compoſition of the carbonats was aſcertained by Kirwan as well as that of the other ſalts, and is equally entitled to our confidence; and although, in conſequence of the action of maſs, elaſticity and coheſion, the order of affinity may be different from that of decompoſition, it furniſhes no argument to prove that Berthollet's hypotheſis is more probable than the directly oppoſite one of Kirwan, or than any other which may be imagined by any ſucceeding philoſopher. It is, on the contrary, in favour of Kirwan's hypotheſis that it in general coincides with the order of decompoſition; for the action of maſs, coheſion and elaſticity, may enable him to explain the few apparent exceptions. But Berthollet, although he were to ſucceed in the more arduous taſk of proving that the order of decompoſition is in almoſt every inſtance wrong, has not advanced one ſtep in eſtabliſhing the probability of that which he has adopted. Now, beſides the affinities of carbonic acid, there are others, derived from his hypotheſis, which cannot be accounted for. For example, the affinity of lime to ſulphuric acid is ſtated to be ſtronger than that of potaſs or ſoda, and its affinity to nitrous and to muriatic acid weaker than that of magneſia: the affinity of muriatic acid, again, to ſoda, is ſtated to be nearly twice as ſtrong as that of ſulphuric acid: which are all contrary to the order of decompoſition, and oppoſed alſo, in theſe inſtances, by the action of coheſion. Berthollet's hypotheſis, therefore, appears to us inconſiſtent with fact. Another way of examining the validity of any hypotheſis of this nature, is to carry them as far as they will go, and ſee to what concluſions they will lead. Now, if the principles of either Kirwan or Berthollet were true, the affinities of baſes for all acids, and of acids for all baſes, ſhould follow the ſame ratio; which is alſo contrary to fact. Theſe ſpeculations, therefore, do not ſeem to have increaſed our knowledge of the comparative affinities of bodies; and we muſt ſtill reſort to the humble and tedious method of experiment to aſcertain them.

The next ſubject treated of, is Compound Affinity, concerning which we find nothing very remarkable. It does not appear to us

by any means certain, that ſaline ſolutions, which may be mixed without precipitation, combine; for example, that when ſolutions of ſulphat of potaſs and muriat of ſoda are mixed, theſe compound ſalts do not remain entire, but that a ſolution is formed, containing ſulphuric acid, muriatic acid, potaſs and lime, uniformly combined; for, upon the ſame principle, there ſhould be no ſecondary compounds, and the phenomena of chemiſtry ſhould be different from what they really are. The effect of the inſolubility of ſalts, as explained by Berthollet, is true to a certain extent; but it is not without exceptions. In the tables of affinity for nitric and muriatic acid, calculated on his own principles, ſtrontian is placed below ſoda and potaſs, although the ſalts of ſtrontian are the moſt ſoluble. The laſt chapter is on Repulſion; and it might have been entirely omitted, without any injury to the book as a ſyſtem of chemiſtry. To moſt of his readers, it will be totally unintelligible, and by many it will be eſteemed as a wonderful effort of learning and ingenuity.

Notwithſtanding the great length of theſe obſervations, a volume and an half ſtill remain to be noticed, containing the ſecond part of the work, entitled the Chemical Examination of Nature. It will not, however, detain us long; as we conſider by far the greateſt part of what is here collected under this title, as miſplaced in a ſyſtem of chemiſtry; and the remainder is merely the application of the knowledge contained in the former part, to the examination of nature. The means of analyzing the atmoſphere, mineral waters, minerals, and animal and vegetable ſubſtances into their immediate principles, and the inveſtigation of whatever chemical changes they undergo, belong properly to chemiſtry, and would have formed a very natural ſequel to a general ſyſtem of the ſcience; while the greater part of the meteorology, mineralogy and phyſiology belong to other departments.

The account of the atmoſphere is in general well executed; but Dr Thomſon has committed an error in his calculation of the proportion of weight of its conſtituents. From his own data, inſtead of 74 azotic gas and 26 oxygen, the reſults are 75.12 and 24.88; but he has ſuppoſed the relative ſpecific gravity of oxygen gas to that of azotic gas to be as 135:115, whereas they are as 1356:1189: the real reſults are 75.67 azotic gas, and 24.33 oxygen. Our author differs from Mr Dalton in believing atmoſpheric air to be a chemical compound. Only one of his arguments, however, appears to us to be relevant, viz. that derived from the experiments by which Humboldt and Morozzo endeavoured to eſtabliſh a difference of properties between atmoſpherical air and an artificial mixture of its conſtituents, though the reſult was owing to an exceſs of oxygen in their mixture. In ſpeaking of the comparative merits of the muriatic and nitric acid fumes in deſtroying

contagion,

contagion, Dr Thomson certainly does not speak from experience, when he prefers the former, not only on account of their superior efficacy, but also because the latter are attended with inconvenience, from being almost always contaminated with nitrous gas. To what inconvenience he alludes, we know not; but it is certain that the nitric acid fumes, diffused according to Dr C. Smyth's directions, do not render the removal of the patients during the fumigation at all necessary, which the muriatic acid gases do.

Mineralogy, we are told, is 'that branch of chemistry which treats of Minerals;' and in conformity with this opinion, Dr Thomson has filled almost a volume of his work with this subject. But Mineralogy is certainly a branch of Natural history, which is as intimately connected with the physical as with the chemical properties of its objects. If Dr Thomson believed himself qualified to write a better system of mineralogy than any of those we possess, it would have been highly acceptable as a separate publication; but we think that, by introducing it in this work, he has unnecessarily increased its expence. In compiling it, our author is principally indebted to Haüy and Brochant. In the arrangement, indeed, he seems to think he possesses considerable merit, though we cannot perceive upon what grounds. The principle is taken from Bergman; and in its application, Dr Thomson deviates from it almost as frequently as he adheres to it. In other systems, minerals have been classed in genera, according to the nature of the earth from which they derive their characteristic properties; and from this characteristic earth the genera have received their names. Dr Thomson classes them in genera according to the proportions of their constituents, and gives them symbolic names, formed by arranging the first letter of every substance which enters in any considerable quantity into their composition, in the order of their proportions. Now, it appears to us, that every argument which Dr Thomson adduces against the common arrangement, applies as forcibly against this, and that it is attended with other insurmountable inconveniences. Before any specimen can be arranged, it must not only be analyzed, but its analysis must be perfect; and even if analysis were as easy as it is difficult, it would often oblige us to place different specimens of the same mineral in different parts of the system. To prove the truth of this opinion, we need only examine a few of Dr Thomson's genera. The first is entitled A, which, according to his principles, are minerals consisting entirely of alumina. It contains two species; the first, Diasport, contains also 17 water and 3 oxide of iron, and should therefore be designated by the symbol A W, if not A W I; the second, Native Alumina, contains only 45 alumina, 37 water, and 24 sulphat of lime—its symbol is therefore

A W L, or, as Dr Thomson overlooks salts, A W. The second genus is A S. The first species, Corundum, contains the oriental ruby and sapphire, correctly placed here according to M. Chenevix's analysis; but, according to Mr Klaproth's, sapphire belongs to A, of the imperfect corundums; that from China, as well as Emery, belong to A I S, as the quantity of iron exceeds that of silica. The second species, Chrysoberyl, contains 6. of lime, and therefore belongs to A S L. The third, the Topaz, is right, as well as the Fibrolite, also numbered the third by mistake, and the fourth Sommite. The third genus is A M. The first species, Spinel Ruby, belongs, by Vauquelin's analysis, to A M C, and by Klaproth's to A S M; and the second, the Ceylanite, to A I M. From these three first genera our readers will be able to judge of the others. In this edition, a chapter is added on compound minerals, translated from Brochant; and the last chapter treats of the analysis of minerals.

The fourth book treats of Vegetables; and the fifth, which concludes the work, of Animals. No part of the work has undergone so many alterations in this edition as the chapter which treats of the ingredients of vegetables. The author's ideas on the importance of this subject seem to have undergone a very great change, and to this change of opinion his readers are indebted for much very valuable information; for, instead of 60 pages, it now occupies 160; although there is very little of it, except what is derived from his own experiments, which was not known to pharmaceutists when the former edition was published. But vegetable chemistry has become fashionable, and Dr Thomson has applied to it with very great success, in his experiments on gum, sarcocol, and the bitter principle.

An appendix is added, containing those discoveries of importance which were made during the printing of the work; and we are sorry that we must conclude our analysis, by lamenting that the index is not more copious.

Dr Thomson has, in general, adopted M. Chenevix's nomenclature; but we have occasionally observed deviations inconsistent with it, as tannat and other *ats* for combinations of substances which are not acid. These, however, we believe to be accidental.

Dr Thomson's method of distinguishing the degrees of oxidation in the metallic oxides, by prefixing the first syllable of the Greek ordinal numbers to the word oxide, as prot-oxide, deut-oxide, &c., and the *maximum* of oxidation by per-oxide, we think is an improvement. On the other hand, we trust that our author's example will induce no one to follow him in distinguishing those metalline salts which contain the metal in the state of

per-

per-oxide, by prefixing the particle *oxy* to the name of the acid, as that form of expreſſion has already another much more natural meaning. 'Capacity for caloric,' is alſo uſed by Dr Thomſon to expreſs the quantity of caloric in equal bulks of bodies, although it has hitherto always had a reference to equal weights. Our author ſeems alſo to have a very great diſlike to ſuperfluous letters, not only in the names of ſubſtances, but alſo in thoſe of the German chemiſts; but Hermſtad, Humbolt, Weſtrum, &c. will appear to a German eye as awkwardly exotic as Tomſon would do to our author's.

The references to authorities with which this work abounds, are extremely valuable; and, in general, Dr Thomſon gives a due degree of credit to the diſcoverers of particular facts; and if, in ſome inſtances, through ignorance or inadvertence, the real diſcoverer is not mentioned, in others his praiſe almoſt amounts to flattery. For example, his gratitude to that excellent chemiſt Mr Hatchett, for having communicated to him his unpubliſhed experiments on reſins, has led him to exaggerate their importance to a degree that we conceive muſt be diſpleaſing to that gentleman's modeſty, eſpecially as moſt of the facts, which Dr Thomſon ſeizes every poſſible opportunity of announcing as Mr Hatchett's diſcoveries, were previouſly known. His general ſtatement is in the following words: 'Hitherto it has been affirmed by all chemiſts, ancient and modern, that the alkalies do not exert any action on reſins. Fourcroy, for inſtance, in his laſt work, affirms this in the moſt poſitive manner; but the experiments of Mr Hatchett have demonſtrated this opinion to be completely erroneous.' And after ſtating the experiments, he proceeds, 'Nothing can afford a more ſtriking proof, than this, of the neceſſity of repeating the experiments of our predeceſſors before we put implicit confidence in their aſſertions. The well-known fact, that the ſoap-makers in this country conſtantly mix roſin with their ſoap; that it owes its yellow colour, its odour, and *its eaſy ſolubility in water to this addition*, (?) ought to have led chemiſts to have ſuſpected the ſolubility of reſins in the alkalies. No ſuch conſequence, however, was drawn from this notorious fact.' In oppoſition to all this, we ſhall quote only one modern chemiſt, Gren, who expreſsly ſays that 'the reſins alſo form, with the cauſtic alkalies, ſoapy combinations.' Again, 'It has been ſuppoſed alſo,' ſays Dr Thomſon, 'that the acids are incapable of acting upon the reſins; Fourcroy is equally poſitive with regard to this; and Gren ſpeaks of it in ſuch a manner that every reader muſt conclude that he had tried the effect of nitric acid upon reſins. Yet Mr Hatchett has aſcertained this opinion likewiſe to be erroneous, at leaſt as far as nitric acid is

concerned.' The following *is* the manner in which Gren speaks of it: 'Concentrated *nitric acid acts upon powdered rosin very powerfully*, and nitrous gas is evolved; but the running together of the rosin into lumps, makes its complete solution in nitric acid extremely difficult.'

To his predecessors in the laborious task of compilation, Dr Thomson seldom makes any acknowledgment, although we think it would have been but just, to have mentioned in the preface his obligations to them, especially to Fourcroy, from whom he has often borrowed largely. In some instances, an author of this description is quoted for a particular fact, although the whole passage be borrowed from him. A very flagrant example of this kind occurs in vol. IV. p. 129, when Brochant is quoted in such a manner as to make it appear that nothing but the enumeration of Werner's classes is taken from him, whereas the whole chapter, *Of compound minerals*, extending to twenty-five pages, is an abridged translation of Brochant, with the addition of three analyses by Dr Kennedy and M. Klaproth, and *one* observation by the author.

Upon the whole, notwithstanding the numerous errors which we have discovered, or believe we have discovered, in this work, they are much more than counterbalanced by its general merits. The immense quantity of chemical information which it contains, is highly creditable both to the abilities and the industry of the author; and if, in a future edition, he will restrain a little his propensity to premature generalization, and free his numerical expressions from the numberless errors which now render it impossible to trust to any of his calculations with security, we have no doubt that it will continue to maintain its reputation as the best repository of chemical knowledge that has yet been offered to the public.

If any of our readers should be inclined to object, that the general tone of the preceding observations does not accord very harmoniously with this concluding eulogium, or to accuse us of having specified little more than the defects of a work of such unquestionable merit, we would beg leave to remind them, that Dr Thomson is neither humble nor obscure enough to stand in need of recommendation or encouragement from us. The public has already done ample justice to his talents; and he is himself perfectly aware of the extent of his claims on their favour. In this situation, while it is almost unnecessary to proclaim his merits, it becomes of the greatest consequence to point out his mistakes and imperfections. Under the sanction of so great an authority, errors are propagated with a very mischievous rapidity, and the author himself is apt to become presumptuous and precipitate, when no one is to be found who will admonish him of his failures

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and faults. Notwithſtanding the freedom of our remarks, we doubt if any of Dr Thomſon's readers have a higher ſenſe than we have of the value of this publication; the peruſal of which we very earneſtly recommend to every ſtudent of chemiſtry.

Art. X. *Specimens of the Early Engliſh Poets: To which is prefixed, An Hiſtorical Sketch of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Engliſh Poetry and Language.* By George Ellis Eſq. The Third Edition, Corrected. 3 vol. 8vo.

The firſt edition of this intereſting work appeared in 1790, comprifing in one volume many of the moſt beautiful ſmall poems which had appeared during the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries. The plan was certainly worthy of being enlarged; and accordingly, in the ſecond edition, publiſhed about a year ago, and rapidly diſpoſed of, as well as in that which is now before us, it has received ſuch conſiderable additions, that the work has increaſed to thrice the original ſize; and Mr Ellis has eſtabliſhed his claim to the character of an original author, as well as to that of a judicious collector and editor of the forgotten poems of antiquity. The firſt volume contains the preliminary hiſtorical ſketch of the riſe and progreſs of Engliſh poetry and language; the ſecond and third are occupied by thoſe ſpecimens which give name to the whole. We ſhall endeavour ſucceſſively to analyſe the contents, and examine the merits, of theſe two diviſions of the work.

It is obvious to every one who has ſtudied our language, whether in proſe or poetry, that a luminous hiſtory of its riſe and progreſs muſt neceſſarily involve more curious topics of diſcuſſion than a ſimilar work upon any other European language. This opinion has not its ſource in national partiality, but is dictated by the very peculiar circumſtances under which the Engliſh language was formed. The other European tongues, ſuch at leaſt as have been adapted to the purpoſes of literature *, may be divided into two grand claſſes—thoſe which are derived from the Teutonic, and thoſe which are formed upon the Latin. In the former claſs, we find the German, the Norſe, the Swediſh, the Daniſh, and the Low-Dutch, all of which, in words and conſtruction, are dialects of the Teutonick, and preſerve the general character

* We do not mention the dialects founded on the Celtic and Slavonic languages, becauſe they have not been uſed in literary compoſitions; nevertheleſs, the ſame obſervation applies to them as to the others; they have each their derivation from a ſingle mother-root, and are not, like the Engliſh, a compounded or mingled language.

of their common ſource, although enriched and improved by terms of art or of ſcience adopted from the learned languages, or from thoſe of other kingdoms of civilized Europe. The ſecond claſs comprehends the Italian, the Spaniſh, and the French in all its branches. It is true, the laſt of theſe has, in modern times, owing to the number of French writers in every claſs and upon every ſubject, departed farther from its original than the two others; but ſtill the ground-work is the Latin; and the more nearly any ſpecimen approaches to it, it may be ſafely concluded to be the more ancient; for, in truth, we know no other rule for aſcertaining the antiquity of any particular piece in the *Romanz* language, than by its greater or ſlighter reſemblance to the ſpeech of the ancient Romans, from which it derives its name. Thus every language of civilized Europe is formed of a uniform pattern and texture, either upon the Teutonick, or upon the Latin. But the ſame chance which has peopled Britain with ſuch a variety of tribes and nations, that we are at a loſs to conceive how they ſhould have met upon the ſame ſpot—and that, comparatively, a ſmall one—has decreed that the language of Locke and of Shakeſpeare ſhould claim no peculiar affinity to either of theſe grand ſources of European ſpeech; and that if, on the one hand, its conformation and conſtruction be founded on a dialect of the Teutonick, the greater number of its vocables ſhould, on the other, be derived from the Romanz, or corrupted Latin of the Normans. It is intereſting to obſerve how long theſe languages, uncongenial in themſelves, and derived from ſources widely different, continued to exiſt ſeparately, and to be ſpoken reſpectively by the Anglo-Norman conquerors and the vanquiſhed Anglo-Saxons. It is ſtill more intereſting to obſerve how, after having long flowed each in its ſeparate channel, they at length united and formed a middle dialect, which, though employed at firſt for the mere purpoſe of convenience and mutual intercourſe betwixt the two nations, at length ſuperſeded the individual ſpeech of both, and became the apt record of poetry and of philoſophy.

The hiſtory of poetry is intimately connected with that of language. Authors in the infancy of compoſition, like Pope in that of life, may be ſaid to 'liſp in numbers.' Hiſtory, religion, morality, whatever tends to agitate or to ſooth the paſſions, is, during the ealier ſtages of ſociety, celebrated in verſe. This may be partly owing to the eaſe with which poetry is retained upon the memory, in thoſe ruder ages, when written monuments, if they at all exiſt, are not calculated to promote general information; and it may be partly owing to that innate love of ſong, and ſenſibility to the charms of flowing numbers, which is diſtinguiſhable even among the moſt ſavage people. But, whatever

ever be the cauſe, the effect is moſt certain; the early works of all nations have been written in verſe, and the hiſtory of their poetry is the hiſtory of the language itſelf. It therefore ſeems ſurpriſing, that, where the ſubject is intereſting in a peculiar as well as in a general point of view, a diſtinct and connected hiſtory of our poetry, and of the language in which it is written, ſhould ſo long have been a *deſideratum* in Engliſh literature; and the wonder becomes greater when we recollect, that an attempt to ſupply the deficiency was long ſince made by a perſon who ſeemed to unite every quality neceſſary for the taſk.

The late Mr Warton, with a poetical enthuſiaſm which converted toil into pleaſure, and gilded, to himſelf and his readers, the dreary ſubjects of antiquarian lore, and with a capacity of labour apparently inconſiſtent with his more brilliant powers, has produced a work of great ſize, and, partially ſpeaking, of great intereſt, from the peruſal of which we riſe, our fancy delighted with beautiful imagery, and with the happy analyſis of ancient tale and ſong, but certainly with very vague ideas of the hiſtory of Engliſh poetry. The error ſeems to lye in a total neglect of plan and ſyſtem; for, delighted with every intereſting topic which occurred, the hiſtorical poet purſued it to its utmoſt verge, without conſidering that theſe digreſſions, however beautiful and intereſting in themſelves, abſtracted alike his own attention, and that of the reader, from the profeſſed purpoſe of his book. Accordingly, Warton's hiſtory of Engliſh poetry has remained, and will always remain, an immenſe common-place book of *memoirs to ſerve for ſuch an hiſtory*. No antiquary can open it, without drawing information from a mine which, though dark, is inexhauſtible in its treaſures; nor will he who reads merely for amuſement ever ſhut it for lack of attaining his end; while both may probably regret the deſultory excurſions of an author, who wanted only ſyſtem, and a more rigid attention to minute accuracy, to have perfected the great taſk he has left incomplete.

It is therefore with no little pleaſure that we ſee a man of taſte and talents advance to ſupply the deficiency in ſo intereſting a branch of our learning; a taſk, to which Johnſon was unequal through ignorance of our poetical antiquities, and in which Warton failed, perhaps, becauſe he was too deeply enamoured of them. This is the arduous attempt of Mr Ellis; and it remains to inquire how he has executed it.

The elemental part of the Engliſh language, that from which it derives, not indeed the greater proportion of its words, but the rules of its grammar and conſtruction, is the Anglo-Saxon; and Mr Ellis has dedicated his firſt chapter to make the Engliſh reader acquainted with it. The example of their poetry, which he has choſen to exhibit, is the famous war-ſong in praiſe of Athelſtane's

Athelſtane's victory in the battle of Brunenburgh; an engagement which checked for ever the victorious progreſs of the Picts and Scots, and limited their reign to the northern part of Britain. We cannot, from this poem, nor indeed from any other remnant of Anglo-Saxon poetry, determine what were the rules of their verſe. Rhime they had none; their rythm ſeems to have been uncertain; and perhaps their whole poetry conſiſted in the adaptation of the words to ſome ſimple tune; although Mr Ellis ſeems inclined to think, with Mr Tyrwhitt, that the verſe of the Saxons was only diſtinguiſhed from their proſe by 'a greater pomp of diction, and a more ſtately kind of march.' To this ſpecimen of Saxon poetry, Mr Ellis has ſubjoined a tranſlation of it into the Engliſh of the age of Chaucer, which we recommend to our readers as one of the beſt executed imitations that we have ever met with. It was written by a friend of Mr Ellis (Mr Frere, if we miſtake not) while at Eton ſchool, and ſtruck us with ſo much ſurpriſe, that we are obliged to extract a paſſage, at the riſk of interrupting our account of Mr Ellis's plan, to juſtify the extent of our panegyric.

'The Mercians fought I underſtond,
There was gamen of the hond.
Alle that with Aulof hir way hom
Over the ſeas in the ſchippes wom,
And the five ſonnes of the kynge,
Fel mid dint of ſword-fightinge.
His ſeven erlis died alſo;
Mony Scottes were killed tho,
The Normannes for their mighty boſt
Went home with a lytyl hoſt.
- - - - - - - - - -
In Dacie of that gaming
Mony wemen hir hondis wring.
The Normannes paſſed that rivere,
Mid hevy hart and ſorry chere.
The brothers to Weſſex yode,
Leving the crowen and the tode,
Hawkes, doggis and wolves, tho
Egles and mony other mo,
With the dede men for their mede,
On hir corſes for to fede.
Sen the Saxonis firſt come
In ſchippes over the ſea-fome,
Of the yeres that ben for gone
Greater bataile was never none.'

This appears to us an exquiſite imitation of the antiquated Engliſh poetry; not depending on an accumulation of hard words, like

like the language of Rowley, which, in every thing elſe, is refined and harmonious poetry, nor upon an agglomeration of conſonants in the orthography, the reſource of later and more contemptible forgers, but upon the ſtyle itſelf, upon its alternate ſtrength and weakneſs, now nervous and conciſe, now diffuſe and eked out by the feeble aid of expletives. In general, imitators wiſh to write like ancient poets, without ceaſing to uſe modern meaſure and phraſeology; but had the conſcience of this author permitted him to palm theſe verſes upon the public as an original production of the fourteenth century, we know no internal evidence by which the impoſture could have been detected.

From conſidering the ſtate of the Anglo-Saxon poetry at and previous to the Conqueſt, Mr Ellis turns his conſideration to that of the invaders, and treats at conſiderable length of what may be called the Anglo-Norman literature. It is well known, that the monarchs who immediately ſucceeded the conqueror, adopted his policy, in foſtering the language and arts of Normandy, in oppoſition to thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons, whom they oppreſſed, and by whom they were deteſted. The French poetry was not neglected; and it is now conſidered as an eſtabliſhed point, that the moſt ancient metrical romances exiſting in that language, were compoſed, not for the court of Paris, but for that of London; and hence a Britiſh ſtory, the glories of King Arthur, became their favourite theme. The ingenious Abbé de la Rue wrote ſeveral eſſays, printed in the Archæologia, which throw great light upon the Anglo-Norman poets; and of this information Mr Ellis has judiciouſly availed himſelf. But he alſo diſcovers by the explanations attached to his extracts from Wace, that intimate acquaintance with the Romanz language, which is at once ſo difficult to acquire, and ſo indiſpenſable to the execution of his hiſtory.

In the third chapter, we ſee the laſt rays of Saxon literature, in a long extract from Layamon's tranſlation of the *Brut* of Wace. But ſo little were the Saxon and Norman languages calculated to amalgamate, that though Layamon wrote in the reign of Henry II, his language is almoſt pure Saxon; and hence it is probable, that if the mixed language now called Engliſh at all exiſted, it was deemed as yet unfit for compoſition, and only uſed as a pie-bald jargon for carrying on the indiſpenſable intercourſe betwixt the Anglo-Saxons and Normans. In proceſs of time, however, the dialect ſo much deſpiſed made its way into the ſervice of the poets, and ſeems to have ſuperſeded the uſe of the Saxon, although the French, being the court language, continued to maintain its ground till a later pe-

riod,

riod. Mr Ellis has traced this change with a heedful and diſcriminating eye, and has guided us through the harſh numbers of the romancers and the compilers of legends, and through the wide waſte of proſaic verſe, in which it was the pleaſure of Robert of Glouceſter and Robert de Brunne to record the hiſtory of their country, down to that period when Engliſh poetry began to aſſume a claſſical form, and to counterbalance, in the eſteem even of the kings and nobles, the hitherto triumphant Anglo-Norman. This grand change was doubtleſs brought on by very ſlow degrees, and it is difficult exactly to aſcertain its progreſs. The hiſtory of Engliſh Minſtrelſy, in oppoſition to that of the Anglo-Normans, would probably throw great light on this ſubject; for theſe itinerant poets muſt have made uſe of the Engliſh long before it was thought fit for higher purpoſes. Mr Ellis has obſerved, juſtly, that the hiſtory alluded to is involved in great obſcurity: nevertheleſs, before concluding, we intend to recommend it to his further attention.

The epoch from which Engliſh may be conſidered as a claſſical language, may be fixed in the reign of Edward III, the age of Gower and of Chaucer, in which it was no longer confined to what the latter has called 'the draſty riming' of the wandering minſtrel, but employed in the compoſition of voluminous and ſerious productions by men poſſeſſed of all the learning of the times. The *Confeſſio Amantis* of Dan. Gower is thus characterized by Mr Ellis.

'This poem is a long dialogue between a lover and his confeſſor, who is a prieſt of Venus, and is called Genius. As every vice is in its nature unamiable, it ought to follow, that immorality is unavoidably puniſhed by the indignation of the fair ſex; and that every fortunate lover muſt of neceſſity be a good man, and a good chriſtian; and upon this preſumption, which perhaps is not ſtrictly warranted by experience, the confeſſor paſſes in review all the defects of the human character, and carefully ſcrutinizes the heart of his penitent with reſpect to each, before he will conſent to give him abſolution.

'Becauſe example is more impreſſive than precept, he illuſtrates his injunctions by a ſeries of appoſite tales, with the morality of which our lover profeſſes himſelf to be highly edified; and being of a more inquiſitive turn than lovers uſually are, or perhaps hoping to ſubdue his miſtreſs by directing againſt her the whole artillery of ſcience, he gives his confeſſor an opportunity of incidentally inſtructing him in chemiſtry, and in the Ariſtotelian philoſophy. At length, all the intereſt that he has endeavoured to excite, by the long and minute details of his ſufferings, and by manifold proofs of his patience, is rather abruptly and unexpectedly extinguiſhed: for he tells us, not that his miſtreſs is inflexible or faithleſs, but that he is arrived at ſuch a good old age, that the ſubmiſſion of his fair enemy would not have been ſufficient for enſuring his triumph.'

We

We regret that our limits do not permit us to include our author's account of Chaucer, and his poetry. It has been warmly disputed in what particular manner the father of English poetry contributed to its improvement. Mr Ellis, with great plausibility, ascribes this effect chiefly to the peculiar ornaments of his style, consisting in an affectation of splendour, and especially of latinity, which is not to be found in the simple strains of Robert of Gloucester, or any of the anterior poets, nor indeed in that of Laurence Minot, or others about his own time.

In chapter ninth, the language of Scotland, and the history of her early poetry, comes into consideration. This is a thorny point with every antiquary. The English and Scotish languages are in early times exactly similar; and yet, from the circumstances of the two countries, they must necessarily have had a separate origin. Mr Ellis seems disposed to adopt the solution of Mr Hume, who supposes the Saxon language to have been imposed upon the Scotish, by a series of successful invasions and conquests, of which history takes no notice. To this proposition, in a limited degree, we are inclined to subscribe; for there is no doubt that the Anglo-Saxons of Bernicia extended themselves, at least occasionally, as far as the frith of Forth, occupied the Merse and Lothian, introduced into them their language, and, when conquered by the Scots and Picts, were in fact the *Angli*, to whom, as subjects of the Crown of Scotland, our Kings' charters were so frequently addressed. But we cannot admit these conquests to be supposed farther than they are proved; nor do we conceive that one province, though a rich one, could have imposed its language upon the other subjects of the Kings who acquired it by conquest. There must have been some other source from which the Scoto-Teutonick is derived, than the Anglo-Saxon spoken in Lothian. This grand source we conceive to have been the language of the ancient Picts; nor would it be easy to alter our opinion. Those who are connoisseurs in the Scotish dialects as now spoken, will observe many instances of words in the idiom of Angus-shire (the seat of the Picts) which can only be referred to a Belgic root; whereas those of South-country idiom may almost universally be traced to the Anglo-Saxon. The Norman, from which, as Mr Ellis justly remarks, the Scotish dialect, as soon as we have a specimen of it, appears to have borrowed as much as the English, was probably introduced by the influx of Norman nobles, whom the oppression of their own Kings drove into exile, or whom their native chivalrous and impatient temper urged to seek fortune and adventures in the court of Scotland. Having traced the origin of our language, the earlier Scotish poets Barbour and Winton pass in review, with specimens from each, very happily selected,

to

to illuſtrate at once their own powers of compoſition, and the manners of the age in which they wrote. Theſe are intermingled with criticiſms, in which the reader's attention is directed to what is moſt worthy of notice, and kept perpetually awake by the lively and happy ſtyle in which they are conveyed.

The merit of Occleve and Lydgate are next examined, who, with equal popularity, but with merit incalculably inferior, ſupported the renown of Engliſh poetry after the death of Chaucer. One ſpecimen from the latter we cannot help extracting as irreſiſtibly ludicrous.

'One of the moſt amuſing paſſages in this poem (the Book of Troy) is contained in the ſeventeenth chapter, and relates to a well known event in the life of Venus. Lydgate thus expreſſes his indignation againſt Vulcan.

'The *ſmotry* * ſmith, this ſwarte Vulcanus,
That whilom in hearte was ſo jealous
Toward Venus that was his wedded wife,
Whereof there roſe a deadly mortal ſtrife,
When he with Mars gan her firſt eſpy,
Of high malice, and cruel falſe envy,
Through the ſhining of Phebus' beams bright,
Lying a-bed with Mars her owne knight.
For which in heart he brent as any glede; †
Making the ſlander all abroad to ſprede,
And gan thereon falſely for to muſe.
And God forbid that any man accuſe
FOR SO LITTLE any woman ever!
Where love is ſet, hard is to diſſever!
For though they do ſuch thing of gentleneſs,
Paſs over lightly, and bear none heavineſs,
Leſt that thou be to woman odious!
And yet this ſmith, this falſe Vulcanus,
Albe that he had them thus eſpied,
Among Paynims yet was he defied!
And, for that he SO FALSELY THEM AWOKE,
I have him ſet laſt of all my boke,
Among the goddes of falſe mawmentry ‡,' &c. (Sign. L. i.)

'Upon this occaſion, the morals of our poetical monk are ſo very pliant, that it is difficult to ſuppoſe him quite free from perſonal motives which might have influenced his doctrine. Perhaps he had been incommoded by ſome intruſive huſband, at a moment when he felt tired of

* Smoky or ſmutty. † A burning coal. *Loix.*

‡ Mahometry, *i. e.* idolatry. It may be proper to obſerve, that no part of this paſſage is to be found in Colonna's original. In general, indeed, Lydgate's is by no means a tranſlation, but a very looſe paraphraſe.

of celebacy, and wished to indulge in a temporary relaxation from the severity of monastic discipline *.'

From Lydgate our author proceeds to James I. of Scotland, upon whose personal qualities he pronounces a merited panegyric, accompanied with several extracts from the 'Kingis Quair.' The next chapter is peculiarly interesting. It contains a retrospect of the conclusions to be drawn from the information already conveyed; and this introduces a well written and pleasing digression upon the private life of the English during the middle ages. We learn that, even in that early period, the life of the English farmer or yeoman was far superior in ease and comfort to that of persons of the same rank in France. Pierce Ploughman, a yeoman apparently, possessed a cow and calf, and a cart-mare for transporting manure; and although, at one time of the year, he fed upon cheese curds and oat cakes, yet after Lammas, when his harvest was got in, he could 'dress his dinner to his own mind.' We also learn, that the peasants were so far independent, as to exact great wages; and doubtless these circumstances, combined with the practice of archery, gave the English infantry such an infinite advantage over those of other nations, consisting of poor half-fed serfs, and gained them so many battles in spite of the high-soul'd chivalry of France, and the obstinate and enduring courage of our Scotish ancestors. Mr Ellis remarks, on this subject—'It is very honourable to the good sense of the English nation, that our two best early poets have highly extolled this useful body of men, while the French minstrels of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, universally seem to approve the supercilious contempt with which the nobles affected to treat them †.' We have also much curious information concerning the dress of the period, particularly of the ladies, who in the day-time seem to have been wrapt up in furs, and in the night-time to have slept without shifts. The serenades, the amusements, the food, the fashions, the manners of the period, are all illustrated by quotations from the authors who have referred to them; and, with the singular advantage

* Suspecting that Lydgate had borrowed this singular passage from some French paraphrase of Colonna's work, I examined the anonymous translation in the Museum, (Bibl. Reg. 16. F. IX.), but could not find any traces of such a deviation from the original.

† We have noticed a solitary exception to this general rule.

'Quoique je dise et quoique non
Nus n'est vilains se de cuer non;
Vilains est qui fait vilenie,
Ja tant iert de haute lignie.'

Fabliau de Chevalier des Clers et des Vilains.

advantage of never losing sight of his main subject, Mr Ellis has brought together much information on collateral points of interest and curiosity, which will be new to the modern reader, and pleasing to the antiquary, by placing, at once, under his review, circumstances dispersed through many a weary page of black letter.

The reign of Henry VI., and those of the succeeding monarchs, down to Henry VIII., seem to have produced few poets worthy of notice. Two translators of some eminence occur during the former period, and the latter is graced by Harding (a kind of Robert of Gloucester *redivivus*); Hawes, a bad imitator of Lydgate, ten times more tedious than his original; the Ladie Juliana Berners, who wrote a book upon hunting in execrable poetry; and a few other rhimers, who, excepting perhaps Lord Rivers, are hardly worth naming. During this period, however, the poetry of Scotland was in its highest state of perfection; and Mr Ellis finds ample room, both for his critical and historical talents, in celebrating Henry the Minstrel, Henrysoun, Johnstoun, Merear, Dunbar, and Gawain Douglas. Upon the works of the two last, Mr Ellis dwells with pleasure; and his opinion may have some effect in refreshing their faded laurels. In the reign of Henry VIII., the Scotish bards continue to preserve their superiority; for, surely, the ribald Skelton, and the tiresome John Heywood, cannot be compared to Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, or to the anonymous author of the Mourning Maiden. In this last beautiful poem, the following passage embarrasses Mr Ellis:

> 'Sall never berne gar breif the bill
> At bidding me to bow.'

The meaning seems to us to be, 'No one shall enrol the summons, which shall force me to yield to his suit.' With this poem Mr Ellis closes the first part of his work, being the history of the English poetry and language.

We have already taken notice of the very extensive range of discussion which this sketch embraces. It was therefore almost unavoidable, that there should remain subjects on which we might have wished for farther information. The history of English Minstrelsy, in particular, makes too important a part of Mr Ellis's subject, for us to permit him to escape from it so slightly. As he has announced his intention to publish a second series of specimens, selected from the early metrical romances, we recommend strongly to him, to prefix such a prefatory memoir as may fill up this wide blank in the history of our language. We are the more earnest in this recommendation, because we know, from experience, that Mr Ellis will manage, with the temper becoming a gentleman, a dispute which, though the circumstance seems to us altogether astonishing,

aſtoniſhing, has certainly had a prodigious effect in exciting the irritable paſſions of our antiquaries, and has been managed with a degree of acrimony only ſurpaſſed by the famous and rancorous quarrel about the Scots and Picts. We obſerve, with pleaſure, that, in repelling ſome attacks upon his firſt and ſecond editions, Mr Ellis has uniformly uſed the lance of *courteſy*, as a romancer would have ſaid; and truly we have no pleaſure in ſeeing his contemporaries ſpur their hobby-horſes headlong againſt each other, and fight at *outrance*, and with *fer emoulu*. Mr Ellis's ſtyle is uniformly chaſte and ſimple, diverſified by a very happy gaiety which enlivens even the moſt unpromiſing parts of his ſubject. We have only to add, that no author has paſſed over his own pretenſions with ſuch unaffected modeſty, or given more liberal praiſe to the labours of others.

It cannot be expected, after dwelling ſo long upon the original part of the work, that we ſhould have much to ſay upon the ſpecimens which occupy the two laſt volumes. To each reign is prefixed a general character of the literature of the period; and to each ſet of ſpecimens ſome account of the author and his writings. That of Spenſer contains ſome new and curious particulars, with a ſhort and able critique upon his ſtyle of poetry. We therefore extract it at length.

'From ſatisfactory information that has lately been procured, it appears that Spenſer was born about 1553, and died in 1598-9. He was educated at Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, which he quitted in 1576; and, retiring into the north, compoſed his 'Shepherd's Calendar,' the dedication of which ſeems to have procured him his firſt introduction to Sir Philip Sidney. In 1579, he was employed by Leiceſter, to whom he had been recommended by Sidney, in ſome foreign commiſſion. In 1580, he became ſecretary to Lord Gray of Wilton, then appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; and, in 1582, returned with him to England. In 1586, he obtained a grant of 3000 acres of land in the county of Cork, and in the following year took poſſeſſion of his eſtate, where he generally continued to reſide till 1598, when, as Drummond relates on the authority of Ben Johnſon, his houſe was plundered and burnt by the Iriſh rebels; his child murdered; and himſelf, with his wife, driven in the greateſt diſtreſs to England. It was in the courſe of eleven years, paſſed in Ireland, that he compoſed his 'Fairy Queen.'

'If theſe dates be correct, it will follow, that notwithſtanding the illiberal oppoſition of Lord Burleigh, whoſe memory has been devoted to ignominy by every admirer of Spenſer, the period during which our amiable poet was condemned

To fret his ſoul with croſſes and with cares,
To eat his heart with comfortleſs deſpairs,

was not very long protracted; ſince he began to enjoy the advantages of public office at the age of 26, and, at 33, was rewarded by an am-

ple and independent fortune, of which he was only deprived by a general and national calamity. Few candidates of court favour, with no better pretenſions than great literary merit, have been ſo ſucceſsful.

'Mr Warton has offered the beſt excuſes that can be alleged for the defects of the 'Fairy Queen,' aſcribing the wildneſs and irregularity of its plan to Spenſer's predilection for Arioſto. But the 'Orlando Furioſo,' though abſurd and extravagant, is uniformly amuſing. We are enabled to travel to the concluſion of our journey without fatigue, though often bewildered by the windings of the road, and ſurpriſed by the abrupt change of our travelling companions; whereas it is ſcarcely poſſible to accompany Spenſer's allegorical heroes to the end of their excurſions. They want fleſh and blood; a want, for which nothing can compenſate. The perſonification of abſtract ideas furniſhes the moſt brilliant images of poetry; but theſe meteor forms, which ſtartle and delight us when our ſenſes are flurried by paſſion, muſt not be ſubmitted to our cool and deliberate examination. A ghoſt muſt not be dragged into day-light. Perſonification, protracted into allegory, affects a modern reader almoſt as diſagreeably as inſpiration continued to madneſs.

'This however was the fault of the age; and all that genius could do for ſuch a ſubject, has been done by Spenſer. His glowing fancy, his unbounded command of language, and his aſtoniſhing facility and ſweetneſs of verſification, have placed him in the firſt rank of Engliſh poets. It is hoped that the following ſpecimens, ſelected from his minor compoſitions, will be found to be tolerably illuſtrative of his poetical, as well as of his moral character.

'The three firſt books of the 'Fairy Queen' were printed in quarto, 1590; and again, with the three next, in 1596.'

From the works of voluminous authors Mr Ellis has ſelected ſuch paſſages as might give the beſt general idea of their manner; but he has alſo been indefatigable in ſeeking out all ſuch beautiful ſmaller pieces as uſed to form the little collections, called, in the quaint language of the times, Garlands. His own work may be conſidered as a new garland of withered roſes. The liſt concludes with the reign of Charles II. The publication ſeems to have been made with the ſtricteſt attention to accuracy, except that, throughout the whole, the ſpelling is reduced to the modern ſtandard, for which we fear Mr Ellis may undergo the cenſure of the more rigid antiquaries. For our part, as all the antique words are carefully retained and accurately interpreted, we do not think that, in a popular work, intelligibility ſhould be ſacrificed to the preſervation of a rude and uncertain orthography. As an example of the amatory ſtyle of Charles the Firſt's reign, from which our later poetaſters have ſecurely pilfered for their miſtreſſes' uſe ſo many locks of gold and teeth of pearl, not to mention roſes and lilies, we inſert the following ſong from Carew.

'Aſk

'Ask me no more where Jove beſtows,
When June is paſt, the fading roſe;
For in your beauty's orient deep,
Theſe flowers as in their cauſes ſleep.

Ask me no more whither do ſtray
The golden atoms of the day;
For in pure love heaven did prepare
Thoſe powders to enrich your hair.

Ask me no more whither doth haſte
The nightingale, when May is paſt;
For in your ſweet dividing throat
She winters, and keeps warm her note.

Ask me no more where thoſe ſtars light,
That downwards fall at dead of night;
For in your eyes they ſet, and there
Fixed become as in their ſphere.

Ask me no more if eaſt or weſt
The phœnix builds her ſpicy neſt;
For unto you at laſt ſhe flies,
And in your fragrant boſom dies.'

It only remains to mention, that there are prefixed to theſe volumes two accurate liſts of Engliſh poets, one chronological, and the other alphabetical, from 1230 to 1650; and that there is an Eſſay at the concluſion, in which the author's opinion concerning the origin of language is condenſed and recapitulated.

ART. XI. *Inquiries concerning the Nature of a Metallic Subſtance, lately ſold in London as a New Metal, under the Title of Palladium.* By Richard Chenevix Eſq. F. R. S. and M. R. I. A. From Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1803. Part II.

WE conſider this as a very excellent paper; and, ſince the ſubject is not only curious in detail, but may lead to ſeveral important general views, we ſhall devote a few pages to ſuch an account of Mr Chenevix's inquiries, as may introduce them to the acquaintance of our readers.

An advertiſement was circulated laſt ſpring, deſcribing the chemical properties of a *new noble metal*, called *palladium*, or *new ſilver*. Specimens of it were expoſed to ſale; and no account whatever was given of the manner or the place in which they had been procured. They had all undergone the operation of the ſlitting mill, and were formed into thin laminæ. Nothing like an unwrought ſpecimen, a bit of the ore, or a portion of its ma-

trix, was either described or exhibited. No person of scientific authority came forward to vouch for the account given of the singular properties which this substance was said to possess; and those properties were only unfolded as an advertisement of an article of commerce. All these circumstances contributed to involve the authenticity of the specimens in a great degree of suspicion, and to render it extremely probable that the substance exposed to sale as a new metal, was only a compound or other modification of known minerals, effected by artificial means. With a view to the determination of this point, Mr Chenevix undertook the course of experiments which forms the subject of the paper now before us. And, as he very soon discovered, in the samples which he examined, properties extremely different from those of the known metals, he was led to extend his inquiries, and to procure, for this purpose, the whole of the specimens offered to the public by the proprietor. In presenting our readers with an abstract of this investigation, we shall consider, *first*, the experiments made upon the properties and habitudes of this doubtful substance: these did not suffice to determine its precise nature, which was only discovered, by attempting to form a similar body from a union of simple substances. We shall, in the *second* place, consider the synthetical experiments. After having by this process ascertained the component parts of palladium, our author endeavoured to separate the compound body into its ingredients: These attempts to analyse the alloy will form the last object of attention.

I. The specific gravity of the specimens varied from 10.972 to 11.482: a heat much greater than that of melting gold was required to fuse them; and the specific gravity of the button was increased to 11.871. Sulphur makes it melt at a low temperature, and forms with it a very brittle sulphurate. Charcoal appears to have no sort of affinity with palladium. This substance, when polished, resembles platina very nearly; when melted, it assumes the appearance of crystallization, and is extremely malleable.

The alloy of palladium with equal parts of silver, had a lower specific gravity than palladium itself: the alloy with platina had a much greater specific gravity: the alloys with lead and bismuth bore a striking resemblance to each other; a new circumstance, our readers will remark, in the analogy formerly pointed out between those two metals by Mr Hatchett. (No. VI. p. 454.)

The alkalies act weakly on palladium, with the assistance of atmospherical air. The mineral acids act much more violently, particularly the nitric and muriatic, and most of all the nitro-muriatic acid. With all these solvents it forms a red liquor, from

from which it is precipitated in the form of an orange-coloured powder, by alkalies, earths, and all the metals except gold, silver, and platina.

Notwithstanding the analogy of many of the properties of palladium to those of platina, yet, in several respects, the above experiments were entirely irreconcileable with the known habitudes either of that substance, or of gold or silver. Some other tests which our author applied, rendered it equally improbable that either lead, copper, or mercury, should have contributed to the formation of this singular body. Above all, the specific gravity of palladium and its habitudes, both with the acids and with respect to the other metals, were such as could never have been expected from the known properties either of platina or mercury; and yet our author found, rather by a casual experiment than by the result of the trials above analysed, that those two metals might be so united as to form a compound in which the most obvious properties of each were entirely concealed, and new properties exhibited, exactly corresponding with those of palladium.

II. When a solution of platina is made by nitro-muriatic acid, and red oxide of mercury made by nitric acid is added to the former solution until it is saturated; and when the whole mixture is heated with green sulphate of iron; a copious precipitate of metallic powder is formed, which is with difficulty fusible into a button, which readily melts when sulphur is added, is soluble in nitric acid, has a specific gravity of 11.2, and is entirely similar to palladium. This alloy contains about one part of mercury and two of platina.

If in this experiment there be substituted for sulphate of iron, either iron, zinc, or phosphate of ammonia, no palladium is produced; nor can platina and mercury be united so as to form palladium, either by direct trituration and digestion, or by mixture of their solutions in acids, or by exposing the two bodies together to violent degrees of heat, or by passing the vapours of the one over the other in a state of intense fusion, or by exhibiting the metals to each other under the action of the most powerful galvanic pile. By two methods besides the one first ascertained, palladium may be formed: sulphurated hydrogen gas may be passed through the mixed solution of platina and mercury; or the precipitate of platina by ammonia, from its solution in nitro-muriatic acid, may be triturated with mercury, and then exposed to a violent heat. The success of both these methods, however, is extremely uncertain; and the union of the metals in every way, except the process of reduction by sulphate of iron, seems to depend upon so great a number of unknown circumstances, that the operation may fairly be considered as one of the most capricious

in chemistry. We are, however, warranted in concluding, that various alloys of mercury and platina may be formed, which do not possess the distinguishing properties of palladium. To unite the two metals so as to increase the fusibility and diminish the specific gravity of the platina, is by no means difficult: But the compound does not acquire the characteristic qualities of palladium until a much greater proportion of the mercury has been combined; and its solubility in nitric acid only takes place when the specific gravity has been reduced to 12 or 12.5.

III. It is singular with what force the component parts of palladium are united, notwithstanding their repugnance to enter into combination. All the experiments which our author made with a view to analyse this substance, completely failed. He tried the converse of all his synthetical operations without effect. He exposed palladium to a violent heat; subjected it to cupellation; burnt it both in oxygen gas and by means of the galvanic pile, without the slightest tendency to separation being evinced by the component parts. When it was burnt, a thick white smoke arose, which, on being collected, was found to consist of palladium, entirely unaffected by the operation. These experiments were tried not only upon the specimens exposed to sale, but upon the substance produced by our author's experiments; and, what is not a little remarkable, it was found as impossible to decompose the imperfect kind of palladium, formed by a slight union of platina and mercury, as to separate these two metals, from the union of which they are susceptible in the largest proportions.

Mr Chenevix concludes his paper with some experiments upon the mutual affinities of metals, and the affinities of platina with acids. The former class of experiments is not very interesting; in the latter, it is ascertained that sulphuric acid has a stronger affinity for platina than muriatic acid; from whence our author infers, that the opinion is fallacious which accounts for the solution of platina in nitro-muriatic acid, upon the supposition that the muriatic acid assists the process in the same manner as sulphuric acid aids the decomposition of water by iron. One argument, which he omits to adduce on this point, may be drawn from the opinion now universally entertained by the best chemists, that, in the nitro-muriatic acid, neither of the component acids exists entire, as the sulphuric acid exists in its mixture with water; but that, in fact, a new acid, with a separate radical, is formed by the combination of the other two.

Mr Chenevix has in this, as in all his other papers, needlessly exposed himself to criticism, both by the affectation of his nomenclature, and by the introduction of general reflections; a department

partment of writing in which he does not very eminently excel. We are at a loss to perceive the necessity of rejecting the terms *oxygenate* and *oxidate*, for *oxygenize* and *oxidize*, with their clumsy derivatives, *oxygenizement* and *oxidizement*. *Concentrate* (for *concentrated*) we are inclined to rank among errors in grammar, rather than neologisms. *Solidification* is a word which we apprehend owes its being to Mr Chenevix; and it is rather unaccountable how so scrupulous a nomenclator should retain the old barbarous term *cinnabar*. We are happy to observe, however, that he has overcome his antipathy to the term *oxide*, founded, if we rightly remember, on the notion that this word is apt to be confounded with *ox-hide*. And, whatever objections our author's scientific phraseology may be liable to, we would infinitely rather have him coin as many new words, or revive as many obsolete ones as he pleases, than continue his former practice of stopping perpetually to introduce a dissertation upon the propriety of his language.

With respect to his general observations, the following extract may perhaps justify our inability to applaud his talent for this species of writing.

'If a theory is sometimes useful as a standard to which we may refer our knowledge, it is at other times prejudicial, by creating an attachment in our minds to preconceived ideas, which have been admitted, without inquiring whether from truth or from convenience. We easily correct our judgement as to facts; and the evidence of experiment is equally convincing to all persons. But theories not admitting of mathematical demonstration, and being but the interpretation of a series of facts, are the creatures of opinion, and are governed by the various impressions made upon every individual. Nature laughs at our speculations; and though from time to time we receive such warnings as should awaken us to a due sense of our limited knowledge, we are presented with an ample compensation in the extension of our views, and a nearer approach to immutable truth.' p. 317.

The two most remarkable circumstances in the constitution of palladium, for the knowledge of which the scientific world is indebted to Mr Chenevix, are the peculiarity of the properties that distinguish it from every other metal, and the impossibility of decompounding it by any known process. He has insisted a good deal upon the singularity of its qualities differing so widely from those of mercury and platina; but we acknowledge ourselves unable to perceive any thing peculiar in this difference. It is one of the most general laws of elective attraction, that the compound body possesses properties entirely different from the ingredients by the union of which it is formed. Nothing surely can less resemble sulphuric acid, than sulphate of soda; nor can any bodies exhibit less similarity than water or steam,

and the two gases which compose it. The effects produced by a variation in the proportions of the constituent parts of palladium, are not to be compared with the changes produced by varying the proportions of the two gases which compose the atmosphere: no amalgam or alloy of mercury and platina differs so essentially from palladium as atmospherical air differs from nitrous gas and nitric acid. The constitution of the vegetable oils and alcohol, and of the different vegetable acids, affords various other instances of a much greater dissimilarity between compound bodies and their component parts, and of a much greater diversity produced by changing the relative proportions of the ingredients, than any which the experiments of Mr Chenevix have exhibited in the case of the metals.

We must therefore confine our acknowledgement of the importance of these experiments to the circumstance of a metallic substance being presented by them, entirely different from every other; and though evidently a compound, yet incapable of direct analysis by any known process. The indisputable certainty of this fact may teach us to regard with less contempt the great object of the earlier chemical experimentalists; and, without diminishing our just reprobation of the unphilosophical spirit in which their inquiries were conducted, may incline us to believe in the possibility of those transmutations, the pursuit of which has covered with ridicule every thing that bears the name of alchemy.

ART. XII. *Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects:* By the late Rev. Archibald Arthur, M. A. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. *With an Account of some Particulars in his Life and Character:* By William Richardson, M. A. Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow, at the University Press: Printed by J. & J. Scrimgeour. Longman & Rees, London. 1803.

IN an advertisement prefixed to this work, we are informed by the learned editor, that the 'following Discourses were not intended by their author to be published as they now appear. With the exception of three or four, none of them ever seem to have been written over by him twice. The liberty taken in offering them to the public, was from the wish entertained by his near relations, of preserving and doing honour to his memory; which they thought could be done, even though the works to be published were as imperfect as has now been mentioned.' Such an intimation as this would necessarily preclude much of the severity of criticism, even if the Discourses to which

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it relates were really less valuable than we have found them; but as many of them possess considerable merit, we are sensible of the benefit which his relations and the editor have conferred on the public by printing them, such as they are. Before proceeding to the work itself, we shall notice a few particulars in the account of the author's life and character, which the editor has subjoined in the form of an Appendix.

'His father (we are informed) was a considerable farmer in Renfrewshire; and his parents, being persons of great worth, and having such a considerable degree of knowledge as is not unusual among respectable farmers in Scotland, were capable, while teaching their son to read English, of imparting to him other useful information; and of awakening in the tender mind of the child, those affections, and that sense of duty, which might afterwards be required of him in discharging the important functions of manhood.' p. 493. 494.

After passing some years at a grammar school in Paisley, he was removed, in his fourteenth year, to the University of Glasgow; the scene of his future labours. Here his abilities soon attracted the notice of Mr Moorhead and Dr Moor, the teachers of the Latin and Greek languages at that time; 'men (says Mr Richardson) not more eminent for their taste and erudition, than for their goodness of heart and attachment to early merit.' As he made choice of the clerical profession, (we are told) that 'he applied with great diligence to that course of philosophical study which is held necessary to the knowledge of theology, and the duties of a clergyman.' This we certainly find no difficulty in believing; but we must suspect the partiality of friendship, when Mr Richardson proceeds to transform Mr Arthur into a kind of Sir Isaac Newton, telling us that the

—'capacity of his mind enlarging itself in the course of intellectual exertion, became so great, that in his riper years no discovery in science was too extensive, or too vast for his comprehension. Along with this, his habits of profound and accurate thinking discovered themselves by the surprising facility with which he was able to apprehend the most abstruse and difficult subjects of philosophical and abstract inquiry. Nor was there any disquisition so intricate, as that his acuteness and perspicuity could not unravel and unfold its perplexities. Nor were his talents for extensive comprehension, and the ready conception of scientific knowledge, confined to any one department.' p. 497. 498.

The fact which follows this splendid encomium is, however, a proof that he was a man of uncommon and various acquirements: 'Both before and after his appointment to a professorship, he lectured, when occasion required, in logic, botany, and humanity;' and, 'during the necessary absence of the Professor of Church History, he lectured for a whole session of College, in that department,' with very great reputation.

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Soon after obtaining his license from the Presbytery, he was appointed chaplain to the University of Glasgow, and was much esteemed as a preacher. He became likewise librarian to the University, and gave general satisfaction to that learned body, by making a most distinct catalogue of the books contained in the college library. His merit as a preacher had already obtained for him an additional appointment, in being made assistant to Dr Craig, a clergyman of great eminence in Glasgow; and he was soon about to receive a still more conspicuous mark of the value in which his attainments were held by men of discernment, in being recommended by Dr Reid to the University as a fit person to assist and succeed him in the honourable capacity of Professor of Moral Philosophy. While he was yet but little known to that judicious philosopher, he preached a sermon in his hearing, of so much merit, that, at the conclusion, Dr Reid whispered to one of his brethren, 'This is a very sensible fellow, and, in my opinion, would make a good professor of morals.' Dr Reid lived fifteen years after Mr Arthur was nominated to this appointment; and the latter enjoyed it only one year after the death of the former. Some specimens of his ability as a professor are now given to the public in the first part of the following Discourses.

In his moral character, Mr Arthur appears to have been amiable and benevolent, steady in his purposes, and friendly to the good order and peace of society. His greatest peculiarity was

'an invincible bashfulness, of which the habit continued to clog his manner, or impede his exertions, during the whole course of his life; and which contributed, perhaps, to promote, or to confirm a slight, but ungainly hesitation in his speech; from which he was never, but very seldom, or occasionally released. On some occasions, however, when he arrived at manhood, and in the after course of his life, he experienced such release. There were luminous moments, which his friends can never forget, when the ease of intimacy, and the hilarity of social enjoyment, unbarred his utterance, and gave vent to a torrent of most impressive elocution, rich in science, abounding with information, and flowing in a stream of correct, yet spirited diction; of which the effect seemed to be so much the more powerful, that its commencements were so reluctant.' p. 494. 495.

He died in 1797. And here most biographers would have stopped; but the learned Professor has made an effort to astonish us, by concluding his narrative with a laboured and puerile imitation of that splendid passage in Tacitus's Life of Agricola, in which the Roman historian expresses his assurance that Agricola, though dead, still enjoys a perpetuity of existence and of happiness! We certainly are not at all inclined to doubt

doubt that Mr Arthur has received the reward of his virtues; but we cannot help thinking that the learned biographer has thrown a degree of ridicule both upon his friend, and on a very important doctrine, by his affected and strained manner of expressing himself on the subject. For instance, he must quote Milton, and tell us, that 'sunk though he be—so sinks the day-star in the ocean-bed,' &c. If Mr Richardson think it absolutely necessary to quote poetry, and to turn his friend into a star, we would recommend a line of Virgil as considerably more appropriate—

'Arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones.'

It will be a relief to our readers to turn from this instance of *falsetto*, to the sound and plain sense displayed in Mr Arthur's own compositions. He is very far from ever being perversely or absurdly eloquent; and, indeed, if there be any defect in his style, it is, that his simplicity approaches to tameness.

The Discourses are divided into two parts; the first of which comprehends Theological, and the second Literary Discourses. The first are a specimen of Mr Arthur's Lectures; the second were chiefly read in a literary society of which he was a member. The subjects of the Theological Discourses are as follows: 1. On the argument for the existence of God, from the appearances of design in the universe: 2. Observations by Mr Hume, on the existence of God, considered: 3. The goodness of God defended from the objections of Mr Hume: 4. On the justice and moral government of God: 5. Of evils and their causes, and of the systems respecting them.

It cannot be supposed that we should enter into a minute analysis of the different reasonings contained in these Discourses. The subject precludes any thing like novelty; and very probably all the reasonings which Mr Arthur has advanced on these first principles of religion may be found in the writings of those distinguished men who preceded him in the same walk. We may however affirm, that he has always treated his subject with precision and clearness; and is both very candid to the acute adversary whom he opposes, and very successful in wielding those weapons which Dr Reid had put into his hands. In the first Discourse, for instance, after stating, as is commonly done, the evident marks of design in the universe, he places upon its true foundation the inference which we draw, that these must necessarily have been produced by intelligence or a designing cause.

'These judgements which we form concerning Causes, from observing their Effects, must be founded upon an original principle in our constitution. They are universal, and yet nobody assigns a reason for them. They are evidently not conclusions from reasoning. It is impossible to point

point out any intermediate ſteps by which they are proved; and nobody has attempted it. No man can give any argument by which it can be ſhewn, that a mathematical figure muſt be the work of an intelligent being, and could not be the work of a fowl or of a quadruped. We judge indeed in this manner, but we can aſſign no reaſon for our judgement, any more than we can aſſign any reaſon why we judge that two and two make four. Neither did we learn to judge in this manner by experience. From experience we can acquire knowledge only concerning contingent truth or matters of fact, which may be, or may not be, without any abſurdity. We can never learn from experience any knowledge concerning neceſſary truths which muſt be, and which it involves an abſurdity to ſuppoſe not to be. We may learn from experience, that bodies gravitate. This is not a neceſſary truth; it is only contingent, and depends on the will of the Creator; and if He had pleaſed, body might have had oppoſite properties, or might not have exiſted. But we cannot learn from experience, that the whole is equal to all its parts. This is a neceſſary truth, and neceſſarily flows from the notions we have of a whole and of its parts. It muſt be true; and it is impoſſible, and involves abſurdity, to think otherwiſe. Now, our judgements concerning the connexion of effects and cauſes, are judgements concerning neceſſary truths. We do not judge that the connexion *may* take place, but that it *muſt* take place. Theſe judgements, therefore, are of ſuch a nature, as experience cannot ſuggeſt.' p. 15–17.

The principles ſtated in this quotation are afterwards applied very ſucceſsfully to the confutation of Mr Hume; and although we refrain from entering more minutely into this ſpeculation, we will not heſitate to recommend to the attention of our readers, particularly thoſe who may have been perplexed by Mr Hume's ingenuity, theſe Diſcourſes of Mr Arthur, who has collected into one point of view all the ſcattered reaſonings of Dr Reid on the ſubject, and illuſtrated every poſition with familiar and ſtriking inſtances.

In the third Diſcourſe, he defends the goodneſs of the Deity from the objections of the ſame able and ſagacious diſputant. He begins with ſtating, that the chief objections to the goodneſs of God ariſe from exaggerated and gloomy pictures of human miſery. That ſuch views are far from being correct, he proves from ſeveral conſiderations. The following obſervations, we think well worthy attention.

'If we were to refer the matter to every man's determination, and if every man were to declare honeſtly what he had felt, the determination of the queſtion, with reſpect to human happineſs, might be reduced to a very narrow compaſs. There is no man who has not ſpent many more days of happineſs than of miſery. Conſider the ſituation of the generality of mankind, and think what can be added to their felicity. Almoſt the whole of them wiſh for ſomething more than they have. This is a ſpur

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to their exertion. But what they have in view is generally a trifle, in comparison of what they already actually possess. If a man be provided with the necessaries of life, or be able to provide them by his labour; if he enjoy tolerable health, and be conscious of no crime; he can hardly feel much uneasiness, unless he be haunted by some of those phantoms of the imagination which men sometimes raise to disturb their own repose.' p. 65. 66.

The limitation of his doctrine in the following passage is stated, we think, with great candour and moderation.

'If God had so pleased, he could undoubtedly have rendered every being he has formed completely happy. He could have made them incapable even of rendering themselves miserable: He could have made them necessary, instead of voluntary agents; and compelled them to act in the way that would infallibly have produced felicity; or he might have contrived things in such a manner, that they must have been happy in whatever way they acted. He has not ordered matters in any such way; and therefore we may be sure that he never intended to do so. Every thing is so conducted, that his creatures arise to greater and greater degrees of happiness, in consequence of their own exertion, and in consequence of the improvement which, by his appointment, follows from their exertions. The more wise and the more virtuous they become, the more happy they are of consequence. It is evident, therefore, though the Deity intended to communicate happiness, and has done so in the most liberal manner, yet this was not the only end which he had in view. His beneficence must be considered as connected with the other active principles of his nature. He intended to make man happy; but it was in a particular manner, which he knew would at last contribute to the greatest general felicity of the species. If we suppose benevolence, or the disposition to confer immediate or unqualified happiness, to be the only principle of action in the Divine Mind, we can see no reason why there should be evil of any kind in the world at all; since, undoubtedly, his wisdom was sufficient to foresee it, and his power to prevent it. But since there is much more happiness than misery in the world, we have sufficient reason to conclude that he acted from benevolence. The presumption arising from this consideration evidently is, that he must have also had other principles of action besides benevolence; but whether subservient to it, upon the whole, or not, is not the present question.' p. 82. 83.

To Mr Hume's ingenious argument against ascribing any higher degree of goodness to the Deity than is displayed in his works, Mr Arthur also makes a very satisfactory answer in the latter part of this discourse.

In the fourth discourse, on the justice and moral government of God, we meet with some very elegant observations on the punishment which vice necessarily carries along with it.

The remarks on a future state, with which the discourse concludes, appear to us to place the reasonableness of that doctrine in a very striking light.

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'The present plan of the Divine Government renders this expectation more strong and better founded, than it would have been upon any other supposition. If there had been no tendency in virtue to produce happiness, nor in vice to produce misery at present, we could not have had any certainty that there is a moral administration established; and from observing the present course of things, and seeing that virtue and happiness were perfectly disunited, we would have been apt, from analogy, to conclude, that they would always be disunited, and that there would be no state of retribution. Perceiving no reason to believe that God is just, we could not, on such a supposition, be led to conclude, that he would some time or other act as a just and impartial judge. If, on the contrary, virtue had been always fully and invariably rewarded in this state of things, and vice, in like manner, fully and invariably punished; if happiness and virtue, vice and misery, had been uniformly united, and never been separated; we might have been much more uncertain of a future state, than we are at present. Such a state would be a perfect state, and we could perceive no end that could be served by any alteration in it. If men, therefore, died under such a dispensation; or, in other words, went out of that state; we might be apt to think they had fully received their reward, and were never more to exist.

'There is, however, another view of the matter, even upon this supposition, that would still leave the question in suspense; for if God be good and just, it cannot be believed, that he would exterminate from existence, those whom he had already countenanced and rewarded: And therefore, if he took them away from their present condition, it must be to answer some good ends to them; and since they were happy here, the only end he could have in view, would be to render them still happier in another state. The government, however, that is in fact established, in which we see clear and manifest marks of a moral administration of justice and equity, but intermixed with certain irregularities and exceptions, furnishes us with an argument in favour of a future state of existence, much more convincing than any that could be suggested by an administration apparently more perfect and impartial. It leads us to consider ourselves as only in the beginning of our existence, in a state of trial and of discipline; and it necessarily directs our views to another, connected with and founded upon it, which will be a state of final retribution.' p. 125. 126.

We have already given so many quotations from these discourses, that we are afraid to enter on the next, 'of evils and their causes, and of the systems respecting them,' lest we should be tempted to swell this article greatly beyond its proper bounds. We shall therefore leave the depths of theology, with once more assuring our readers, that if they are inclined to venture into these arduous paths, they cannot easily intrust themselves to the conduct of a safer or more intelligent guide than Mr Arthur.

Mr Arthur's first discourse, in the second part of the work, is 'on qualities of inanimate objects, which excite agreeable sensations.' He observes that there are varieties in these sensations.

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'A gentle flowing rivulet, and an impetuous torrent, do not affect us in the same manner. The mind is disposed to tranquillity by the one, and roused and agitated by the other. The distinction between the sensations occasioned by sublime and by beautiful objects, is universally known. The characters of these sentiments are exceedingly different. The sensation of beauty is gay and enlivening. The sensation of sublimity is solemn and elevating.' p. 184. 185.

The sentiments of men, however, are not always uniform, in these respects: Some men have emotions of sublimity and beauty, from perceptions which do not occasion these feelings in others; but notwithstanding such diversities, there is a regularity in these sentiments, on the whole, which is a proof that they are not founded on caprice.

'When men are placed in situations in which their passions are altogether unconcerned, they discover little variety in their judgments concerning beauty and sublimity. The rainbow and the morning sky have called forth the same sensations in all ages: The parterre of modern times exhibits the same flowers that were cultivated by former generations: The forms of human beauty which charmed the remote ages of antiquity, transmitted to future times by the art of the statuary, are still looked upon as patterns of excellence.' p. 189.

Mr Arthur endeavours to point out, in this discourse, the circumstances in the colour and figure of external objects, which occasion the sensation of beauty. Most of our readers are probably acquainted with the elegant theory of Mr Alison, which accounts for all our perceptions of sublimity or beauty in inanimate objects, from their habitual association with some simple ideas of emotion, and the consequent suggestion of something interesting to our selfish or sympathetic feelings. This theory, which had been imperfectly anticipated by those who resolved the impressions of beauty into a perception of utility, fitness, &c. had not been communicated to the public when Mr Arthur composed these discourses. He accordingly follows the footsteps of Hogarth, Hutcheson and Burke, in ascribing the emotions produced by beautiful objects to the direct agency of their external qualities, and applies himself to the enumeration of those properties that appear to produce this effect. In his opinion, the circumstances in external objects which occasion the sensation of beauty, are 'insensible connexion' and 'quick succession' of shades in colour, and parts in figure. He illustrates this position from the example of the verdure of nature.

'It is equally removed from the fierceness of the red, and the languor of the violet. The surfaces on which it is usually seen, are smooth and gloffy. Hence the different lights exhibit upon them, all the shades of this colour, from that which approaches the blue to that which joins the yellow, insensibly connected with one another. At the same time,

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no one shade occupies so large a space as to be contemplated by itself, separately from the shades connected with it. These two circumstances of insensible connexion, and quick succession among the different shades, seem to be the cause that this colour upon vegetables is so highly agreeable, as all acknowledge it to be. By means of the insensible and uninterrupted connexion which subsists among the different shades, it assumes the appearance of a regular whole, and enters the mind with the greatest facility. The quickness of the succession occasions the gaiety of the sensation. When the mind broods over a single thought, it is in a solemn state; but when a variety of objects, so united as not to embarrass it, are presented before it, it is gay and cheerful. Similar observations may be made on all the other beautiful colours.' p. 191. 192.

Similar observations he applies to figure; and those on Mr Hogarth's line of beauty appear to be just and ingenious. He then proceeds to shew, in opposition to Mr Burke, that angular figures are frequently beautiful, although he admits that a square is less beautiful than a circle.

'The parts of which it is composed are connected, as belonging to a whole; but they are large and few, and do not follow one another in quick succession. The sensation, therefore, has little gaiety.' p. 195.

To render his opinions more precise, he tells us, that forming our conceptions of beauty, it is proper to throw out of consideration every thing except *colour* and *figure*; and that though utility, or other considerations, may render the sight of an object agreeable or desirable, it is always easy to distinguish this sort of affection from that which is produced directly by its beauty. Beauty, he concludes, is not the common name of every thing which excites agreeable sensations: 'it is a property of colour and figure alone, and belongs to nothing else, in a proper sense.'

Now, even if we could pass over the fundamental error of this theory, it appears to us that it is evidently liable to the charge of inconsistency. Beauty, according to Mr Arthur's own hypothesis, is not perceived immediately by any organ or faculty of the mind; it results merely from the excitation of lively and various ideas, suggested by the rapid succession of connected parts in a beautiful object: but if this be the case, every thing else that excites a rapid and lively succession of ideas, should be denominated beautful, as well as the alterations of colour and figure; and if it be undeniably true, that many external objects do suggest a variety of lively ideas, that have no connexion with colour or form, it seems altogether unreasonable to deny that their beauty is increased or occasioned by these associations. The beauty of any object, according to Mr Arthur's definition of it, consists in its power of exciting lively ideas; and it is evident that he has given a defective account of the causes of their beauty, if such ideas

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may be excited, as they indubitably may, by other qualities than the shape and the colour.

In the two following discourses, however, Mr Arthur proceeds to accommodate the theories of Mr Burke and Dr Hutcheson, concerning beauty, to his own; and he certainly points out, with great acuteness, what is erroneous in their opinions; and shews that, in as far as they are correct, they coincide very much with those which he had previously asserted. Our limits will not now permit us to enter into an investigation of our author's doctrines in the subsequent essays. We add the following judicious observations upon the alleged influence of custom in matters of taste.

'Suppose a man to have spent the whole of his life in a village, in which there is only one elegant house, and all the rest are mean cottages; will not this person pronounce that house the most beautiful in the village? On what does he found his judgment? It is, no doubt, the most rare form of a house he has ever seen; but surely it is not also the most common, for all the other houses in the village resemble one another more than they resemble it. Let a man who has visited all the cathedrals in the kingdom, be brought to St Paul's, it will appear to him unlike any of those which he had formerly visited. All those great buildings which he had been examining, were built in the form of a cross, and in the Gothic style of architecture: All of them had a considerable resemblance to one another. He now beholds a building of a very different kind; but it will not, on that account, appear to him deformed or monstrous. He will certainly admire it as a noble piece of architecture.—Is there a child who does not prefer a smooth surface to a rough one; and a regular figure, in which all the parts are connected with one another, to an unformed and unconnected mass? The long arched neck of the swan is singular among birds, and the branching antlers of the stag among beasts; but they are not upon this account reckoned ugly or monstrous: On the contrary, all acknowledge that they are beautiful.' p. 332, 3.

'It is readily acknowledged, that agreeable sensations are derived from an attention to the laws of custom and fashion. These, however, ought to be distinguished from those pleasures of taste which are derived from what is really beautiful or grand in the works of nature or of art. In all probability, it has principally been owing to a neglect of this important distinction, that the principles of taste have sometimes been represented as arbitrary and capricious. Every thing which entirely depends upon custom, is certainly capricious. But there are many agreeable objects that have continued throughout all ages to be agreeable. Fashion may sometimes oppose the natural principles of beauty and elegance; but whenever it does so, it cannot be very lasting. The love of grace and elegance must at last prevail, though it should be after a tedious struggle. The fashion in gardening, and in building, is now more suitable to nature than it formerly was; and, in all probability, it will last much longer than those fashions which immediately preceded it.'

It is not to be suspected that the opulent will soon return to the Gothic arch, the narrow-grated window, the long avenue, the formal terrace-walk, the *jet-d'eau* from the mouth of a triton, and the cascade supplied from the temple of a water-nymph.' p. 339.

On the whole, although there is nothing very original in Mr Arthur's speculations, yet they always indicate a clear and intelligent, if not a very profound, mind. If they will not add much to the information of the philosopher, they will at least assist the conceptions of the student; and, in point of writing, they are certainly of a superior order to the compositions which generally fall under our review. Making allowance for a few Scoticisms, which the learned editor might have taken upon him to correct, without any fear of abusing the trust reposed in him, the language is, in general, pure, chaste, and unaffected; although, as we have already hinted, bordering too frequently on feebleness and languor.

Having said this, we think we have said enough; and are not conscious of lying under any obligation to promise immortality to these discourses, as Mr Richardson appears inclined to do in the concluding paragraph of his biographical sketch. Speaking of Mr Arthur's relations, he says,

'They have thus erected a monument to his memory, more permanent, and more satisfactory, than any that could have been executed by the chissel or by the pencil. These must perish; but this will endure: and, if their partiality does not deceive them, will transmit to posterity the portraiture and likeness, not of a frail and perishing body, but of a mind actuated by the best principles, and endowed with superior powers.' p. 517.

This is no doubt very fine, although not quite equal to the pattern passage in Tacitus; but we suspect there is more eloquence in it than the occasion required. Indeed, that immortality which authors and their friends are so fond of predicting, is a poor business at the best; and the frequent failure of the prophecy gives a ludicrous air to its repetition. It will be enough if the author succeed in edifying the present generation.

Art. XIII. *Remarks on the Constitution of the Medical Department of the British Army; with a Detail of Hospital Management; and an Appendix, attempting to explain the Action of Causes in producing Fever, and the Operation of Remedies in effecting Cure.* By Robert Jackson, M. D. 8vo. London, 1803. pp. 351.

The singular and motley production before us was written, as we are informed in the preface, with the twofold design of directing the attention of Government to the improve-

ment

ment of military medicine, and of vindicating the reputation of the author from certain charges of mal-practice and mismanagement, which were preferred against him while physician to the hospital of the Army-*Dépôt* in the Isle of Wight. For the credit, however, of the writer, (whose former works are not entirely unknown to us), and for the honour of the medical profession, we could have wished that it had not appeared; for we do not recollect to have ever waded through so great a mass of matter, with so little pleasure or instruction; and nothing but the extreme importance of the subject, and the dangerous tendency of many of the doctrines inculcated in the present volume, could have led us to offer any animadversions upon it.

In the observations contained in the First Part, concerning the bad effects that result from the various and deficient education of regimental surgeons, the improper management of hospitals, and the necessity of a reform of these abuses, we find nothing which discovers much profound reflection or laborious research, or which can be ranked above common-place remark. To obviate the first of these evils, Dr Jackson, in imitation of some former projectors, suggests the propriety of instituting a Medical School, for the education of military surgeons; and, as the recruits assembled at the Army-*Dépôt* in the Isle of Wight require a medical establishment, he thinks this school may be very conveniently placed there. The pupils admitted into the seminary must be of the age of twenty to twenty-three years, possessed of a liberal and classical education, and all the information necessary for the exercise of their profession in civil life, with unequivocal testimonies of a good moral conduct. After remaining for the space of twelve months in this institution, and acquiring, under the guidance of an able teacher, a thorough knowledge of the diseases most incident to armies in different climates and in different situations, and a sufficient acquaintance with the management of hospitals, they may be considered as qualified to become candidates for the commissions of assistant-surgeons in regiments of the line. To the general plan of this establishment, we have little to object; but we should be inclined to oppose its foundation, on the same principle that Dr Jackson has censured the regulations of the Medical Board restricting the advancement of Army surgeons, *viz.* that it would be extremely injurious to preclude deserving individuals from all possibility of serving in the medical department of the Army, merely because they had not gone through a stated, though, perhaps, not necessary form of education. Indeed, we are at some loss to conjecture the reasons which led Dr Jackson to fix upon the Isle of Wight (a most sequestered spot) as the proper place

for ſuch a ſchool, or the motives which could induce him to propoſe that the ſuperintendance of it, as well as of all military hoſpitals, ſhould be confined to one medical chief; unleſs that Dr Jackſon, from his extenſive experience, deem himſelf the ſole perſon endowed with the rare and ſuperior qualifications requiſite for theſe important offices. Of his mode of reaſoning on this ſubject, the following quotations may ſerve as ſpecimens.

'An army,' ſays Dr Jackſon in his figurative language, 'is an animated machine, conſiſting of many parts or inſtruments, of different degrees of power and importance, in a general purpoſe. It is organized upon a common principle; it is bound together by a common connexion; and it is moved by a common impulſe: but, though ſo organized, ſo connected, and ſo moved in its artificial arrangement, its different parts, which are perfect in themſelves individually, are animated independently, and, in obeying their own laws of motion, are expoſed to the action of a variety of cauſes, which have a tendency to derange or deſtroy their elementary exiſtence.' (p. 2.)—'There is only one military chief in an army; there can only be one chief in an hoſpital, and he muſt be a medical one; for health is the object of hoſpital eſtabliſhments, and the concerns of health cannot be ſuppoſed to be well underſtood, except by perſons of the medical profeſſion, and thoſe of the moſt enlightened claſs.—The conſtruction, therefore, of the medical machine, in order to be effective of its purpoſes, muſt hinge upon a ſimple principle; for deviation from ſimplicity leads to error, or produces non-effect.' p. 27-8.

Contraſting the arrangement of the foreign medical eſtabliſhments with that of the Britiſh army, he obſerves,

'The Auſtrian hoſpital is regular in its movement as the duty of the military parade; and the efficiency of the organizing principle mechanically arranges new materials in their proper places, without confuſion, and without loſs of time.' p. 11.

To our minds, however, this regularity of operation and uniformity of practice appear to be the grand and fundamental defects of the ſyſtem which Dr Jackſon ſo warmly recommends, and to form the ſtrongeſt arguments againſt the imitation of ſuch a mode of proceeding. In fact, we can conceive nothing more prejudicial to the welfare of his patients, than the 'habit of conduct mechanically correct,' which he propoſes for adoption 'in the management of hoſpitals.' (p. 46.) Educated in the camp, and accuſtomed to the routine of military operations, Dr Jackſon ſeems to think, that the various affections of the living ſyſtem may be as eaſily diſpoſed of as the different articles of a ſoldier's equipment, and that, at the command of a 'medical chief,' diſeaſes ſhould perform their evolutions, and arrange themſelves in any order he is pleaſed to dictate; but ſad experience,

experience, we believe, will inform him, that they are not always ſo ſubmiſſive and obedient, but will often riſe in mutiny, and diſpute his moſt peremptory deciſions.

The ſecond diviſion of the 'Remarks' is occupied with an account of the management of the hoſpital in the Iſle of Wight, under the ſuperintendance of the author. From this narrative it appears, that Dr Jackſon, when he firſt became entruſted with the care of the ſick in Packhurſt barracks, judged it neceſſary, or expedient, to deviate from the plan generally purſued in ſimilar ſituations. Thus he divided his patients into different claſſes according to their particular complaints; allotted to each claſs a ſeparate ward; and, when they recovered to a certain degree, removed them to apartments deſtined ſolely for the reception of thoſe in a convaleſcent ſtate: if they ſuffered a relapſe, he cauſed them to retrace their ſteps to their former apartments.—Theſe regulations, to a certain extent, ſeem not improper; but we can by no means approve of the principle which led Dr Jackſon to fix the diet of all the patients in the ſame ward at the ſame general ſtandard; for it muſt be obvious to every one the leaſt converſant with diſeaſe, that appetite does not always keep equal pace with the other ſymptoms of ſickneſs or recovery, and that it varies very much according to the mode of life and conſtitution of the patient. Nor can we, after much ſerious conſideration, diſcover the vaſt ſuperiority of verbal inſtructions to written orders, with regard to the duties of hoſpital attendants. The following obſervations, connected with this ſubject, appear to border a little on the *ludicrous*.

'It is a duty of the medical chief to fan the ſparks of affection as they ſhew themſelves; to foſter them with care, till they aſſume a good and ſteady growth. The growth, even among ſoldiers and *ſoldiers' wives*, is not reluctant, if tenderly nurſed; but it does not thrive under harſh and rigorous treatment. The nurſes and attendants of the ſick, who poſſeſs ſenſibility of heart, are cordially engaged in their duties, by being confidentially treated, ſo as to be made, in ſome meaſure, a part of the medical eſtabliſhment. If they poſſeſs confidence, their benevolence is warmed; they feel an intereſt in the fate of their charge; and participate all the anxieties, and all the pleaſures of the phyſician.' p. 94.

Theſe improvements or alterations in hoſpital practice, which Dr Jackſon was deſirous of having generally introduced, did not, however, meet with the approbation of thoſe to whoſe conſideration they were ſubmitted. A conſiderable mortality had taken place among the ſoldiers in the Iſle of Wight, towards the end of the year 1801; and ſome eye-witneſſes of the mode of treatment followed by the author, thought it their duty to lay an account of it before the Army Medical Board, who highly diſap-

proved of it, attributing to it the great decline and loss of the troops under Dr Jackson's care. 'It appears,' they observe in a letter addressed to the Secretary at War, 'that Dr Jackson's mode of carrying on the Isle of Wight Hospital, is an apparent saving of money; but at the Isle of Wight, and lately at Chatham, we have observed an unprecedented number of deaths, (*viz.* 27 in the last month, and 21 in the last two weeks), frequent relapses, and tedious recoveries, with a debilitated state of the patients; therefore, so far from economy being effected, there has been a very serious loss of men, and ultimately a great expenditure. These returns called upon us to recommend, that two physicians should be sent immediately to the Isle of Wight.'

To justify himself from these allegations, Dr Jackson endeavours to shew, that the great number of deaths among the soldiers arose from the malignant nature of the disorders with which they were affected; and the four physicians, who were deputed by the Medical Board to examine, and present a report of the state of Packhurst Hospital, seem disposed to refer them to the same cause, aggravated by the crowded state and foul air of the wards. Nor does this mortality appear to have been diminished under the physicians who succeeded Dr Jackson in the charge of Packhurst Hospital; but, on the contrary, very much increased; having been, from the 18th of July to the 31st of December 1801 (the time of Dr Jackson's superintendance), in the proportion of 1 in $15\frac{1}{4}$; while, from the 1st of January to the 30th April 1802, it was no less than 1 in 8. This difference, however, may have been owing to accidental circumstances, and cannot be regarded as attributable to neglect or improper management on the part of the physicians, to whom the care of the sick was entrusted after Dr Jackson's demission.

So far we think the author's vindication of himself plausible. Into the merits, however, of the remaining part of his apology, we are not prepared to enter very fully, as the documents with which he has furnished us are too scanty and imperfect to enable us to form any decided opinion with regard to the justness of his cause. The specimens, however, which he has given us of his practice in the course of the 'Remarks,' and which he has developed at full length in the Appendix, call for the severest censure, and seem to justify most completely the conduct of the Medical Board towards Dr Jackson. We agree with the late Dr M'Laurin (to whom the author seems to have had a very unjust antipathy) in deprecating 'the horrid system of depletion;' and we perused, with no small degree of terrific anxiety, the account given by Dr Jackson of a patient in the first stage of typhus fever, whom he bled at once to *fifty-six ounces*, and who, in three or four days, after the

the plentiful uſe of opium, hot and nouriſhing drinks, &c. was able to return to his duty! This inſtance of bold and unprincipled proceeding, which is cited by the author with ſo much triumph, may ſerve to evince the great powers of nature, but can never form the criterion of rational practice or true profeſſional ſkill. Similar conſiderations would lead us to diſapprove of Dr Jackſon's treatment of patients in a convaleſcent ſtate. Imbued with all the prejudices of the humoral pathologiſts, he roundly aſſerts that relapſe is the general conſequence of repletion. Although we ſhould be far from recommending the practice of gorging patients during recovery from diſeaſe, of forcing them to eat againſt their inclination, or allowing them, perhaps, to indulge ſo much in the uſe of ſtimulating drinks as they are often inclined; yet nothing, ſurely, can be more injurious, than to ſtint convaleſcents in their allowance of generous diet, which, when freely exhibited, ſo manifeſtly tends to aid and accelerate their progreſs towards recovery. So little do we imagine relapſe to be the conſequence of repletion, that we believe it proceeds, in many caſes, from a contrary cauſe; as muſt be well known to thoſe whoſe profeſſional avocations have afforded them the means of knowing the health, and witneſſing the mode of living, of the lower claſſes of ſociety, among whom, chill penury, and its conſequent inconveniences, are generally reckoned among the moſt common cauſes of the diſorders to which they are ſo frequently liable.

The Appendix (to which we ſhall now direct our attention) occupies about one half of the volume, and adds one to the numerous inſtances we already poſſeſs of the futility of medical theories when founded on no juſt or rational *data*, but when merely the offspring of erroneous deduction or diſeaſed imagination.—A predilection for vague and frivolous hypotheſis has long been deemed the *opprobrium medicorum*; and, indeed, if we examine the hiſtory of medicine from its firſt origin down to the preſent time, we ſhall behold little elſe than a ſucceſſion of fanciful ſyſtems, founded on a few ſcattered obſervations, and erected, it would often appear, only to gratify the vanity of their projectors, and which have ſerved little other purpoſe than to perpetuate the folly and abſurdity of the times which gave them birth. The different ſymptoms of diſeaſe have been confounded, and its different ſtages blended together; the variety of the primary and ſecondary action of remedies has been overlooked; and a few inſulated facts have been graſped at, as ſufficient to explain all the phenomena of animated nature. In this country, however, where phyſical ſcience has, of late, made ſuch rapid advances, phyſicians now appear to have run into the oppoſite ex-

treme; and, from their anxiety to avoid thoſe fatal errors of reaſoning and practice, to which the ſpeculations of too many medical theoriſts have given birth, have rejected with diſdain, and without diſcrimination, all attempts to generalize and improve the principles of medical ſcience. Hence has ariſen an opinion, that all theory in medicine was uſeleſs, or, at leaſt, of little moment in a practical point of view; and that *experience* was the only guide in which a prudent phyſician would confide. This opinion we hold to be equally ill-founded and dangerous; for, whatever difference may exiſt between the ſlow deductions of experience and the more prompt concluſions of a theoriſing mind, there cannot be a doubt, that all legitimate generaliſation muſt reſt on the firm baſis of obſervation and experiment. However much, then, we may reprobate the haſty aſſumption of thoſe puerile hypotheſes, to which we are ſo often referred for proofs of the inutility of theories in medicine, and which, when applied to practice, may undoubtedly prove the ſources of pernicious error, we muſt, on the other hand, allow, that a fair and cautious induction of general principles may be of the higheſt utility in medical reſearch, and, by facilitating the acquiſition of neceſſary knowledge, will give us a more ready and certain command over it when obtained, and enable us to accommodate our practical conduct to the different unforeſeen occurrences that are conſtantly obtruded upon us in the exerciſe of our profeſſion. Till, however, the rules of the Inductive philoſophy be more fully underſtood and practiſed by phyſicians; till the ſcience of phyſiology be improved, and the ſyſtem of medical education reformed, we deſpair of ſeeing any extenſive and ſucceſsful adoption of general principles in medicine; for it cannot be expected, that mankind will ever be led to acknowledge their importance, till they become acquainted with all the circumſtances neceſſary for their induction and application.

One other cauſe, which is, in ſome meaſure, connected with the former, and which powerfully retards the advancement of medical knowledge, deſerves to be ſpecified, *viz.* the vague and undetermined uſe of language, and the improper application of terms, borrowed from other ſciences, to explain the phenomena of the animal economy in the various ſtates of health and diſeaſe. Thus, the language of chemiſtry, of mechanics, of morals, and of metaphyſics, has been ſucceſſively adopted in medicine, without much regard to the propriety of the innovation, and with ſtill leſs concern for the honour of the profeſſion, and the general welfare of mankind. The author of the preſent work, however, not content with retracing many of the errors of his predeceſſors, has advanced a ſtep beyond them, and, by a free and promiſcuous uſe of thoſe technical terms with which he was moſt familiarly

liarly acquainted, has framed a phraſeology to deſcribe the actions of the living ſyſtem, which, in ridiculous abſurdity, far eclipſes all former attempts of a ſimilar deſcription, and bids defiance, in extravagancy, to the rhapſodies of Paracelſus, or the reveries of the enthuſiaſt Van Helmont. Of this jumble of theories, this mixture of languages and confuſion of tongues, it is difficult to give any regular and preciſe account; for, in it, arts and ſciences dance together in 'various circles of movement,' without any proper time, place, or meaſure, ſo as, at laſt, to produce the moſt confuſed, chaotic maſs. A few extracts, perhaps, may accompliſh what no analyſis is adequate to, and ſerve to give our readers ſome diſtant idea of this curious jargon, which we hope will long remain *unique*.

When detailing the phenomena of febrile diſeaſes, Dr Jackſon's favourite expreſſions ſeem to be borrowed from the language of proſody, and through the whole of his Appendix our ears are ſtunned with an unceaſing and unvarying ring upon the terms, '*rhythm of movement*,' '*rhythmical movement*,' '*rule of harmony*,' &c. 'A certain rhythm of movement,' he ſays, 'is a condition inſeparable from a living animal body; as the integrity of the order and force of that rhythm is the index of health. But as movement is an expreſſion of the preſence of life, and rhythmical movement an expreſſion of health; ſo, the mode of health is liable to be perverted, the motions of the machine to be even finally arreſted or annulled.' (p. 188.) Sometimes he aſſumes the airs of a dancing-maſter; and informs us, that, 'in health, a variety of operations are carried on in various circles of movement, under different figures or forms of action,' (206.); and that 'a change in the rhythm of movement is the firſt viſible ſtep of action, or even ſuppoſable ſtep of action, ariſing from the operation of the cauſes of fever,' (191). Then he plays the part of a teacher of muſic; and, comparing the human body to the inſtruments of his profeſſion, deſcribes 'the ſcale of health,' 'the key of movement;' and ſhews us, that the movement of health, 'though various, is in uniſon in the parts and in the whole;' but that 'the modes in the ſcale of perverted rhythm, or diſeaſed action, appear to be various, and the meaſure of the movement is different. In ſome it is rapid, in others it is ſlow' (206.); and 'that means, which tune to harmony in one caſe, looſen the cords of life in another.' Now he takes up the tools of the joiner, and frames debility into 'the primary hinge of action in febrile diſeaſes' (190.), and bleeding into 'the cardinal hinge of medical means' (231.); or he borrows the bruſh and pallet of the painter, to pourtray 'the various ſhades,' 'the variety of configuration,' and 'the outlines of general character,' of diſeaſe. Again, he reſorts to the terms of military

tary art, obſerving, that 'previous to reſtoring the natural harmony of movement, it is often neceſſary to arreſt the irregular courſe of the exiſting motions, in order to bring back, with greater facility and certainty, the form of the rhythm which has been loſt; in the ſame manner as it is often neceſſary to cauſe a military column to halt, when moving incorrectly, ſo that it may more eaſily lay hold of the regular cadence of the ſtep' (230). And, finally, to crown this climax of abſurdity, he calls to his aid the ſcience of the bombardier, talks of the 'exploſions' of the excitability of the ſyſtem, and aſſures us, that in vitiated atmoſpheres 'febrile motions do not ordinarily explode with force,' (199.); and that 'there is evidently a point of exploſive revolution in the animal machine, connected with time; but not connected with it by a fixed and invariable law, as meaſured by the artificial hour' (331).

One paſſage more we ſhall take the liberty of ſubjoining, as affording a ſpecimen of the author's happy talent for fine writing and elegant illuſtration.

'If the apparent debility of fevers be a proper ſpecific action, and not the expreſſion of the effect of a preceding operation, *viz.* the perverted or diſturbed rhythm of movement, the event is totally inexplicable. Without ſupernatural aid, the machine muſt reſt for ever; for debility ſtands here like a cart before the horſe. In this poſition muſt the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, like a fairy queen, to put the wheel in motion. The *vis medicatrix naturæ* is a looſe term; but it is ſuppoſed to conſiſt in a power given to the animal machine, not explicable by the common laws of its mechaniſm, to raiſe efforts to combat the action of the cauſes of diſeaſes, and to avert their deſtructive tendency. It is thus a ſpecies of proviſional power; and, as ſuch, proceeding from wiſdom which cannot err, it cannot be ſuppoſed to be otherwiſe than perfect.' p. 204. 5.

The varieties and cauſes of fever naturally arreſt our author's attention. With ſingular infelicity of language, he terms epidemic diſeaſe, when it aſſumes a malignant form, 'a *manufacture* from Nature's ſtorehouſe;' and conjectures, that 'when widely extended, it muſt be ſuppoſed to depend upon ſome hidden derangement in the materials of the earth,—on a movement of parts into new contact, giving out a new or unuſual product.' (221.) The operation of contagion he deems to be of a ſtimulant nature, 'looſening, in an inexplicable manner, the hinges of organization.' (p. 225.) And here we find another inſtance of the want of ſyſtematic reaſoning among phyſicians, who argue not from facts, but from the chimeras of their own imaginations; and, without taking the pains to examine whether the phenomena in queſtion accord with their deſcription, refer them indiſcriminate-

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ly to a ſyſtem, admirable, without doubt, for the ſimplicity of its foundation, but deficient to an extreme in the erection and arrangement of the ſuperſtructure.

Among the remedies which Dr Jackſon recommends for reſtoring 'the natural rhythm of movement,' are veneſection, bathing, and geſtation. Reaſoning from the well known conſequences of bleeding in caſes of obſtructed circulation, Dr Jackſon, with an unparalleled degree of temerity, has inferred, that theſe were the general effects of the remedy; and, becauſe the pulſe was, in ſome caſes, remarkably ſtrengthened by evacuation, concluded, that 'its effects are ſtimulative.'—'The idea, that abſtraction is directly and unqualifiedly debilitating, and addition the contrary, could only have ariſen at the table of the feaſt. From thence it has borrowed all its illuſtrations.' (p. 235. 6.) And in ſupport of his reaſoning, he, with much ſagacity remarks, 'The abſtraction of blood, by its expreſs effect, diminiſhes the quantity of a body to be moved; and thereby increaſes the power of the mover: It thus facilitates motion.' (p. 237.) But can the Doctor be ſo ignorant of the laws of the animal economy, as not to know, that the ſtimulus which excites the heart and blood veſſels to proper action, is the very ſubſtance which he abſtracts, in order to rouſe their energy; and although its removal certainly facilitates the due performance of the functions of the vaſcular ſyſtem, when it forms congeſtions near to the centre of the circulation, yet this effect is to be explained in a much more ſimple way? But this infatuated adherent to the ſyſtem *of plethora*, reaſons where he ſhould have obſerved; perverts the moſt obvious facts, in order to ſubject them to his own erroneous theory; and boldly recommends his raſh pernicious practice to general and almoſt unlimited adoption. We know not in what circle the movements of Dr Jackſon's ideas are performed, but we truſt that 'ſome remedy exiſts in Nature's ſtorehouſe' for the cure of ſuch miſtaken judgement, and for warding off the fatal effects that would enſue, were his opinions univerſally received, and his example univerſally followed.

In his obſervations on the uſe of the cold and warm affuſion in fever, Dr Jackſon, with ſentiments of envy, and a ſpirit of illiberality which we cannot ſufficiently deprecate, endeavours to detract from the well-earned reputation of Dr Currie, and arrogates to himſelf the merit of having employed this efficacious remedy as early as the year 1774, although, he allows, 'the diſcoverers are not of this age or country.' Let Dr Jackſon, however, remember, that, according to his own ingenuous confeſſion, he went out to Jamaica in 1774, 'at an early period of life, and with

with only a small share of professional information;' and that it was not till 1778, when he first visited America, in the capacity of assistant-surgeon, that 'some dawnings of science' began to arise in his mind. If he employed the cold affusion so early as he pretends, the details of its effects do not, in all probability, redound very much to his credit; and these he has accordingly very prudently suppressed. We know not what specific meaning Dr Jackson attaches to the words '*popular manner*, in which,' he says, 'the subject has been treated by Dr Currie of Liverpool;' but we are acquainted with no book, in the whole range of medical literature, which combines, in a more eminent degree, soundness of argument with accuracy of observation and elegance of composition, than Dr Currie's 'Medical Reports'—a work, which we may safely recommend, with the precept '*nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*,' to all future medical writers and inquirers.

Were this the proper place, we might animadvert at some length on that invidious rage, which has led so many modern authors to exalt the ancients at the expence of their own more deserving contemporaries. We doubt not, that some obscure hints of the most remarkable discoveries, which mankind have hitherto effected, may be traced in the writings of the ancients, either by direct inference, or by implication; but the authority of antiquity has long enough retarded the improvement of science; and surely the moderns ought to have their due, who have perfected the half-formed arts of their predecessors, and reduced to a more rational system their crude and indigested information. It is not for the merit of the invention of the affusion of water in fever, that we commend Dr Currie, but for the excellent rules, which he has laid down for its application, by which means a powerful remedy becomes the most effectual method of cure, while, in unskilful hands, it would only tend to aggravate the disease.

But the fact is, that the credit of the invention was never claimed by Dr Currie, or by Dr Wright, who preceded him in its use, and to whom the former has fully acknowledged his obligations. It was used by the latter gentleman in his own case, during his passage from the West Indies in the year 1777; and an account of his cure was published by himself in the year 1786, at least, five years prior to the appearance of Dr Jackson's first publication on fever. Both these writers (Dr Currie and Dr Wright) have expressly stated, that the employment of cold water in fever was no new improvement of practice, but merely the revival of an ancient custom; and in support of this assertion, they have cited the works of many ancient and modern authors. These and other considerations render to us suspicious the account which

which Dr Jackſon has given of his own practice and ſucceſs with this remedy. One circumſtance is ſomewhat remarkable, that, among the firſt modern adopters of the affuſion in fever, Dr Jackſon has (with no ſlight geographical inaccuracy) mentioned De Hahn as having uſed it at *Warſaw* in 1737. Now, Dr de Hahn is particulariſed by Dr Wright, as the employer of this remedy, at *Breſlau* *, in his Eſſay publiſhed in the year 1786, to which Dr Jackſon has made no reference, although he could not be, or ought not to have been, ignorant of its publication.

If, however, by any accident, it ſhould happen that theſe two reſpectable writers entered the liſts with Dr Jackſon, we are convinced, that they would ſoon yield to him all the aſſumed merit of the practice, as he employs it. Inſtead of accounting for its operation on known and rational principles, he explains it by abſurd illuſtration, and in his uncouth phraſeology. Inſtead of deducing from experience the laws of its adoption and regulation, he recommends it at random, and in caſes, where it muſt prove the harbinger of death, rather than the reſtorer of health. How much information, for inſtance, do we receive from the remark, that 'bathing, like every other power in nature, acts upon the excitability of organiſm, and produces, more obviouſly than moſt others, an effect upon organic movement!' (p. 269.) What depth of ſcience do not the following reflections betray! 'A thermometer only meaſures abſolute quantity; it gives no information on the ſubject of quality, whether of the kind conſiſtent with life, or of the kind which indicates the preſence of a proceſs leading to diſorganization and deſtruction,' (p. 273.) How abſurd the vulgar idea, that cold-bathing produces an abſtraction of caloric! But when Dr Jackſon informs us, that it acts, 'by reſtoring the natural rhythm of movement in the organic ſtructure, by the force of a new ſtimulus, it preſerves a conſiſtent, intelligible, and clear explanation throughout.' (p. 276.) After ſuch obſervations as theſe, we were not much ſurpriſed to find the principles which guided the author in the uſe of this remedy, undecifive and contradictory, or to learn that, in his hands, it had ſometimes proved unſucceſsful. To prepare his patients for the cold-bath, he vomits, purges, and bleeds profuſely (ſo as to place '*the whole moving powers upon a tickliſh balance*'), employs the water as near the freezing point as poſſible, in the lateſt ſtages of the diſeaſe, however cold the ſkin, or however debilitated the patient!

In the latter part of the Appendix, the author lays claim to the merit of having firſt introduced a new remedy in fever, from which,

* London Medical Journal, VII. Part II. p. 109.

culcating the pureſt principles of morality, and in preparing men for heaven by rendering them virtuous on earth; you will find that one principal object of the Goſpel is to reſtore that image of God which had been defaced in the ſoul of man; to renew that purity of heart and rectitude of conduct of which the world had loſt even the conception, and neither Pagan philoſophers, nor Jewiſh prophets, had ever been able to produce the reſemblance among their diſciples.

'This very conſideration, however, muſt conſtantly remind us of the infinite importance of the doctrines peculiar to Chriſtianity, and of the diſtinctive and appropriate character of its precepts. When we reflect that, for our guilty race, the chief point is, not merely to be *informed*, but alſo to be *ſaved*, how fruitleſs, how vain, how devoid of comfort, are the moſt ingenious and accurate reſearches into the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being, and the relation which man bears to his Creator, unleſs they be accompanied with the poſitive aſſurance of pardon, and reſtored favour! How uſeleſs, how mortifying are the moſt beautiful precepts of morality, attended with the reflection that they only eſtabliſh our guilt and degradation! When we tremble to look to eternity, how diſmal is the certainty of a future ſtate! Thoſe very informations and rules of life which, to creatures either innocent, or reconciled to their offended Creator, are productive of comfort and complacency, become, to thoſe who feel themſelves in a ſtate of condemnation, ſubjects of averſion and terror. Is not the criminal more alarmed, when he is informed of the ſpecific ſanctions of the law which he has violated, and of the juſt and ſteady character of the Judge by whom he muſt be condemned?'

The duties of morality, enforced by the peculiar doctrines of the Goſpel, ought certainly to be regarded by the Chriſtian divine as entitled to occupy a very large proportion of his public diſcourſes. We have been ſurpriſed at the ſenſeleſs cry, which has ſometimes been raiſed againſt preaching the duties of morality, as if morality were ſomething oppoſed to the Goſpel of Chriſt. The Scriptures aſſuredly contain a ſyſtem of the pureſt morality, and no preacher diſcharges his duty who neglects to enforce it. At the ſame time, we equally agree with our author in the importance of the doctrines peculiar to Chriſtianity. While it is of great moment to inculcate the duties of morality, they ought always to be inculcated on Chriſtian principles. A Chriſtian preacher ſhould never conceal the peculiarities of Chriſtianity, nor, in teaching men their duty, ſhould he neglect the motives which his religion ſo amply furniſhes. The difference between a miniſter of Chriſt and a diſciple of Socrates, would not, in many caſes, be ſo great in the conduct which they would recommend, as in the motives which they would ſuggeſt: here indeed the Chriſtian has infinitely the advantage, and he ought to avail himſelf of it.

The ſecond and third ſermons are on 'the love of God,' and the joy and peace which reſult from believing and practiſing the Goſpel.

Goſpel. Theſe two diſcourſes illuſtrate ſome of the affections which religion commands us to cheriſh; and we are pleaſed to ſee a preacher of ſound judgement engage in the diſcuſſion of topics which have been ſo often perverted by the unſkilful. While judicious and acute men have ſometimes explained the doctrines, and often inculcated the duties of religion, it has been left, too generally, to enthuſiaſts to deſcribe religious affections and feelings. Few things, we believe, have tended more to the general diſcredit of religion, than that men of ſound underſtandings ſhould ſo often appear to diſcard all feeling from their ſyſtem; and ſhould have left it to be aſſumed as the peculiar property, and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of bigotted or deſigning men. When almoſt all the popular topics, and all the warmth and activity are found on one hand, and dry diſcuſſion conducted with a coolneſs, eaſily miſtaken for indifference, on the other, is it ſurpriſing that the multitude ſhould flock to the fanatics and enthuſiaſts? The enemies of religion, beſides, avail themſelves of this circumſtance: they impute the irregularities of ſuch men to religion itſelf, and allege the coolneſs of others as a proof of inſincerity. If rational preachers would infuſe a little more ſpirit into their diſcourſes, and not treat their hearers quite ſo much as if they were beings of pure intellect, we are inclined to think that there would be fewer enthuſiaſts. Extremes produce extremes; immoderate zeal has led to indifference; and indifference has increaſed the zeal with which it is contraſted. The fanaticiſm which, at one time, prevailed in England, led the bulk of the clergy in that country into a ſtudied coolneſs, which had all the appearance of indifference; and their coolneſs, in its turn, occaſioned the unmeaning rant of the modern Methodiſts. There is ſome reaſon to apprehend that ſimilar cauſes may produce ſimilar effects in our own part of the iſland, where the people are not naturally inclined to any great exceſs of devotional ardour.

Religion has ſometimes been repreſented as unfavourable to the enjoyment of life: in the following paſſages, this ſentiment is refuted, and the ſuperior excellence of religious joy maintained, with much juſtneſs, and with much eloquence.

'So far is an implicit conformity to the dictates of our religion from being inconſiſtent with a proper care of worldly concerns, that, if we had no higher aim in view than merely to promote, or to ſecure, our temporal intereſts, we could hardly purſue a ſafer and more certain courſe, than a ſcrupulous obſervance of the rules preſcribed by Chriſtianity, for conducting us to future happineſs. To increaſe or to preſerve a fortune, what better means could we employ, than Chriſtian diligence and honeſty? To riſe to preferment and honour, what ſo efficacious as that inflexible integrity, that cheerful and ready ſubmiſſion to lawful ſuperiors, that affable condeſcenſion to inferiors, that meekneſs and

complaiſance towards all, which the Goſpel enjoins? To enſure good will, to maintain a character, to acquire reputation, could we adopt a better plan, than to cultivate Chriſtian prudence and fortitude, joined with Chriſtian rectitude and charity; or, as our Saviour beautifully and emphatically expreſſes it, than to be *wiſe as ſerpents, and harmleſs as doves?* In fine, if our ſole object were to preſerve health, to prolong life, or even to give a true reliſh to ſenſual enjoyment, could we follow any better courſe, than to practiſe Chriſtian activity in buſineſs, in conjunction with Chriſtian moderation and temperance?'—'These are joys pure and ſubſtantial, ſuited to the dignity of the rational nature, independent of our brutal part. Theſe can never be carried to exceſs, never ſucceeded by corroding reflection. Pleaſing once, they pleaſe and delight us for ever. Thoſe, neither birth, nor external events, nor the diſpoſitions of men, nor diſeaſe, nor age, can affect. They attend us in ſociety, and forſake us not in ſolitude. When enemies perſecute us, they inſpire us with courage, and endue us with ſtrength. When falſe friends abandon us, they remain. They ſolace adverſity, and enhance and adorn proſperous circumſtances. They lighten the burdens of life, and diſarm death of his terrors! Compared with theſe, affluence is poor, grandeur is contemptible, ſenſual pleaſure is diſguſting. External circumſtances are appropriated to no inherent dignity of character, and are often the means of debaſing it. But religious and moral enjoyments are the peculiar privileges of the wiſe and good, who are not excluded from their ſhare of worldly poſſeſſions, and can enjoy them with the higheſt reliſh. Still, ſhould theſe be withheld, ſupported by their internal reſources, by conſcious integrity, by the exhilarating ſenſe of the Divine favour, and by the glorious proſpect of a bleſſed immortality, the piouſly wiſe muſt, even in adverſity and affliction, be poſſeſſed of a more abundant ſtore of happineſs than can belong to the impious and the wicked, placed on the ſummit of power, baſking in the ſunſhine of proſperity, and reſounding the loudeſt ſtrains of diſſolute mirth. Like a rock lowering above the deep, the man of piety and virtue beholds the ſtorms of calamity roar around him, without ſhaking his reſolution, or impairing his ſtrength. When the tempeſt aſſails thoſe of a contrary character, they are toſſed, like the ſand, from ſurge to ſurge, and, when the calm returns, ſink under the weight of their own depravity.'

Sermon fourth, 'On the Nature, Cauſes, and Effects of Indifference with regard to Religion,' was preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge, and publiſhed originally at their deſire. It is written in ſo maſterly a manner, that if the learned author had publiſhed nothing more, it would have been enough to eſtabliſh his character as no ordinary preacher. The nature of this indifference is diſtinguiſhed with great preciſion, from moderation on the one hand, and the total want of religious principle on the other: the cauſes and effects of this ſpirit are traced with equal clearneſs; and ſeveral

conſiderations

conſiderations added, which are well calculated to put Chriſtians on their guard againſt it.

The fifth Sermon is 'on the Folly of Procraſtination with regard to the Concerns of Religion;' the ſixth is 'on the Vanity of Religion, unleſs conſidered as the chief good, and accompanied with Zeal and Perſeverance;' the ſeventh is 'on the Nature, the Effects, and the Rewards of Perſeverance in Religion;' the eighth is on 'the Progreſſive Nature of Religion in the Soul.' The next three ſermons are 'on the Specific Qualities of Prudence and Simplicity,' the union of theſe qualities, and the motives to cultivate them. On each of theſe topics the reader will find much uſeful matter, ſtated with accuracy and diſcrimination. Three diſcourſes follow 'on Agur's Prayer,' in which the author deſcribes the happineſs of a mind open to the conviction of truth, and attached to duty, the temptations and dangers of opulence and exalted ſtation, and the temptations and dangers of poverty, with the happineſs of the middle condition. Some of theſe are ſubjects upon which declaimers have enlarged with peculiar complacency; and on the temptations and vices of the great and proſperous, many a lofty moraliſt has made himſelf popular at little coſt. In theſe diſcourſes, the dangers of opulence and of poverty are ſtated with equal impartiality, and in a manner judicious and manly, without any aid of fanciful embelliſhment.

In the next diſcourſe, 'Pride' is very accurately diſtinguiſhed from vanity, and from that becoming ſelf-eſtimation which is often neceſſary to our protection from inſult. The grounds of pride are examined in another diſcourſe; and birth, titles, offices, riches, corporeal advantages, and mental endowments, are clearly ſhown to afford no ſufficient reaſon for this temper. The next diſcourſe is on the nature and effects of 'Humility,' which forms a very proper contraſt to the ſubject of the two preceding ſermons. The laſt ſermon is on 'Charity,' and was preached before a Society inſtituted for the Relief of the Sick Poor. The text is, '*charity never faileth;*' and the author takes occaſion to ſhow, that, while many gifts beſtowed on men, and high attainments reached by them, ſhall ceaſe with this life, charity ſhall continue and flouriſh in another ſtate; and, from its unfailing nature, he powerfully urges the exerciſe of it. From conſidering the nature of charity in general, he eaſily paſſes to that exerciſe of it which conſiſts in relieving the neceſſitous, and thus ſtrongly recommends the intereſts of that Society for which he pleads.

'Ye who enjoy every convenience and comfort of life! to whom, when you are laid on a bed of ſickneſs, every ſoothing aid, every help of medicine, every relief that money or tenderneſs can ſup-

ply, are provided; reflect how you endured the pains and languors of diſeaſe, though mitigated and ſoftened by all that human art or kindneſs could deviſe! Did you happen to be removed from your abode when ſome ſevere and dangerous malady aſſailed you, how were you overwhelmed by the abſence of domeſtic charity and convenience? But the poor man has no home for ſickneſs! Health is neceſſary to procure him ordinary comfort, is neceſſary to provide him and his family with the means of daily ſubſiſtence. *Laid on the bed of languiſhing*, perhaps on the bed of death, he beholds his wife and children diſconſolate around him. They can preſent to him none of the cordials and ſupports of ſickneſs; for his interrupted labour deprives them of the ſtaff of life. His diſtreſs and theirs are unknown to the ear of opulence. The rich, or thoſe who employ him, recogniſe him only by the price of his labour. When fixed to a ſick-bed, which ſerves rather to augment than to alleviate his malady, he ceaſes to attend his work, he ceaſes alſo to be preſent to their minds. Another comes, occupies his place, receives the wages he uſed to earn—and the ſick man is forgotten! Diſeaſe continues to prey upon his frame till he expires! He is conſigned to the grave, of difficult purchaſe, and to oblivion; or is remembered only by the beggary of his family, often accounted importunate and troubleſome!'—'But, do not you then rejoice, that a Society exiſts under the title of *The Sick Man's Friend*, whoſe object is to penetrate into the receſſes of miſery, to diſcover the ſick poor, of whatever religious ſect or party they may be, and to afford them every relief which charity can ſupply? Do you not rejoice, that, without encroaching on your ordinary buſineſs, abridging your pleaſures, or diminiſhing in any perceptible degree your ſtores, you may heal or alleviate the diſeaſes of your poorer brethren, by contributing a ſmall portion of your ſuperabundance? Will you not, then, command that portion to ſpeed, under the management of faithful men, to the habitations of the poor and the diſeaſed, to ſupply the ſtrengthening cordial to the ſick heart, to adminiſter the cooling potion to the feveriſh frame, to mitigate the convulſive pangs of acute diſtemper, and even to ſmooth the bed of death?' p. 458.

In peruſing ſome of theſe diſcourſes, we have been diſpoſed to wiſh that the inferior diviſions or parts had been more diſtinctly marked. We have no deſire to ſee a diſcourſe ſplit down into an intricate variety of diviſions and ſubdiviſions; this would generally be abſurd, and could ſeldom be uſeful; but where topics, neceſſarily diſtinct, are introduced, it unqueſtionably rouſes the attention, and aſſiſts the memory, to find them diſtinctly announced. In the ninth and tenth ſermons, for example, the effects reſulting from the union of prudence and ſimplicity, and the motives to cultivate them, are pointed out in a very maſterly manner; yet, though ſeveral diſtinct topics are introduced under each of theſe heads, none of them is formally ſtated. This, we are perſuaded,

while

while it has no influence on the unity of the diſcourſes, muſt diminiſh their impreſſion. The unity of a diſcourſe, is deſtroyed, we apprehend, by crowding a variety of ſubjects into it, and not by clearly diſtinguiſhing the different parts of the ſame ſubject. Faſhion, we are aware, may perhaps be pleaded againſt us, though we believe Dr Brown would ſcorn to avail himſelf of ſuch an authority; but we cannot permit faſhion to decide againſt utility. She may be allowed to regulate the furniture of the circulating libraries; but it will be as well, perhaps, that ſhe be not much conſulted in the compoſition of ſermons.

From the extracts which we have given, our readers may be able to judge with regard to the ſtyle of theſe diſcourſes: it is well ſuited to the nature of the ſubjects, eaſy, flowing, and dignified; it never ſinks to meanneſs; it is never turgid: the author ſtates his ſentiments with preciſion, and enforces them with animation; he never forgets the importance of his ſubject, nor ſuffers his reader to forget it; he always conceives clearly what he intends to expreſs, and is never at a loſs for appropriate expreſſions to convey his meaning. He has very much enriched his diſcourſes by an abundant uſe of the language of Scripture, which he has applied with much felicity, and often employed to expreſs his own ſentiments, in a manner that gives much dignity to the ſtyle.

We cannot avoid obſerving, that too little attention appears to have been beſtowed on the mechanical part of this publication, and that the author has ſuffered his compoſitions to meet the public eye under the diſadvantage of many groſs typographical errors. Theſe we hope to ſee removed in a ſecond edition; and, on a further reviſion of his work, Dr Brown will probably diſcover that theſe are not the only errors which require correction. Where there is ſo much to praiſe, we feel the more anxious for the purification of his ſtyle from thoſe ſlighter faults and inaccuracies by which it is occaſionally degraded; and we are fully confident that the exerciſe of his own taſte will enable him to exhibit his work in a ſtate ſtill more unexceptionable.

ART. XV. *A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merdhin, with Specimens of the Poems.* By Sharon Turner, F. A. S. London. Williams, Strand. 1803. 8vo. pp. 284.

THE predilection of the Welsh for the antiquities of their native country, and the jealous eye with which they still regard the interference of a *Saxon* in this sacred subject, are so notorious, that we are strongly inclined to indulge a suspicious smile at their allowing Mr Turner to anticipate themselves in vindicating the genuineness of their most ancient and favourite bards. No doubt can be entertained, that many of the Welsh antiquaries are infinitely superior in point of knowledge and zeal to Mr Turner: if, then, the cause which he has undertaken had, in their opinion, been tenable, can we suppose that they would have so long endured the scoffs of unbelievers, and at last have permitted a stranger to enter the lists, and bear off the prize? We are therefore reduced to the necessity of supposing that Mr Turner possesses zeal, without their knowledge and prudence. Although, however, the Welsh antiquaries have not come directly forward on this important occasion, yet one of the most distinguished of them has given his sanction to Mr Turner's work so directly and strongly, that they must share in his disgrace if he fail in his attempt, without being able to claim any of the honour if he succeed. *

Mr Turner need not have informed his readers, that he had applied only some part of the leisure of the summer to the consideration of this question; since the total want of arrangement, argument, and correct composition, sufficiently proves his work to have been a hasty performance. It has, indeed, many of the external marks of a methodical and logical treatise: the proposition is formally stated; the evidence is 'divided into two sorts, the external and the internal' (16.); and there are eight divisions, besides subdivisions without number, under each 'sort' of evidence. All this looks as if Mr Turner intended, when he began his work, that it should be clear, systematical, and full, even if he could not make it convincing or satisfactory. But he tasked himself beyond his powers. Some of the divisions, which are laid down in the beginning of his work, are entirely omitted in the elucidation of the evidence; and those which are noticed, occur in a very different order. This defect, however, we might have endured; or perhaps we might have endeavoured to remedy it by

* Owen's Cambrian Biography. Pref. p. 5.

by a different arrangement, if the matter had appeared worth the trouble. But we do not remember ever to have met with any thing dignified with the name of evidence, which bore so little resemblance to authority or argument. As we have neither time nor patience to examine, separately, the innumerable divisions of external and internal evidence, we shall select a few, and arrange them with more regard to method and order than Mr Turner has discovered. We shall not, however, insult the understandings of our readers, by entering into a formal and direct refutation; but, in some instances, shall merely state the substance of Mr Turner's evidence; and, in no instance, offer more than general remarks.

We shall begin with the proposition, that Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merdhin, were British bards, who lived in the sixth century; which is the sixth in the order of examination (109.), and the fourth in the order in which they are laid down in the beginning of the work (17). The testimony of Nennius is first adduced (115). Mr Turner observes, 'that Gale places him in the seventh century; he may have belonged to the ninth.' Now, the author of the history attributed to Nennius wrote, as he expressly informs us in his preface, in 858, * and consequently is very insufficient authority for the existence of bards in the sixth century. But, *secondly*, the passage alluded to is not in the printed copy: it is found only in one MS.; and the very style and contents of the whole chapter in which the passage occurs, prove it to have been the addition of a different, and, most probably, a later writer. And, *thirdly*, the passage, as it stands, mentions no bard but Taliesin: 'Item, Talhearn Talanguen in poemate claruit, et Nuevin, & Taliesin, & Bluchbar, & Cian qui vocatur Gueinanguant, simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico floruerunt.' Hence, allowing that Nennius wrote in the seventh century, and that this passage is really genuine, still we must grant Mr Turner another favour before it can be of much advantage to him. By the assistance of Mr Evans he changes Nuevin into Aneurin, and Bluchbar into Llywarch. So that Mr Turner merely requests his reader to allow him to fix the æra of an author; to attribute to him, on the slight authority of one MS., a chapter not found in the other MSS., and very different in style and matter; and to alter the words as he pleases;—and then he undertakes to prove his proposition.

This is not the only instance in which Mr Turner has recourse to MSS. which have been rejected by the editors, whom, how-

* Nennius apud Gale, I. 94. Nicholson, however, is inclined to place him in 828. Eng. Histor. Librar. p. 33. 3d Edit. fol.

ever, we muſt ſuppoſe to have been more impartial and competent judges than himſelf. In a MS. of the laws of Howel Dha, he finds ſome lines cited and aſcribed to Talieſin; and theſe he brings forward in evidence, without ſtating on what grounds he conſiders this MS. as more correct and genuine than the others; and not in the leaſt ſtartled at meeting with a quotation from a poet in a book of laws,—and that quotation ſo little to the purpoſe, and ſo awkwardly introduced, that it bears every mark of an interpolation.

We imagine that the credibility of that notorious fabuliſt, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the genuineneſs of the Welſh triads, ought to be eſtabliſhed, before they can with any propriety be introduced as unexceptionable and ſatisfactory evidence. (119—135.)

We ſhall now turn back to the firſt diviſion of the external evidence—that there are old MSS. exiſting of theſe poems, (21.); which merely amounts to this, that there are 'two, if not three, ancient MSS. extant, which have no appearance of having been written later than the twelfth century,' (24.) And this very guarded and very vague poſition does not reſt on the authority of Mr Turner. He does not appear to have examined theſe MSS. himſelf;—he does not even mention the qualifications or names of thoſe to whoſe examination he has truſted; nor ſtate the evidence which is ſuppoſed to prove their antiquity: He merely ſays, he underſtands (27.), he is informed (28.), he is aſſured (29.) that they are ancient. It is unneceſſary to *expoſe* the weakneſs of this evidence. In pages 37—87, he endeavours to prove, that Aneurin, Talieſin, &c. and their works, 'have been mentioned or alluded to by a ſeries of bards, whoſe works ſtill exiſt, undiſputed, from before the twelfth century to a recent period.' The diſbelievers in the genuineneſs of the poems attributed to the bards of the ſixth century, maintain, that they were forged in the twelfth century. They ground their opinion on two undiſputed facts,—that the Welſh do not pretend to poſſeſs the works of any bards between the ſixth and the eleventh or twelfth centuries, and that all the Welſh MSS. appear to have been written in the twelfth century. Mr Turner, imagining that the Welſh had unguardedly granted too much, contends (269), that there are ſmall poems ſtill extant, which were written in the ſeventh, eighth, and tenth centuries; but as he has offered no arguments in ſupport of their genuineneſs, we muſt beg leave not only to object to them as authorities on the preſent ſubject, but alſo to ſuſpect *their* antiquity. There are, however, ſix notices, 'taken from poems which, according to the conſent of the beſt Welſh critics, were written before the twelfth century.'

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(37—39.) Theſe notices prove, merely, that the names of Talieſin, Merdhin, Llywarch, Avaon, and Kennyd, and ſhort proverbial ſentences attributed to them, floated on the breath of tradition; but by no means that their poems were then written, or even in exiſtence. On the contrary, the very expreſſion, 'Haſt thou not *heard* what Llywarch ſang—Greet kindly, though there be no acquaintance,' ſufficiently points out what parts of the poems of this bard were preſerved, and how they were preſerved. The other notices are exactly of the ſame kind, and expreſſed in the ſame manner.

It is now neceſſary to turn from the 39th to the 112th page, where, in perfect conſiſtency with the total want of arrangement of the work, the remaining part of this diviſion of the external evidence is conſidered. Giraldus Cambrenſis is cited; and his evidence is ſaid to be complete and deciſive. In one paſſage, he expreſsly ſays, that, in the twelfth century, the Cambrian bards, and ſingers or reciters, have the genealogy of their princes written in their ancient and authentic books in Welſh. The poems of the bards are not mentioned; yet Mr Turner affirms that 'he ſpeaks of the genealogies but as a *part* of the contents of theſe ancient and authentic books.' In the other paſſage, the words of Giraldus are, 'Rex Angliæ Henricus Secundus, ſicut ab hiſtorico cantore Britone audiverat antiquo.'—Mr Turner hence infers, 'that the ancient Britiſh had hiſtorical ſingers, that is, ancient bards who had left hiſtorical poems, which, in the days of Henry the Second, were deemed ancient, and referred to; and which, therefore, muſt have been ſome centuries old in that age.' (144.) Cannot Mr Turner perceive that the words expreſsly declare, that King Henry had *heard* (concerning Arthur) from an *ancient Britiſh bard?*

After theſe ſpecimens of Mr Turner's commentary and arguments, which are not ſelected, and are even ſurpaſſed in almoſt every page, it ſurely is not neceſſary to examine, or even ſtate any other paſſages, which he has adduced in ſupport of this part of the external evidence. We may, however, remark, that the entire ſilence of Giraldus Cambrenſis, a writer who is ſo very full and particular in every thing relative to Wales, and ſeems to have poſſeſſed conſiderable knowledge as well as zeal, renders it extremely probable, that in his time (about 1200) there were no poems of an ancient date, either traditional or written. In one paſſage, indeed, he refers to the prophecies of Merdhin, and declares that he had tranſlated them into Latin. But Mr Turner conſiders the prophetic works aſcribed to Merdhin, which have come down to us, as unqueſtionably either interpolated or ſurreptitious, (149.) How then can this paſſage of Giraldus prove

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and our review of the volumes now before us, will furniſh at once a proof of our eagerneſs to find out ſomething worthy of notice in this favourite line of exertion, and a new inſtance of moſt unmingled diſappointment. Thus much it was neceſſary to premiſe, as an apology for making ſuch a work the ſubject of an article.

The letters of Mr William Hunter to his ſiſter Eliza, exceed, in a conſiderable degree, the average dulneſs of this popular ſpecies of compoſition, even if we include in our eſtimate the manuſcript ſpecimens which it has been our lot to peruſe. The two or three firſt epiſtles are quite ſufficient to correct any hopes of amuſement which the reader of the title-page may unwarily have formed. He ſoon ſinks into a kind of unvaried reverie, like that produced by the conſtant and uniform repetition of any heavy ſound;—in this he is not even diſturbed by any very ſtriking diſcord;—he continues turning over page after page, to the number of near a thouſand, without finding a ſingle interruption of his repoſe. The author is a ſafe and ſmooth goer; he avoids giving the ſmalleſt variety either of pleaſure or pain; he maintains this happy medium with inimitable dexterity; and, after the lapſe of a certain time, the reader finds himſelf happily arrived at the end of his *journey*, without the recollection even of a jolt, which might remind him of the taſk he has performed. Such, at leaſt, was the unruffled ſtate of mind in which we firſt paſſed over this work; all our efforts of critical vigilance could only ward off total ſleep. In ſpite of our utmoſt attention, we could not avoid that minor ſort of trance into which Mr Hunter has the ſecret of plunging his victims; and we gave way, after ſome ineffectual ſtruggles, to the uncommon powers of this moſt ſkilful magnetiſer. Our curioſity was, however, not unnaturally excited to diſcover the myſterious charm which he ſo evidently was in poſſeſſion of. We therefore ſubmitted once more to his operations; and are now ſo far acquainted with the ſecret of his art, that we can venture to diſcloſe it with ſome confidence, both for the benefit of future authors and for the warning of our readers.

And, firſt of all, the practitioner of this new art finds it proper to obtain a due portion of cuſtomers. For this end, it is fitting that he ſhould entice the paſſenger by his ſign-poſt; and as it is of the very nature of ſigns to have no ſort of reſemblance to the thing ſignified, ſo he depicts, on the outſet, not the fare which the paſſenger ſhall find within, but that which may tempt him moſt readily to enter. Thus, as the head of the Grand Turk, and, ſtill more, the words '*neat wines*,' are in nowiſe deſcriptive of the liquors which ſuch devices are meant to repreſent, ſo is the name of Mr Hunter's article very far diſtant from conveying

ing any foretaſte of its true nature or object. The unwary paſſenger ſees written, in great characters, 'Travels in France during the heat of the Revolution,' &c. with a head of the Grand Seignior; he buys; and ſtraightway begins to turn over a few leaves. Leſt, however, the deception ſhould too ſuddenly be perceived, and the drug not taken in a ſufficient doſe, it is covered over with ſuch devices as the following—which excite a little attention by the obſcurity of their meaning, or at leaſt tend to keep up the appearance.

'I do not propoſe to bind myſelf down by any fixed rules. My digreſſions will probably be numerous; and, as my inclination prompts me, I may yield to the dictates of reaſon, or indulge in the ſpeculations of conjecture, or be ſeduced by the allurements of imagination. If this plan be deſultory, I have only ſketched it out, becauſe I conceive that it will afford you more entertainment than any other; for there is an irreſiſtible charm in variety, which carries the feelings lightly along'—and ſo forth. I. 3.

By ſuch means the reader is enticed, and ſubmits himſelf to the farther operations of the ſpell, which very ſpeedily begin to be felt.

The great ſecret of Mr Hunter's art conſiſts in avoiding every thing which may in the ſmalleſt degree diſturb the repoſe of his reader by exciting emotions of any ſort; and this he chiefly accompliſhes, by curiouſly ſelecting all thoſe incidents which are of the moſt ordinary recurrence, mixing them up with ſuch remarks as are equally plain, and interſperſing them with long diſcuſſions, to prove what is either intuitively true, or intuitively falſe; thus, in both caſes, contriving to render any exertion of intellect as unneceſſary in us, as it would be impoſſible in him. For theſe ends, he juſtly conſiders that the moſt familiar actions of a man's life are eating and ſleeping at the ſtated times; and that when a perſon travels, the moſt ordinary occupation is that of moving from one place to another; ſetting off at a certain hour of the morning, and arriving at a particular hour in the evening; and, it may be, paying the expence incurred. Extending ſomewhat further his views of human affairs, he finds that proviſions are either good, or bad, or indifferent; that the ſame general obſervation applies alſo to beds; and that all theſe objects may likewiſe be diſtinguiſhed by another principle of claſſification derived from attending to their prices. From this view of the ſubject, the tranſition is eaſy to roads and ferries, including tolls and bridges, with the acceſſory matter of horſes and carriages. The ſame love of generalizing, leads him to a contemplation of the works of nature; and he ſurveys, with an accurate and diſcriminating eye, the whole ſtate of the wea-

ther, which, like the inns and roads, is remarkable for being ſometimes better, and ſometimes worſe. And theſe are the main incidents of this excellent writer.

In the choice of his remarks and diſquiſitions, he is equally judicious: they are indeed of a touching ſimplicity; they are conſtantly introduced, leſt the uniformity of the narrative might diſpoſe us to wander entirely from the page; and are delivered in language ſo monotonouſly reſembling their meaning, (when they chance to have any), that, in very truth, the ſound may be called an echo to the ſenſe. In the extenſion of this branch of his work, Mr Hunter proceeds upon one fundamental principle, of a moſt univerſal application,—that the ſelf-evident truth of any propoſition is no reaſon why it ſhould be either ſuppreſſed or aſſumed, but that, on the contrary, it ſhould, on this preciſe ground, be often repeated, ſupported by numberleſs arguments, and enforced by much declamation; rightly judging, that ſo invaluable a treaſure as plain truth can never be too ſtrongly guarded, or too warmly celebrated. It would be endleſs to collect ſpecimens of the felicity with which this principle is followed out in all its ramifications; it forms, indeed, the cement of the whole work—the *callida junctura* by which all the parts are held together—and ſo ſmoothed as not to ruffle the moſt irritable and active of readers. In juſtice to Mr Hunter, we ſhall cull a few ſamples. How convincing are his arguments to ſhow that it is wrong to plunder a ſhipwrecked mariner!

'To take advantage,' ſaith he, 'of a man who is an unequal opponent, is the act of a coward; but to ſtrip of what little he ſtill poſſeſſes, the unfortunate being who throws himſelf on your mercy, who implores your aſſiſtance, and whoſe life and fortune might be reſcued by a trifling exertion of charity, is a conduct ſo much at variance with the common feelings of nature, that we are at a loſs how to account for ſuch barbarous and complicated depravity. Why is the law,' &c. &c. (I. 142.)

By topics, no leſs judiciouſly ſelected, does the maſter prove, that a tale of complicated 'villany and perſecution' creates 'emotions of horror and indignation.'—'A propenſity to hate our enemies,' he remarks, 'and to avenge the wrongs they have inflicted on us, is a principle which is coeval with the inſtinctive feelings of the human frame.' The perception of this truth ſuddenly tranſports him; he is rapt in the fervour of inſpiration; and gives looſe to the burſtings of his heart—'It has an eternal baſis in nature, and prevails throughout the extent of the animal creation. It is a fundamental law, which is univerſally eſtabliſhed in the breaſt, and is neither to be ſubverted

verted by ſophiſtry, nor invalidated by perſuaſion, nor extirpated by power.' (I. 353-4.) Whoever would be convinced that fighting againſt one's country is criminal, and that a bloody field of battle is a diſmal object, may be accommodated with the proper arguments by turning to pages 379. and 383. of the firſt volume. A long inveſtigation is undertaken, in two whole pages, (391-2), to ſhow that cheating at cards is improper; and after much reaſoning, we are gently led to the concluſion, that 'thoſe whoſe ſentiments of honour are ſo relaxed, as to allow them, without repugnance, to cheat at cards, muſt be of a mean and ſordid diſpoſition.' The following remark on human nature is of the moſt general kind, and evidently flows from what is called 'a ſenſible man.'—'Such is the folly and fallibility, or the perverſeneſs and obduracy of human nature, that the moſt ſacred obligations are very frequently either openly infringed, or artfully evaded, when they are repugnant to our ideas of happineſs, or inconſiſtent with our views of pleaſure, convenience, or profit.' (II. 72.)—If any one has occaſion for a ſermon upon loſſes ſuſtained by fire, or homilies proper to diſſuade the Turks from uſing wine, and the derviſes from leading irregular lives, or lectures againſt the uſe of ſtays, he may be conveniently ſupplied at p. 4. 72. 78. and 102. of vol. II.—We extract the following brief and elegant definition of comfort: 'Comfort gladdens and warms the heart wherever it is found; it is the animating ſpring of ſocial life; and in proportion as it is diffuſed, is our ſatisfaction in beholding it increaſed.' (II. 150.) After a large diſſertation on matrimony, Mr Hunter takes occaſion to inform us, that he is 'convinced that private virtue is the only ſolid baſis of public happineſs and proſperity; and that the religion, the morality, and the freedom of a ſtate, derive, in no ſmall degree, both their origin and protection from the purity of domeſtic life.' (II. 216.) We cannot help regarding it as rather a ſingular deviation from his uſual plan, that he does not explain at length the reaſons on which ſo very ſtrange an opinion is founded.

The plain downright falſehood of ſome poſitions illuſtrated in theſe volumes, is as remarkable as the ſelf-evident truth of others: in no caſe is any thing left to doubt or ingenuity. While, at one time, we are reaſoned into a conviction, that it is more agreeable to gaze upon young and beautiful girls, than on the old and the ugly; at another we are deſired to believe, on the evidence of the author's own obſervation, that the ſcarcity in 1801 was entirely fictitious, and that the arts of monopoliſts muſt for the future be checked by legiſlative interference, otherwiſe the country will be ſtarved, (II. 130.) Page after

page is filled with demonſtrations that there is ſomething improper in deſpotiſm, and ſomething unhappy in the ſituation of a tyrant. Then we are told, that a great capital 'drains a country of its wealth and proviſions,' (II. 185.) Sometimes the deſcription of a diſtrict is, that its produce conſiſts either of animals, vegetables, or minerals; and ſometimes we have a muſeum mentioned, as containing 'minerals, foſſils, ſpars, petrifactions, marbles, opals, ſhells, metals, and volcanic productions,' (II. 197.) But none of Mr Hunter's feats of ſkill gives his reader leſs trouble than the argument to prove that the public revenue ſhould be augmented by an open and avowed increaſe in the denomination of the coin; for ſuch we conceive to be the meaning of the following diſſertation:

'Theſe mines bring in a conſiderable revenue to the Crown, by which the chief part of their produce is purchaſed. Copper ſimply refined fetches thirty-ſix florins a cwt.; and, when manufactured into bars and plates, about forty-eight. But the moſt lucrative uſe to which it is applied by the government is converting it into coin, as by this operation, one cwt., which coſts originally thirty-ſix florins, yields about eighty in money, leaving a profit of 44 *per cent.* * This, to be ſure, is not clear gain, as the expences of coinage muſt be deducted; but theſe are comparatively trifling. Such immenſe advantages might furniſh a hint to our own government,' &c. (II. 271.)

By a careful adherence to this method of compoſition, and more eſpecially by a frequent introduction of his own concerns and feelings, Mr Hunter has happily attained the perfection of the *ſedative art* in writing. But as it is not the object of this art, entirely to lull the reader, and ſtill leſs to riſk his ſuddenly ſhutting the book, whereby the ſpell would at once be diſſolved, the ſkilful practitioner well knows how to excite from time to time a moſt gentle titillation of curioſity or hope, never indeed to be gratified, but juſt ſufficient to maintain a ſlight degree of attention, and to continue the exerciſe of his power—as the magnetizer renders his ſubject obedient, and keeps up the trance, without permitting him either to ſleep or awake, by tickling his nerves in a certain ſmall degree at proper periods of the operation. In this branch of the art, Mr Hunter mainly excels. The travels of an Engliſhman, according to immemorial uſage, begin with a ſtorm in the Channel. Now, Mr Hunter's ſtorm, in which he 'one moment rides on a boiſterous wave, the next bumps on an inhoſpitable rock' (I. 8.), might peradventure have brought

* The whole of the blunder here is indeed *arithmetical*; but one part of it is ſtill more palpably ſo than the reſt; for the alleged profit ſhould be above 222 *per cent.* inſtead of 44.

brought the reader's repoſe to a premature end, had he not, with wonderful adroitneſs, made uſe of the tickling proceſs, and promiſed an 'anecdote of a luſty gentleman.' This proves to be, that the perſon in queſtion ſwore a little becauſe he was dropt into the water; that his oaths were in Engliſh, he not underſtanding French; and that, having nobody to carry him, he walked aſhore on foot. Thus the titillation is allayed, without having been productive of the ſlighteſt gratification to diſturb our repoſe. The ſame proceſs is very often repeated, eſpecially at Paris and Conſtantinople; and in no part of the route more frequently than in the unexplored country of Hungary, and the military frontiers of the two emperors. Sometimes he avails himſelf dexterouſly of the influence of aſſociation; and by commencing a ſketch with the ſame lines by which a celebrated maſter has formerly pourtrayed it, leads us to expect a continued reſemblance of the picture. It muſt be admitted, however, that he is apt occaſionally to mingle a little diſappointment, by the ſudden tranſition; as, for example, in the following inſtance:

'The poor Queen of France, ſo lately an object of envy! Who can reflect on her ſudden reverſe of fortune, on her unmerited ſufferings, on the ſavage inſults to which ſhe has been expoſed, without being ſtruck with that entire change of ſentiment and opinion, which at preſent agitates and directs the minds of this fickle people? Thoſe who once idolized the charms of beauty, and the pomp of royalty, are now become their bittereſt perſecutors. The age of chivalry is, indeed, gone with *them*, and with it all thoſe milder and more rational virtues by which it was ſupplanted. Chivalry was an enthuſiaſm, which, as it eſpouſed the cauſe and aſſerted the rights of unprotected innocence and female youth and beauty, was highly ſerviceable to the ſtate of ſociety under which it prevailed. It ſprang'—with a good deal more to the ſame purpoſe, vol. I. p. 32-3-4.

As our duty enjoins ſtrict impartiality, we cannot avoid hinting to Mr Hunter, that this forms ſome deviation from the ordinary harmleſsneſs of his proſe, and ought, in future editions, to be placed at a greater diſtance from the beginning, that the reader may firſt be well dozed before ſo trying an experiment is made upon his temper.

The general muſic of Mr Hunter's language is intended, for ſimilar reaſons, to reſemble that of Dr Johnſon. The likeneſs between the two ſtyles is indeed pretty exact, unleſs that Mr Hunter's has not the ſenſe, nor the variety, nor the juſtneſs of his model; ſo that he has, we apprehend, produced ſuch a parody, as the memorable 'ſong by a perſon of quality' is of a ſong by a poet. To which may be added, that he has borrowed ſomewhat from a female authority, of a more impure age, the eloquent Mrs Malaprop—uſing, after her example, ſuch

doubtful forms of speech, as *errant* for *arrant*, (II. 99.); *fuit* for *fuite; interchange* for *change*, (II. 436.); *alternately* for *at once*, (I. 407.):—and betraying, moreover, a taste in grammar somewhat suspicious, as 'women sent *in presents*,' (I. 295.); 'majority, clergy, number, &c. *is*' (passim); 'enemy *are*' (I. viii.); 'after *we*' (II. 50.) In gratitude to Mr Hunter, we farther recommend, that if he should at any time have occasion again to describe the extreme of '*impossibility*,' he would not make choice of a figure which denotes *possibility*, and indeed alludes to a circumstance of hourly occurrence. In vol. II. p. 5. he talks of something being 'as impossible as it is to restore life when every pulse has ceased to vibrate.' We are also inclined to hint at the propriety of omitting such anecdotes about harams, stallions, and brood-mares, as occur in vol. I. 309. 311. and II. 457., when he shall at any future period indite letters to his sister. These are points of doctrine not essentially necessary to female education, and may tend to interrupt the slumbers of the young ladies who shall haply follow our prescription, and make use of Mr Hunter's volumes. For we now think it our duty, notwithstanding the above trifling exceptions, to recommend this work as in every respect the best and safest sedative of the kind which the press hath of late times produced; and the most commodious simple which those persons of quality, country gentlemen, and young officers can take, who have got into the habit of turning over the leaves of books during a certain part of the morning. Its operation is certain, agreeable, and efficacious; and possesses the notable advantage, of not interrupting other pursuits, or confining the patient for any length of time to his room.

ART. XVII. *The Works of Thomas Chatterton; containing his Life, by G. Gregory, D. D. and Miscellaneous Poems.* London. Longman & Rees. 3 vols. 8vo. 1803.

THE works of Chatterton, whose life and death will be the lasting honour and indelible disgrace of the eighteenth century, are at length, after the lapse of more than thirty years, edited in a collected state. We were at some loss to conceive what could have occasioned the long delay of so interesting a publication; and the explanation has proved rather mortifying. *A priori*, such a work seemed particularly calculated to engage the public attention. To the internal merit of the poems, now at length published, is united all the interest excited by the romantic history and lamentable death of the wonderful author, as well as that which arises from the exercise of critical investigation,

veſtigation, and the ardour of literary controverſy. Nevertheleſs, the delay may be attended by its own advantages in aiding us to aſcertain the real merits of the diſputed queſtion. The works of Chatterton, or the poems of Rowley, have ſurvived the controverſy which attended their appearance in 1770. Of the aſſailants and defenders of their originality, many have paid the debt to nature, and others will remember their ardour in the conteſt as the emotions of an agitating dream. It may therefore be ſuppoſed that the public will coolly and impartially determine the controverſy (if it yet remains a controverſy) upon the ſolid grounds of evidence; and it might alſo have been hoped, that circumſtances of additional proof, ſuppreſſed or miſrepreſented while the feelings of being duped were yet too acute, might now have been recovered. We will endeavour to ſhew how far we have been gratified by the preſent edition, and in what reſpects it has fallen ſhort of our expectation.

The preface bears the well known and reſpectable name of Mr Robert Southey; but we are informed that ſo much of the buſineſs has devolved upon Mr Cottle, that it becomes neceſſary to uſe the term Editors in the plural. Both poets, and both natives of Briſtol, we may ſuppoſe that theſe gentlemen felt a deep and peculiar intereſt in the taſk they have undertaken, of rendering a juſt homage to the genius of their wonderful fellow-citizen, and of contributing to the intereſt of his ſurviving relation. The purpoſes to which the profits of the publication are dedicated, are thus expreſſed in the preface; and the circumſtances, while they do honour to the liberality of the editors and publiſhers, account for the delay of which we have complained, in a manner deeply diſgraceful to the taſte and feelings of the public.

'In the winter of 1799, a ſubſcription edition of the works of Chatterton was publicly propoſed for his ſiſter's benefit. Theſe works had hitherto been publiſhed only for the emolument of ſtrangers, who procured them by gift or purchaſe from the author himſelf, or pilfered them from his family. From the intereſt which theſe circumſtances and the whole of Chatterton's hiſtory had excited, more ſucceſs was expected than has been found. At the end of two years, the ſubſcription would not have defrayed the coſts of publication.

'An arrangement was then made with Meſſrs Longman & Rees, who have publiſhed the work at their own expence, and allowed Mrs Newton a handſome number of copies, with a reverſionary intereſt in any future edition.'

The friends and patrons of Chatterton, as well as the former collectors of his poems, have been liberal in their communications to the preſent editors; and the book accordingly contains many of his productions which have been hitherto inedited. We do not aver that, in general, theſe additions to his works tend to

augment his fame; on the contrary, as ſome of them have been written almoſt during infancy, as others are merely unfiniſhed fragments, and as all ſeem incorrect and haſty productions, we cannot but conſider them as far inferior to the poems aſcribed to Rowley, and even to thoſe which Chatterton was himſelf pleaſed to own during his life. But, in another point of view, theſe early and unfiniſhed compoſitions are very intereſting. In Chatterton, above all other poets, we would wiſh not merely to admire the works upon which he may ſafely reſt his claim to immortal fame, but alſo to inveſtigate the performances in which his exertions have been leſs ſucceſsful; and, by comparing them together, to form, if it be poſſible, ſome idea of the ſtrength and weakneſs of this prodigy of early talent. We therefore approve of publiſhing ſuch pieces as 'Sly Dick' and 'Apoſtate Will,' which diſplay the early ſatirical propenſities of young Chatterton; with the elegies, ſongs, and burlettas, by which he endeavoured rather to ſupply his neceſſities, and poſtpone the dreadful criſis of his fate, than to indulge his genius, or extend his poetical fame. One of his juvenile productions, now publiſhed for the firſt time, is a hymn for Chriſtmas-day, which, if really written about the age of eleven, bears ample teſtimony to the premature powers of the author. We extract a verſe or two, which, when the harmony and eaſe of expreſſion are contraſted with the author's boyhood, inexperience, and want of inſtruction, appear almoſt miraculous.

'Almighty Framer of the ſkies,
O let our pure devotion riſe
Like incenſe in thy ſight!
Wrapt in impenetrable ſhade,
The texture of our ſouls were made,
Till thy command gave light.

The Sun of glory gleamed the ray,
Refined the darkneſs into day,
And bid the vapours fly:
Impelled by His eternal love,
He left his palaces above,
To cheer our gloomy ſky.

How ſhall we celebrate the day
When God appeared in mortal clay,
The mark of wordly ſcorn,
When the Archangel's heavenly lays
Attempted the Redeemer's praiſe,
And hailed Salvation's morn?

A humble form the Godhead wore,
The pains of poverty he bore,

To

To gaudy pomp unknown:
Tho' in a human walk he trod,
Still was the man Almighty God,
In glory all his own.

Deſpiſed, oppreſſed, the Godhead bears
The torments of this vale of tears,
Nor bid his vengeance riſe:
He ſaw the creatures he had made
Revile his power, his peace invade,
He ſaw with mercy's eyes.'

Such was the early command of language diſplayed by a child, who, when a beardleſs youth, was to gull a whole ſynod of grizzled deans and antiquaries.

The life of Chatterton, prefixt to theſe volumes, was written by Dr Gregory of London for the Biographia Britannica, and, by his permiſſion, has been reprinted upon this occaſion. Although it ſeems to be compiled with great fidelity, and probably contains all the material facts known upon the ſubject; we cannot ſuppreſs our hearty wiſh, that either of the preſent editors had himſelf undertaken the taſk of Chatterton's biographer. Many obſervations muſt have occurred to them, while preparing theſe volumes for the preſs, which have eſcaped Dr Gregory, writing many years ago, and for a more limited purpoſe. This was the more incumbent upon the editors; becauſe, from perſons of poetical taſte, ſo long employed in examining Chatterton's productions, the public muſt have expected ſome light upon the Rowleian controverſy. Dr Gregory, unwilling, or unable to form a judgement upon this moſt important point of the life of the youthful poet, has arranged, with great impartiality, the arguments upon both ſides, in battle array againſt each other, leaving his reader to draw ſuch concluſions as his own taſte or judgement may enable him to form. Now, this might be very excuſeable, in the original circumſtances in which Dr Gregory's life of Chatterton was publiſhed; for the Biographia Britannica is not a natural field for literary controverſy, though often occupied as ſuch. But in publiſhing a formal edition of the whole works of Chatterton, in which thoſe articles aſcribed to Rowley are included, the public had a right to expect from the editors, their full ſentiments upon the point of moſt eſſential intereſt to their author's fame, eſpecially as Mr Cottle, at leaſt, has formed and expreſſed a decided opinion upon the ſubject. Beſides, without depreciating the labours of Dr Gregory, who has produced a plain and ſimple account of Chatterton's life, we muſt expreſs ourſelves diſappointed, that we have not, from the hand of a poet like Southey, a memorial of his ill-fated brother bard. Few ſubjects

of compoſition, equally affecting or elevating, can ever occur; for when we conſider the ſtrange ambiguity of Chatterton's character, his attainments under circumſtances incalculably diſadvantageous, and his wiſh to diſguiſe them under the name of another; his high ſpirit of independence, and the ready verſatility with which he ſtooped to the meaneſt political or literary drudgery; the amiable and intereſting affection which he diſplays towards his family, with a certain looſeneſs of morality which approaches to profligacy,—we cannot but regret that a ſubject, uniting ſo ſtrong an alternation of light and ſhade, had not been ſketched by the hand of a maſter. We will not ſuppoſe that Mr Southey, or his brother editor, retreated from the taſk of becoming Chatterton's biographer through mere indolence; for, the liberality of their purpoſe towards his ſiſter, is a pledge to us, that they would not readily 'wax weary in well-doing.' We content ourſelves with lamenting that any reaſon ſhould have occurred to deprive us of the ſatisfaction which we would have reaped in ſeeing a new life of Chatterton, with a full view of the Rowley controverſy, upon which, in many particulars, the book before us, and the detached notes of the editors, throw ſo much light. One general remark we cannot help deducing from the melancholy picture of the life before us. The inconſiſtencies of Chatterton's conduct and character may be, in ſome meaſure, aſcribed to his ſituation and extreme youth; yet we fear their original ſource was in that inequality of ſpirits with which Providence, as in mockery of the moſt ſplendid gifts of genius and fancy, has often conjoined them. This ſtrange diſorder of the mind, often confounded by the vulgar with actual inſanity, of which perhaps it is a remote ſhade, is foſtered by the workings of an ardent imagination as it is checked and ſubdued by mathematical or philoſophical reſearch. It is reconcileable (as is actual inſanity) with the exertion of the greateſt addreſs in gaining a particular point, or in impoſing upon the reſt of mankind. In both caſes, the object to be attained, is uſually, in the eyes of the world, either altogether undeſirable, or totally inadequate to the trouble and addreſs expended in attaining it. This diſeaſe (for ſuch it is, and of a dreadful complexion) may alſo, like the extremity of mental derangement, be admitted to palliate the deviations from truth and moral rectitude, which it is peculiarly apt to occaſion. Without conſidering the forgery of Rowley's poems in ſo heinous a light as if they had been a bill or bond, and pecuniary advantage the object of the fraud, we cannot regard the impoſture as of an indifferent or harmleſs nature. Neither was the end propoſed, being apparently the mere internal ſatisfaction of impoſing upon the world, or, at beſt, the ſullen obſtinacy of maintaining an aſſertion which had been haſtily

made,

made, apparently adequate to the immenſe labour neceſſary to ſuſtain the credit of Rowley. But the ardent mind of Chatterton, who had pitched the ſtandard of his honour on this particular ground, urged him to maintain it at the ſacrifice of the poetical reputation he might have acquired by renouncing a phantom of his imagination, and at the yet more important dereliction of perſonal truth and moral rectitude.

The alternate fits of melancholy and burſts of high ſpirits which Chatterton manifeſted; the ſtrange paper entitled his *will*, in which, with a mixture of levity, of bitter ſatire and actual deſpair, he announces a purpoſe of ſelf-deſtruction; above all, the extravagant hopes which marked his arrival in London, and the ſuicide which finally cloſed his ſhort and eventful career,—all announce to us that irregular ambition, and impatience of the natural progreſs of ſociety, which indicate an inflamed imagination and a precarious judgement.

Before leaving the life of Chatterton, we muſt intimate, that we are ſomewhat diſpleaſed with the recommendatory and laudatory ſcraps of verſe and proſe which, in revival of a good old cuſtom, are tacked to the works of the author. Dr Viceſimus Knox leads the van with a heavy and dolorous imitation of Sterne (which lumbers along like Mr Shandy's chaiſe when it was dragged into Lyons without the wheels), followed in ſorrowful proceſſion by the Laureate, by Mrs Cowley, Mrs Robinſon, Miſs Helen Maria Williams, Mr Herbert Croft, and other perſons (as the newſpapers have it) of talents and diſtinction. We confeſs that we think Chatterton little honoured by their tribute of mawkiſh and affected ſympathy. It is diſguſting to hear blue-ſtocking ladies jingle their rhymes, and pedantic ſchoolmaſters pipe upon their ſentimental whiſtles a dirge over the grave of departed genius. We except from this cenſure a monody of Mr Coleridge, which, though very unequal, and careleſsly executed, exhibits in many paſſages the feeling and poetical talent which that gentleman always poſſeſſes, and ſometimes chuſes to diſplay. We alſo except ſome verſes by Mr Hayley, the ſubject having raiſed him on this occaſion conſiderably above the cold, correct mediocrity of his uſual tone of poetry.

The poems of Chatterton may be divided into two grand claſſes—thoſe aſcribed to Rowley; for ſurely, to uſe Mr Cottle's expreſſion, it is time to pluck the borrowed plumes from the fictitious monk, and to place them on the brow of the real poet;—and thoſe which the bard of Briſtol avowed to be his own compoſition. Of theſe claſſes, the former is incalculably ſuperior to the latter in poetical powers and diction. This is a remarkable circumſtance, and forms, we think, the only forcible argument

in

Engliſh, this advantage is loſt, and we are often ſhocked with a bald and proſaic tautology, with bombaſt, and with coarſeneſs of expreſſion, all the defects, not of Chatterton's natural genius, but of his extreme youth and deficient education, and many inſtances of which will be found to exiſt by curious inquirers, even under the ſeemly and antique *Alban* of the *Deigne Thomas Rowleie, Preiſte of St Johans, Briſtowe.*

When the believers in Rowley are driven from this ſtrong ward, we apprehend they can hardly make good their footing in any other. Two or three gentlemen, companions of Chatterton while at ſchool, have ventured to give it as their decided opinion, that, according to their eſtimation of his talents, he was unable to compoſe the poems of Rowley. Mr Cottle treats with well-merited contempt, the evidence of theſe perſons, who, from recollection of an opinion formed while ſchoolboys, conceive the plummet of their underſtanding adequate to fathom the depth of Chatterton's genius. A liſt is given of the parchments which have been produced as remnants of Rowley's MSS.; all of which, from the ſhape and texture, as well as from the handwriting, are very evidently forgeries by the unfortunate young man from whom they were recovered.

Above all, the internal evidence ariſing from the poems themſelves, has always appeared to us to convey deciſive marks of modern origin. The ſmoothneſs of the verſe, which, in moſt caſes, reſembles the moſt correct modern poetry, as well as the complicated nature of the ſtanza, are highly ſuſpicious. It is no doubt true, that, in ſome compoſitions of a lyrical nature, the old Engliſh poets attained a conſiderable degree of eaſe and fluency, chiefly ſuch as were adapted to the muſic of the minſtrels, when the neceſſity of following the tune, compelled the poet to obſerve a regularity of rythm. Such, for example, are the poems of Lawrence Minot. But theſe poems are flimſy ſongs, in which the ſame idea, and often the ſame words, are repeated and chimed upon, in order to attain the neceſſary ſmoothneſs. Take, for example, a verſe of Minot, which, for the ſake of the uninitiated, we have ſtripped of the antique ſpelling,

'Sir David the Bruce
Was at diſtance,
When Edward the Baliolſe
Rode with his lance:
The north end of England
Teached him to dance.
When he was met on the moor
With mikell miſchaunce,
Sir Philip the valayſe
Might not him advance;

The

'The flowers that fair were
Ar fallen in France:
The flowers are now fallen,
That fair were and fell:
A boar with his battaille
Has don them to dwell.'

The eaſe of theſe lines is the ſmoothneſs of mere ballad, attained by the tenuity of idea, and the tautology of expreſſion. But the ſmoothneſs of Rowley is combined with all the graces and refinement of modern poetry. Take two ſtanzas at hazard, diveſted of the artificial *patina*, or ruſt of antique orthography—

'The ſun was gleaming in the midſt of day,
Dead-ſtill the air, and eke the welkin blue,
When from the ſea aroſe in drear array,
A heap of clouds, of ſable, ſullen hue,
The which full faſt unto the woodland drew,
Hiding at once the ſunnes feſtive face;
And the black tempeſt ſwell'd, and gather'd up apace.

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The gather'd ſtorm is ripe; the big drops fall;
The ſun-burnt meadows ſmoke, and drink the rain;
The coming *ghaſtneſs* doth the cattle 'pal;
And the full flockes are driving o'er the plain.
Daſh'd from the clouds the waters fly again,
The welkin opes, the yellow levin flies,
And the hot fiery ſteam in the wide flaſhing dies.'

Can any one read this beautiful deſcription of a landſcape overſhaded by a thunder ſtorm, and doubt for a moment that it is by a modern hand?—yet we have only diſcarded *hilt'ring*, *fetyve*, *forſwat*, and *ſmothe*, all other differences betwixt our copy and the text being merely in ſpelling. Chatterton's anſwer to the ſtrong objection ariſing from the ſmoothneſs of Rowley's poetry, when ſtated to him by Horace Walpole, is very remarkable—'The harmony is not ſo extraordinary, as Joſeph Iſcam is altogether as harmonious.' Now, as Joſeph Iſcam is equally a perſon of dubious exiſtence, this is a curious inſtance of *placing the elephant upon the tortoiſe*. It is not our wiſh to engage farther in the controverſy. If any one reſiſts the internal evidence of the ſtyle of Rowley's poems, we make him welcome to the reſt of the argument; to his belief that the Saxons imported heraldry, and gave armorial bearings (which were not known till the time of the Cruſades); that Mr Robert Canning, in the reign of Edward IV, encouraged drawing, and had private theatricals; that Mr Burgum, the pewterer of Briſtol, derived his deſcent from Simon de Leyncte Lyze, *alias* Senlez, who married Matilda, daughter

daughter of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, Northampton, and Huntingdon; that Mr Stephens of Salisbury drew his ancestry from Od, Earl of Blois and Holderness, who flourished about 1095; and that Chatterton himself represented the Sieur de Chasteautonne, of the house of Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy.

Quibus si credideris,
Expectare poteris
Arthurum cum Britonibus.

Nothing can be more extraordinary than the delight which Chatterton appears to have felt in executing these numberless and multifarious impositions. His ruling passion was not the vanity of a poet who depends upon the opinion of others for its gratification, but the stoical pride of talent, which felt nourishment in the solitary contemplation of superiority over the dupes who fell into his toils. He has himself described this leading feature of his character in a letter to Mr Barret.

'It is my pride, my damned, native, unconquerable pride, that plunges me into distraction. You must know that 19-20th of my composition is pride. I must either live a slave—a servant—have no will of my own which I may fairly declare as such, or DIE.' Vol. III. p. 419.

The art and avidity with which the youthful poet seized every opportunity, 'through an excess of ingenuity in a literary sense, *to impose on the credulity of others*,' is justly remarked by Mr Cottle to be 'the predominant quality which elucidates his character, and is deserving of minute regard by all who attempt to decide on the Rowleian controversy.' We shall extract the instances which the editor has brought together, forming a curious picture of a most active and powerful mind, embued with a strange rage for the practice of literary imposture; omitting, however, the notes, that we may not exceed our bounds.

'I. A *new bridge* is just completed over the Avon at Bristol.—Chatterton sends to the printer a description of the passing over the *old bridge*, for the first time, in the thirteenth century; on which occasion two songs are sung by two saints, of whom nobody ever heard, and in language precisely the same as Rowley's, although he lived two hundred years after the event was said to have taken place.

'II. Mr Burgum is a man attached to heraldic honours—Chatterton gives him his pedigree from the time of William the Conqueror, and allies him to some of the most ancient families in the kingdom!

'III. Mr Burgum is one of the first persons who expresses an opinion of the authenticity and excellence of Rowley's poems. Chatterton, pleased with this first blossom of credulity, and from which he presaged an abundant harvest, with an elated and grateful heart, presents him with the 'Romaunt of the Cnyghte,' a poem, written by 'JOHN DE BERGHAM,' one of *his own* ancestors, about four hundred and

and fifty years before; and the more effectually to exclude ſuſpicion, he accompanies it with the ſame poem, modernized by himſelf!

'IV. Chatterton wiſhes to obtain the good opinion of his relation, Mr Stephens of Saliſbury, and, from ſomething which it is poſſible his keen obſervation had remarked in Mr Stephens, he deems it the moſt effectual way, by informing him that he is deſcended from Fitz-Stephen, grandſon of the venerable Od, Earl of Blois, and Lord of Holderneſs, who flouriſhed about the year 1095!

'V. Mr Catcott is a worthy and religious man; and who, from never intending to deceive, ſuſpects no deception in others.—Chatterton, who is a ſkilful engineer, adapts the nature of his attack to the ſtrength of the fortreſs, and gives him an ancient fragment of a ſermon on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, as *wroten* by THOMAS ROWLEY!

'VI. Mr Barrett is zealous to prove the antiquity of Briſtol.—As a demonſtrable evidence, Chatterton ſends him an eſcutcheon (on the authority of the ſame Thomas Rowley) borne by a Saxon, of the name of Ailward, who reſided in *Briſtow* in the year 718!

'VII. Mr Barrett is alſo writing a comprehenſive hiſtory of Briſtol, and is ſolicitous to obtain all poſſible information concerning it.—Chatterton ſeizes the opportunity, and preſents him, at *different times*, with an account of all the churches and chapels of Briſtol, as they appeared three hundred years before, and accompanies it with drawings and deſcriptions of the caſtle; the whole of this information being unſupported by either document or tradition, and reſting alone on the evidence of 'the gode prieſte *Thomas Rowley*,' between whom and *Thomas Chatterton*, prejudice itſelf muſt allow, there was a great equality of talent, as well as a great ſimilitude of purſuits. They were both poets, both antiquarians, and both perpetually adverting to heraldry.

'VIII. Public curioſity and general admiration are excited by tranſlations from the Erſe of Oſſian.—Chatterton, who gave precedence to none in 'catching the manners living as they riſe,' publiſhes a ſucceſſion of poems from the *Saxon* and *Welch*, indifferent to the inconſiſtency, or otherwiſe not aware, that he had profeſſedly tranſlated works in the *ſame* ſtyle, and with the *ſame* imagery, from the TEUTONIC and CELTIC, two languages of different origin and genius, and whoſe poetry, of all their writings, has ever been conſidered as the moſt diſſimilar.

'IX. Mr Walpole is writing the hiſtory of Britiſh painters.—Chatterton, (who, to a confidential friend, had before expreſſed an opinion that it was *poſſible*, by judicious management, to deceive even this maſter in antiquities), with full confidence ſends him an account of eminent 'Carvellers' and 'Peyncters,' and informs him of others who once flouriſhed in BRISTOL! but of whom the preſent inhabitants of Briſtol never heard, and who are mortified at having no other evidence of the diſtinguiſhed honour aſcribed to them, than the ſolemn aſſeveration of that 'ſomething, nothing, not to be defined,' Thomas Rowley!

'But these are all subordinate deceptions. Chatterton's ambition embraced a larger range, and was circumscribed by no other limit, than, in the person of Rowley, of deceiving the whole world. And, that he succeeded in a great and unaccountable degree, is attested by the voluminous controversies of antiquarians, historians, and poets. The object bespoke the comprehension of his mind; and its partial success is a lasting monument of what perseverance may effect when supported by genius.' p. 509—514.

This curious detail of repeated imposture, regularly executed at the time when circumstances appeared to give an opening for them, may surely suffice to excite the suspicion of the most credulous believer in Rowley. Alike a forger of style, of MSS., and of drawings, nothing escaped the imitation of a youth, born as it were with the rare talents of executing such multiplied deceptions, and with a temper framed to delight in his success, which it may be hoped is still rarer. Of the merit of the Rowley Poems, in a critical point of view, it is not here the place, or now the time to speak. They have been long subjected to the public; and in spite of their being written in a dialect which resembles the ancient or modern language of England, hardly more nearly than the vocabulary of George Psalmanazar did that of Formosa, they have been ever esteemed compositions of the highest merit. The drama called Ella, many parts of the Battle of Hastings, the Ballad of Charity, that of Sir Charles Bawdin (which somewhat resembles the antique style of minstrel poetry), the Dirge, and several of the Eclogues, may rank with the labours of our most distinguished poets. Pity it is, that the circumstances and temper of the author combined to shorten a life distinguished by such works of excellence during its limited career.

The poems avowed by Chatterton were, with a few exceptions, satirical or amatory. In the former line, his inclination for severity is more remarkable than his success. Perhaps he adopted this style of composition, not only in compliance with a natural acerbity of temper aggravated by his dependant situation, but also as most remote from the walk of the moral and heroic Rowley. Satire, however, in a polished age, requires more than mere genius and the force of numbers. General invective, however coarse and vehement, falls heavily to the ground, unless sharpened and guided by that accurate and discriminating knowledge of men and manners which is not often acquired in early youth, or easily attained in obscure circumstances. The personal reflections which his satires level against those persons in Bristol to whom Chatterton is admitted to have owed the deepest obligations, do little honour to their author. We hardly know whether to laugh or grieve, when he reproaches Catcott;

down

down whose throat he had crammed the improbable tale of Rowley with gross *credulity*, because he was a believer in revelation! The amatory poems are pretty much what might have been expected from his declared intention 'of making acquaintance with a girl in the neighbourhood, supposing it might soften the austerity of temper study had occasioned.' Accordingly, 'he wrote a poem to her, and they commenced corresponding acquaintance.' Little was to be expected from verses written by a lover who had adopted his sentiments of preference *pour se desennuyer*. In some of his other poems, particularly the elegy upon Mr Fairford, traces are remarked by Dr Gregory, of their descriptive and personifying powers exerted in the poems of Rowley.

Of Chatterton's prose pieces, the less that is said, the kinder we shall be to his reputation. In the essays which he wrote for periodical publications, as, 'the Hunter of Oddities,' 'Adventures of a Slave,' and the like, he displays little humour, and great inclination to substitute in its place personal abuse and private slander. The imitations of Ossian, published as translations from the Saxon, are not only utterly incongruous with the style of the language from which he pretended to have rendered them, but are incalculably inferior to the sophisticated productions of Macpherson. This is not to be wondered at. Macpherson, with powers infinitely inferior to those of Chatterton, had the advantage of an intimate acquaintance with the Celtic poetry, much of which he probably interweaved with his own imitations: The bard of Bristol had only Macpherson to study; and, at an age when bombast is seldom distinguished from sublime, he caricatured, in his Saxon poems, the worst passages of the Pseudo-Ossian.

The present edition contains many prose imitations of the antique, published from Chatterton's MSS. in the British Museum. These are very important, as throwing light upon the Rowleian poems. Some curious passages occur in these documents. While Chatterton wrote plain narrative, he imitated, with considerable success, the dry, concise style of an antique annalist; but when any thing required a more dignified or sentimental style, he mounted the fatal and easily recognized car of the son of Fingal. Thus, in an account of St Marie Magdalene's chapelle, after informing us it 'was ybuilden bie Elle, warden of the castle near Elle-gate, Sythina cleffen, New-gate—yn this chapelle was yswornе a treatye betweene Goddwynne Erle or Abthane of Kent, Harold eftsoons Kynge of England;' &c. &c.; he of a sudden thus changes his tone in commemorating his favourite Elle—'Elle, descended from the kyngelie bloude of Mercyans, raged in the

fyghte like a wilde boare in the woode; drearie as a blacke cloude yn ungentle wedder he ſweept whole rankes to helle. Lyke to the caſtle of Bryghſtowe was his mind gentle and meeke,' &c. &c. Again, in a very ſober narrative of the 'Ryſe of Peyncleyne in Englande,' written by Rowley for his friend Cannynge, after a ſort of matter of fact account of various artiſts, we come to one called *Aſlem, a notable perfourmer of the counynge myſterie of ſteinynge glaſſe.* This perſon was taken by the Danes, and ordered to be ſlain. The Dane to whom the execution was entruſted, diſcovered Aſlem to be his brother. At this criſis, Rowley tucks up his monkiſh frock, and mounts the Celtick Pegaſus. 'Affrighte chaynede uppe hys ſoule; ghaſtneſſe dwelled yn his breaſte. Oſcarre (a name of ſome import, as proving the exiſting idea in the mind of the author)—Oſcarre, the greate Dane, gave hiſte he ſhould be forſlagen; no teares colde availe; the morning, cladde in robes of ghaſtneſſe, was come,' &c. &c. An inſtance of a curious miſtake committed by Chatterton, occurs in theſe excerpts from the Pſeudo-Rowley proſe writings. In a MS. in Chatterton's handwriting, in the Muſeum, there occur ſeveral excerpts from Chaucer, apparently culled to bolſter out ſome intended imitations. Among others we find the two lines reſpecting the mormal on the leg of the pilgrim's cook.

'But great harm was yt, as it thought me,
That on his ſkinne a mormall had he.'

Skinne is here miſ-copied for *ſhin*. This miſtake, and another more whimſical, we can trace into the 'Rolle of Seyncte Bartholæmeweis Priorie,' printed in Barret's hiſtory of Briſtol, to whom it was communicated by Chatterton. Among a liſt of medical books, ſaid to be preſerved in the Infirmary, or *Ache-chamber* of the Priorie, we find, 'Gylbertines rolle of Ypocrates: the ſame fryarres booke of brenninge *Johan Stowe of the cure of mormalles and the waterie leproſie: the rolle of the blacke mainger.*' In a note on theſe two laſt articles, we are told, 'Chaucer ſays, on his ſkin a mormalle had he and a blacke manger.' Now, in the firſt place, Chatterton adhering to his erroneous tranſcript from Chaucer, of *ſkinne* for *ſhinne*, has made Johan Stowe lecture on the cure of mormalles, as if they were, like the leproſy, a cutaneous diſtemper, and not a cancer upon the bone. But, beſides, he has ſo far miſtaken his author, as to take *blanc-manger*, a diſh of exquiſite cookery, which is pronounced by Chaucer to be the cook's maſter-piece of ſkill, for *blacke manger*, ſome ſtrange and non-deſcript diſeaſe, under which he laboured, in addition to his *mormal*; and upon which there was a roll or eſſay in the *Ache-chamber* of St Bartholomew's priory. Chaucer's words are,

* But

' But gret harm was it, as it thoughte me,
That on his *ſhinne* a mormal hadde he,
For *blanc-manger* that made he with the beſt. '

The principal ingredient of blanc-manger (if we recollect) was a cock brayed in a mortar. The reſemblance of the letters *n* and *u* in the black-letter, probably led Chatterton to read *blauc* for *blanc*; and as he underſtood no French, his judgement could not correct his eye. We are thus able decidedly to trace the taſte and the errors of Chatterton into the productions of Rowley. We do not, however, ſuppoſe that all the information contained in the works of Rowley was actually the invention of Chatterton. The keen eye and ardent reſearch of the young poet, probably traced and interweaved with his narrative traditionary anecdotes preſerved in his native city. Nothing that had an antique or uncouth appearance ſeems to have eſcaped his notice. Mr Tyrwhitt detected a curious inſtance of his minuteneſs of remark. In the Ballad of Charité, mention is made of a *horſe-millanere*, a phraſe at which the reader has uſually pauſed with ſurpriſe. In the town of Briſtol, and preciſely in the ſtreet through which Chatterton paſſed to ſchool, is hung forth a wooden horſe decorated with ribbons, purporting to be the ſign of a *horſe-millanere*.

Nothing can afford a ſtronger picture of the force and weakneſs of the human mind, than the readineſs with which Chatterton ſupplied himſelf and his particular friends with flouriſhing trees of genealogy, in which the ſextons and pewterers of Briſtol are deduced from a line of aneeſtry, which Howards and Haſtings might envy, and decorated with all the ſplendid emblazonment of heraldry. We are mute with aſtoniſhment at the grave and ſober advice of the ſexton's ſon of Radcliffe to his relation Mr Stevens of Saliſbury: ' When you quarter your arms, in the mullet, ſay Or, a feſs, vert, by the name of Chatterton. I trace your family from Fitz-Stephen, ſon of Stephen Earl of Aumerle, in 1095, ſon of Od, Earl of Bloys, and Lord of Holderneſſe.' If the imagination of Chatterton was not actually ſo far vitiated, as in ſome degree to believe the reveries which he impoſed upon others, we cannot help thinking that, as Johnſon ſays of Milton, his impudence muſt have been at leaſt equal to his ſtupendous abilities. We were alſo diverted with the concluſion of the pedigree made out for Mr Burgum of Briſtol, which begins with the Conqueror, and very prudently concludes about the reign of Charles II., when Mr Burgum might perhaps know ſomething of his anceſtors. Chatterton linked and gilded this ſplendid chain of anceſtry through all the ages remote enough to leave unbounded ſcope for fiction: when he approached the regions of probability, he let the end looſe, that his friend might attach himſelf to it the

beſt way he could. There is in Cumberland an ancient family, who have long poſſeſſed and taken their name from the manor of Brougham, to which Chatterton ſeems to allude, when he mentions the Caſtle of Bourgham in Northumberland. But the caſtle was, we believe, an appanage, not of the De Bourghams, lords of the manor, but of the Veteriponts and Cliffords.

We now diſmiſs the works of the unfortunate Chatterton, heartily wiſhing they may experience from the public kinder treatment than their unfortunate and proud-ſpirited author. To the admirers of poetry they will ever be acceptable; nor can their hiſtory be heedfully peruſed, without imparting an awful leſſon; for the fame of Chatterton is not merely a light to be wondered at—it ſhines as a beacon to point out the ſhoals upon which he was wrecked. The youthful reader, if conſcious of powers which elevate him above his ſituation in life, may learn to avoid an overweening reliance upon his abilities, or an injudicious and unfair exertion of them. He may learn, that if neglect or contempt obſtruct him in the fair purſuit of fame, it is better to prefer obſcurity, than to attain, by the crooked path of literary forgery, the ambiguous reputation of an ingenious impoſtor. Above all, he may learn to guard againſt thoſe ſallies of an ill-regulated imagination, which buoyed up Chatterton with the moſt unreaſonable expectations, only to plunge him into deſpair and ſuicide. And if there be one who, conſcious of inferior mental powers, murmurs at being allotted but 'the ſingle talent,' and looks with envy on the flights of ſuperior genius, let him read the life of Chatterton, and remember that of him it may be truly ſaid,—

'*Largus et exundans letho dedit ingenii fons.*'

Art. XVIII. *Memoirs of the Life of Dr Darwin, chiefly during his reſidence at Lichfield; with Anecdotes of his Friends, and Criticiſms on his Writings.* By Anna Seward. London. 1804. 8vo. pp. 430.

It has been long held, on high critical authority, that hiſtory muſt always pleaſe, independently of the particular mode, and even in ſpite of the defects, of its execution: and unqueſtionably even that moderate portion of fact which may be reaſonably expected in the life of every eminent individual, can ſcarcely be preſented under any diſguiſe ſo perverſely abſurd, as entirely to diveſt it of intereſt. Under the influence of ſtubborn curioſity, we have been accordingly carried through a faithful peruſal of theſe Memoirs of the celebrated author of 'the Botanic Garden:' and although we are bound to admit that our labour has not been entirely unrewarded,

rewarded, yet Miſs Seward muſt forgive us, if we add, that the moſt ſtriking leſſon we have derived from her volume, has been the truly wonderful extent of that tolerant maxim to which we have alluded. The ſhare which ſhe appears to have long enjoyed of the intimate ſociety of Dr Darwin, and her opportunities of accurate information relative at leaſt to a conſiderable portion of his life, had given to Miſs Seward ſome peculiar advantages in becoming, as ſhe terms it, 'the recorder of vaniſhed genius.' It is therefore the more to be regretted that ſhe ſhould not have been reſtrained, by ſome viſitations of a better taſte, from clothing her narrative in a garb ſo injudicious and fantaſtic. But it would appear that Miſs Anna Seward has been too long accuſtomed to ſoar into the high and giddy regions of verſe, to be able to tread with ſober ſtep and becoming gravity of air in the humbler pathway of proſe.

Of the matter and arrangement of theſe Memoirs, the Preface gives us the following notice:

'My work conſiſts of the following particulars:—the perſon, the mind, the temper of Dr Darwin; his powers as a Phyſician, Philoſopher, and Poet; the peculiar traits of his manners; his excellences and faults; the Petrarchan attachment of his middle life, more happy in its reſult than was that of the Bard of Vaucluſe; the beautiful poetic teſtimonies of its fervor, while yet it remained hopeleſs; an inveſtigation of the conſtituent excellences and defects of his magnificent poem, the Botanic Garden; remarks upon his philoſophic proſe writings; the characters and talents of thoſe who formed the circle of his friends while he reſided in Lichfield; and the very ſingular and intereſting hiſtory of one of them, well known in the lettered world, [Mr Thomas Day] whoſe domeſtic hiſtory, remarkable as it is, has been unaccountably omitted by the gentleman who wrote his life.' Pref. p. v. vi.

After peruſing this table of contents, the reader will have himſelf alone to blame if he expect in this volume any exact or orderly deduction of the facts of Dr Darwin's life. Miſs Seward apparently ſpurns the fetters of vulgar, chronological narration; and has choſen rather to expatiate, free and at large, under the impulſe of her own ſpontaneous feelings, or accidental aſſociations. After having followed her with patience through her eccentric and capricious evolutions, we are unable to ſay that our progreſs has been rendered more pleaſing by this irregular variety, or that it has afforded us any tolerable compenſation for the want of a diſtinct and intelligible narrative. An analyſis of the firſt chapter of the work may ſerve ſufficiently to juſtify theſe remarks, and may furniſh a ſufficient ſpecimen of its plan and execution.

On the birth, parentage, and education of her hero, Miſs Seward has not deigned to beſtow a ſingle line. We are abruptly

introduced to him at the age of twenty-four, when he firſt came to practiſe phyſic at Lichfield in the autumn of the year 1756; and even then, inſtead of proceeding directly in her narrative, ſhe ſtops on the threſhold to give us a 'ſketch of his character and manners,' ſuch as they had appeared to her in the ſubſequent courſe of Dr Darwin's life. This inverſion of the uſual arrangement in biographical writing may be perfectly conſonant to the deſultory plan of theſe memoirs; but, in itſelf, it is ſo palpably injudicious, that there is very little hazard of its adoption as a model. Within theſe few years, a ſimilar innovation was attempted by a Scotiſh hiſtorian, who, at the commencement of every reign, introduced that general delineation of the character of the ſovereign, which has uſually found a place at the cloſe: but, if we may judge from our own feelings, the example of Mr Pinkerton will not probably prove more ſeducing than that of Miſs Seward.

Of this 'ſketch of the character and manners of Dr Darwin,' we can only ſay, that it leaves no very diſtinct impreſſion on the mind; and *that* impreſſion, ſuch as it is, has not, in our own caſe at leaſt, been extremely favourable. But Miſs Seward does not ſtand forth as the indiſcriminating panegyriſt of her deceaſed friend; nor does ſhe appear to have been withheld, by any violent or undue partialities, from diſcharging thoſe 'ſacred duties of biography,'—'beneath the ever preſent conſciouſneſs' of which ſhe would be underſtood to have proceeded. Of the juſtice of her claims to the praiſe of rigid impartiality, thoſe only can be competent judges, to whom Dr Darwin was perſonally known; but it is perhaps leſs difficult to diſcover that Miſs Seward was not altogether equal to the taſk of delineating with truth the various parts of his character, or of appreciating the qualities of which it was compoſed. In this preliminary ſketch, and in other parts of her work, we are, indeed, preſented with a number of ſtriking traits of temper and of manners, ſuch as muſt have been obvious to common obſervation; but in her attempts to mark the extent, the limitations, and the peculiar character and complexion of thoſe higher powers of mind, by which alone the poſſeſſor becomes an object of ſerious intereſt—her deſcription becomes feeble and indiſtinct, and ſhe takes refuge in vague, general, or exaggerated ſtatement. Thus, we are informed, that 'beauty and ſymmetry had not been propitious to his exterior;' that 'he ſtammered extremely;' that he was 'ſore upon oppoſition,' and overbearing and ſarcaſtic in converſation; but whether from the '*conſciouſneſs of great native elevation above the general ſtandard of intellect*,' we may be permitted to doubt. Moreover, we are told, that 'extreme was his ſcepticiſm to human truth;'—that

habits

habits of diſtruſt tinctured his converſation with an apparent want of confidence in mankind;—and that 'perhaps this proneneſs to ſuſpicion mingled too much of art in his wiſdom.' Farther, we are told that he abſtained from 'vinous fluid;' that he had 'an abſolute horror of ſpirits of all ſorts;' that his only tolerance was in favour of home-made wines; that 'acid fruits, with ſugar, and all ſort of creams and butter, were his luxuries;' but that 'he always ate plentifully of animal food.' Of his virtues and talents, we learn that 'profeſſional generoſity diſtinguiſhed Dr Darwin's medical practice;' that '*his* was the cheerful board of open-houſed hoſpitality;' and that 'generoſity, wit and ſcience were his houſehold gods;' that nature had beſtowed on him 'the ſeducing and often dangerous gift of a highly poetic imagination;' but that 'through the firſt twenty-three years of his practice as a phyſician, Dr Darwin, with the wiſdom of Ulyſſes, bound himſelf to the medical maſt, that he might not follow thoſe deluſive ſyrens, the muſes, or be conſidered as their avowed votary;' nor was it till then, that 'the impregnable *rock* on which his medicinal and philoſophical reputation were placed, *induced* him to contend for that ſpecies of fame which ſhould entwine the Parnaſſian laurel with the balm of Pharmacy.'

Such, we can aſſure our readers, is the amount of the information reſpecting the character and manners of Dr Darwin, for which we are here indebted to his biographer. It may perhaps ſerve to moderate the expectations of thoſe who may have unwarily looked only to the enviable opportunities of obſervation which ſhe appears to have enjoyed.

On 'returning to the dawn of Dr Darwin's profeſſional eſtabliſhment,' we are informed by Miſs Seward of the ſudden fame he acquired by his ſucceſs in a deſperate caſe of fever, and of the imputations of raſhneſs which were ignorantly attached to his practice. Mrs Darwin is then introduced on the ſcene; and from the account given by Miſs Seward, ſhe appears to have been an intereſting and accompliſhed woman: but we muſt be forgiven if we are not greatly charmed with the felicity of a long oration which is put into her mouth while on her deathbed.

Soon after this lady's death, Dr Darwin purchaſed an old houſe in the city of Lichfield, on the lilliputian improvements of which Miſs Seward has laviſhed all her powers of picturesque deſcription.

'To this *rus in urbe*, of Darwinian creation, reſorted, from its early riſing, a knot of philoſophic friends in frequent viſitation. The Rev. Mr Michell, many years deceaſed. He was ſkilled in aſtronomic ſcience, modeſt and wiſe. The ingenious Mr Kier of Weſt Bromich, then Captain Kier. Mr Boulton, known and reſpected wherever mechanic philoſophy is underſtood. Mr Watt, the celebrated improver of the ſteam engine.

engine. And, above all others in Dr Darwin's personal regard, the accomplished Dr Small of Birmingham, who bore the blushing honours of his talents and virtues to an untimely grave.'

Tired already of her proper subject, Miss Seward again digresses into the private history of those who moved in 'the Darwinian sphere;'—of Mr Edgworth and his wives; of Dr Small, and the elegies and epitaphs written by his friends; and particularly of Mr Thomas Day, the author of the popular little volumes of Sandford and Merton. Of the last of these gentlemen, a very full and disproportioned account is given, and a great many anecdotes are told, which we shall not attempt to retail, but which, in their proper place, might serve to illustrate the singularly romantic and hair-brained character of this modern philosopher. With the history of Dr Darwin's life they have no intimate connexion: And so ends the first chapter.

On 'resuming the recollected circumstances of Dr Darwin's life,' Miss Seward is unable for a moment to withstand her wayward propensity to digression; and our attention is instantly drawn aside to the contemplation of new groupes of visitors and friends who made their appearance at Lichfield 'after Dr Small and Mr Michell had vanished from the earth, and Mr Day and Mr Edgeworth, in the year 1772, had left the Darwinian sphere.' But it would be vain to follow this lady in her meandering course; and by attempting it, we should equally fatigue our readers and ourselves. Throughout the whole of that portion of the work which bears the semblance of narrative, it is only for a moment that we catch a glimpse of the principal figure; and even then, our gratification is too often dashed by the frivolity of the information which is conveyed. The reader may look in vain for any thing which merits the name of just biographical narrative. Even when Dr Darwin is the subject, little else is to be found than an inflated translation of the tea-table talk of Lichfield; nor will all the good things which have been uttered on sundry occasions by the choice spirits of the place, be felt as any adequate compensation for this radical defect.

'In the year 1768,' we are told, 'Dr Darwin met with an accident of irretrievable injury in the human frame:' he was thrown from a whimsical carriage of his own invention, and broke the patella of his right knee. For the edification of the curious reader, we extract a philosophical observation suggested to Miss Seward by this occurrence.

'It is remarkable, that this uncommon accident happened to three of the inhabitants of Lichfield in the course of *one* year; first, to the author of these memoirs in the prime of her youth; next, to Dr Darwin; and, lastly, to the late Mr Levett, a gentleman of wealth and consequence

consequence in the town. No such misfortune was previously remembered in that city, nor has it once recurred through all the years which have since elapsed.' p. 62.

While Dr Darwin resided at Lichfield, Dr Johnson was repeatedly there on his visitations to Miss Lucy Porter. Miss Seward informs us, that 'they had one or two interviews, but never afterwards sought each other. Mutual and strong dislike subsisted between them.' Miss Seward goes on to remark as curious, that, in Johnson's correspondence, 'the name of Darwin should not be found, nor indeed that of any of the ingenious and *lettered* people who lived there; while of its more common-life characters there is frequent mention, with many hints of Lichfield's intellectual barrenness, while it could boast a Darwin and other men of classical learning, poetic talents, and liberal information.' Of these ingenious and lettered persons, Miss Seward here gives the reader a farther enumeration, accompanied with specimens of their poetic and colloquial talents, which we shall not presume to injure by a mutilated extract. That Dr Johnson's colloquial despotism should have alarmed the self-importance of a man like Darwin, who was ambitious of being himself a despot in his own 'sphere,' and who is described as 'sore upon opposition, whether in argument or conduct,' can hardly be matter of much surprise. The colloquial intrepidity of Johnson was unquestionably too firm to have suffered him to shrink from the society of any man; but if he was avoided by Darwin and the Lichfield coterie, as Miss Seward seems to admit, his silence cannot well be accused of injustice to their talents and accomplishments.

'About the year 1771 commenced that great work, the Zoonomia, first published in 1794; the gathered wisdom of three and twenty years.' With somewhat more hardihood than prudence, his biographer has attempted to define the character of this work as a philosophical composition, and to appreciate its speculative merits and its practical utility. It cannot be disputed that the work is enriched with a vast variety of curious, though too often doubtful and incautious statements of fact, and that it everywhere displays uncommon powers of ingenious combination; but we are by no means prepared, with Miss Seward, to extol it as a model of philosophical investigation, or to recommend it to the daily and nightly meditation of the youthful student.

Before he quitted his residence at Lichfield, Dr Darwin formed a botanical society, consisting of three persons,—which, we believe, is held to be the *minimum* of a body corporate. The two other members were Sir Brooke Boothby and a proctor of the name

name of Jackſon, whom Miſs Seward has characterifed as 'a would-be philoſopher, a turgid and ſolemn coxcomb;' but who was the chief operator in the tranſlation of the Linnean Syſtem of Vegetation, which was publiſhed in the name of this ſociety. 'His illuſtrious coadjutors exacted of him fidelity to the ſenſe of their author, and they corrected Jackſon's inelegant Engliſh, weeding it of its pompous coarſeneſs.'

It was about this time alſo that Dr Darwin firſt became acquainted with Mrs Pole of Radburn, who was the object of what Miſs Seward has called 'the Petrarchan attachment of his middle life, more happy in its reſult than was that of the bard of Vaucluſe.' It was in conſequence of his marriage to this lady in 1781 that he removed from Lichfield to Derby; and it was to her, in her married or widowed ſtate, that he addreſſed ſeveral copies of verſes, which have ſince been circulated in periodical publications. But theſe, with the whole hiſtory of this tender attachment, and various other matters of a more digreſſive and extraneous nature, we are compelled to leave without further notice.

From the period of his quitting Lichfield, Miſs Seward does not attempt to give more than a ſlight outline of the domeſtic hiſtory of Dr Darwin. The completion of the taſk is reſerved, we are told, for 'his ſome time pupil, and late years friend, the ingenious Mr Dewhurſt Bilſborrow, who is now writing, or has written, his life at large.' Her information relative to this latter period is avowedly imperfect; and it is to be regretted, that, with better opportunities within her reach, ſhe ſhould have ſuffered herſelf to be miſled by erroneous report. In the year 1799, Dr Darwin had the misfortune to loſe his eldeſt ſon, in circumſtances extremely diſtreſſing. On firſt peruſing the account given by Miſs Seward, of the 'ſtoical fortitude' of the father, we were certainly much ſhocked, and could have pardoned his biographer for a leſs rigid adherence to the duty of ſpeaking the whole truth. We are pleaſed now to find, that the ſtatement is partly erroneous, and are happy to afford Miſs Seward the preſent opportunity of correcting it.* We now turn

* The following note has been communicated to the Editor of this Review.

'The author of the Memoirs of Dr Darwin, ſince they were publiſhed, has diſcovered, on the atteſtation of his family, and of the other perſons preſent at the juncture, that the ſtatement given of his exclamation, page 406, on the death of Mr Eraſmus Darwin, is entirely without foundation, and that the Doctor, on that melancholy event, gave, amongſt

turn to the account which she has given of the poem of 'the Botanic Garden,' of which an elaborate analysis and criticism occupies nearly a half of the volume.

About the year 1777, Dr Darwin had purchased 'a little, wild, umbrageous valley,' in the neighbourhood of Lichfield, which he cultivated with great taste; aiming, as Miss Seward expresses it, 'to unite the Linnean science with the charm of landscape.' On her first solitary visit to 'this luxuriant retreat, with her tablets and pencil, and seated on a flower bank,' Miss Seward wrote a little poem of about fifty lines, addressed to Dr Darwin, under the character of the genius of the place; in praise of which, it is enough to say, that, with some alterations, it was afterwards adopted, without acknowledgement, as the introduction to the first canto of 'the Botanic Garden.' This we consider as the most curious anecdote in the volume before us; and the correctness of the statement is placed beyond a doubt, by the appearance of her verses as such in the periodical publications of the year in which they were written.

According to Miss Seward's account, it was the perusal of her lines that suggested the idea of a great poem 'on the Linnean system.' The composition of it was begun very soon afterwards, but advanced so slowly, that ten years elapsed before the date of publication. By 'an inversion of all custom,' the second part was first given to the world in 1789; from a consciousness, as Miss Seward supposes, that, in a new and unusual style of poetry, 'the loves of the plants' would be more likely to secure immediate popularity, than the bolder conceptions, and still more splendid imagery of 'the Economy of Vegetation.'

The long and elaborate analyses of these poems, which Miss Seward has thought fit to give, will, by many readers, be considered as prolix and unintersting. They are certainly disproportioned to the bulk and nature of her work, if a work so immethodical and desultory can be tried by ordinary rules; but at the same time they will be found interspersed with many critical

amongst his own family, proofs of strong sensibility at the time, and of succeeding regard to the memory of his son, which he seemed to have a pride in concealing from the world. In justice to his memory, she is desirous to correct the misinformation she had received, and will therefore be obliged to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review to notice the circumstance in the criticisms of the book, since, unless a second edition should be called for, she has no means so effectual of counteracting the mistake.'

critical remarks, which display great justness of poetical taste and feeling.

We have * formerly had occasion, at sufficient length, to state our conceptions of the peculiar character and merit of Dr Darwin's poetry; and at present it is not our intention to resume the subject in the point of view under which it was then considered. In truth, the opinions entertained by his biographer, and by those whose criticisms she has adopted, coincide so nearly with those which we had expressed, that there is nothing to justify or provoke a farther discussion. In one respect, however, we feel ourselves compelled to dissent from an opinion entertained by most of the admirers of Dr Darwin, and by none more firmly than Miss Seward. 'One extraordinary, and in a poet of so much genius, unprecedented, instance of plagiarism excepted,' says Miss Seward, 'not one great poet of England is more *original* than Darwin. His design, his ideas, his style, his manner, are wholly his own.'

If it were asked in what chiefly consists the originality of manner which is supposed to characterise the new Darwinian school of English poetry, it would probably be answered, in the *first* place, that the general design of clothing the philosophy of natural history in the gay attire, and with all the higher graces of poetry, was novel, at least in any English poet; in the *second* place, that his picturesque style of poetical description, sustained by bold personifications and metaphors, addressed exclusively to the eye, is, in a great degree at least, his own; and, *lastly*, that, in the loftiness of his laboured and inverted diction, and in the stately march of his highly polished versification, there are peculiarities of manner which it may be difficult to describe, but which must at once be felt as distinguishing him widely from his great predecessors in English poetry.

It is not our intention to arraign Dr Darwin of literary depredation on the property of others, of the felonious kind complained of so justly by Miss Seward; nor shall we venture dogmatically to assert that this peculiar manner to which he has bequeathed his name, was formed on a servile imitation of any existing model. It is true, notwithstanding, that for nearly seventy years there has existed, in obscurity and neglect, a philosophical poem in the English language, stamped incontrovertibly with all those peculiar characters of the *Darwinian school* to which we have alluded. It is that obscurity and neglect alone which could have exempted Dr Darwin from the charge of having

* Review, No. IV. Art. XX.

ing imitated an unsuccessful original; and although it may possibly be true that the poem in question was unknown to him, it will at least become necessary hereafter to date the origin of the *school* at an earlier period.

The poem was published * anonymously in the year 1735; and of its author we have not obtained any information. It is entitled 'Universal Beauty;' and its general object is an exposition of whatever is beautiful in the plan and economy of the universe in all its parts. In the prosecution of this object, the author takes a very wide compass; and the general laws which bind the planetary system, the physical laws which peculiarly regulate the globe which we inhabit, the phenomena and provisions of the mineral the vegetable and the animal kingdoms, are all brought under poetical review; and the more remote and fanciful allusions of the text are illustrated by a series of philosophical notes. That the resemblance does not stop here; but extends still more strikingly to the other characteristic peculiarities of 'the Darwinian manner,' may be most effectually illustrated by a few extracts, given at random.

In the third part, which contains a 'survey of vegetable nature,' after tracing the analogy of animal and vegetable life, we have the following lines, in illustration of 'the various provisions of nature, for protecting and supporting the indigent, as the strawberry, cinque-foil, &c.; and supporting the feeble, as the vine, bryony, ivy, &c.; and thus equally propagating and spreading a universality of delights, pleasures, and enjoyments.'

'Thus mantling snug beneath a verdant veil,
The creepers draw their horizontal trail;
Wide o'er the bank, the plantal reptile bends;
Adown its stem, the rooty fringe depends,
The feeble boughs with arch'ring safety binds,
Nor leaves precarious to insulting winds;
The tendrils next of slender, helpless size,
Ascendant thro' luxurious pamp'ring rise;
Kind nature soothes their innocence of pride,
While buoy'd aloft the flow'ring wantons ride,
With fond adhesion round the cedar cling,
And wreathing, circulate their am'rous ring,
Sublime, with winding maturation grow,
And clench'd retentive gripe the topmost bough;
Here climb direct, the ministerial rock,
And clasping firm, its steepy fragments lock;

Or

* 'Universal Beauty, a Poem.' London: J. Wilcox. 1735. Folio. It consists of six parts, published successively, containing each about 400 lines.

Or various, with agglutinating gu.
Cement tenacious to ſome neighb'ring pile;
Inveſting green, ſome fabric here and,
And cluſt'ring, o'er its pinnacles dend.'

Part III. l. 271—290.

In alluſion to thoſe plants which are ſuppoſed to obey the influence of the ſun and moon, we find the following lines:

'Here, winding to the Sun's magnetic ray,
The ſolar plants adore the Lord of Day;
With Perſian rites idolatrous incline,
And worſhip towards his conſecrated ſhrine;
By ſouth, from eaſt to weſt, obſequious turn,
And mov'd with ſympathetic ardours burn.
To theſe adverſe, the Lunar ſects diſſent,
With convolution of oppoſed bent;
From weſt to eaſt by equal influence tend,
And towards the Moon's attractive creſcence bend
There nightly worſhip with Sidonian zeal,
And Queen of Heaven, Aſtarte's idol hail.'

Part III. l. 313-324.

We regret that our limits do not admit of the author's deſcription (Part IV. l. 120—204.) of the circulation of the blood in animals, illuſtrated by a pictureſque analogy to the motions of the fluid parts of the globe. The following lines, taken from Part V., refer to that ſpecies of inſects which, like the beetle, 'by a ſurpriſing machinery of little ſprings and hinges, erect the ſmooth covering of their backs, and unfolding their wings that were moſt neatly diſpoſed within their caſes, prepare for flight'

'Or who a twofold apparatus ſhare,
Natives of earth, and habitants of air,
Like warriors ſtride, oppreſſed with ſhining mail,
But furl'd beneath, their ſilken pennons veil.
Deceived our fellow reptile we admire
His bright endorſement and compact attire,
When lo! the latent ſprings of motion play,
And riſing lids diſcloſe the rich inlay;
The tiſſu'd wing its folded membrane frees,
And with blithe quavers fans the gathering breeze;
Elate tow'rds heav'n the beauteous wonder flies,
And leaves the mortal wrapp'd in deep ſurpriſe.

So when the guide led Tobit's youthful heir,
Elect, to win the ſev'n times widow'd fair,
Th' angelic form, conceal'd in human guiſe,
Deceiv'd the ſearch of his aſſociate's eyes;
Till ſwift each charm burſts forth like iſſuing flame,
And circling rays confeſs his heav'nly frame;

The

The zodiac round his waſte divinely turns,
And waving radiance o'er his plumage burns;
In awful tranſports rapt, the youth admires,
While light from earth the dazzling ſhape aſpires!'

Part V. l. 127—148.

We cannot refrain from giving a part of this writer's deſcription of the creation of thoſe planetary ſyſtems of which the univerſe is compoſed. It is a favourite topic with both poets.

'Swift roll'd the ſpheres to their appointed place,
Jocund through heaven to run the various race;
Orb within orb in living circlets turn,
And central ſuns through every ſyſtem burn;
Revolving planets on their gods attend,
And towards each ſun with awful reverence bend;
Still towards the loved, enlivening beam they wheel,
And pant, and tremble like the amorous ſteel.
They ſpring, they revel in the blaze of day,
Bathe in the golden ſtream, and drink the orient ray;
Their blithe ſatellites with lively glance
(Celeſtial equipage) around them dance;
All, diſtance due, and beauteous order keep,
And ſpinning ſoft, upon their centres ſleep.'

Part I. l. 91—104.

Similar paſſages might eaſily be accumulated, but theſe may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the peculiar manner of this forgotten poet. Of its reſemblance to that of Dr Darwin, we ſhall leave our readers to judge. That there are obvious ſhades of difference, we have no heſitation to admit; nor do we call in queſtion the decided ſuperiority of the latter. The poem of 'Univerſal Beauty' is indeed extremely unequal: paſſages occur which are worthy of Sir Richard Blackmore; and in others there may be diſcovered an unſucceſsful effort to imitate the faſhionable antithetic manner of Pope. Whether or not the poetry of Darwin would, in the age of Pope, have incurred the ſame hazard of neglect with that of the writer whom we have ventured to exhibit as his prototype, we ſhall not preſume to conjecture.

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No. VIII. will be publiſhed on Wedneſday 18. *July* 1804.

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ERRATA.

P. 258. line 6. *for* that mistake, *read* some mistakes.

393. line 3. from foot, *for* ενιχυει, *read* ενισχυει.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JULY 1804.

No. VIII.

ART. I. *Euclidis Elementorum Libri Priores XII. Ex Commandini et Gregorii Verſionibus Latinis. In uſum Juventutis Academicæ. Edidit, pluribus in locis auxit, et in depravatis emendavit Samuel Epiſcopus Roſſenſis.* Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano. 1802. 8vo.

Euclidis Datorum Liber cum additamentis, necnon Tractatus alii ad Geometriam pertinentes. Curavit et edidit Samuel Epiſcopus Aſaphenſis. Oxonii, etc. 1803. 8vo.

IT will readily be conceived, that when we propoſe to review any of the works of Euclid, it is the editor, not the author, who is to be the ſubject of animadverſion. A geometer who has ſtood the teſt of more than two thouſand years; who has reſiſted the attacks of ſo many critics, and ſupported the weight of ſo many commentators; whoſe writings kept alive the ſacred fire of ſcience when it was almoſt extinguiſhed over the whole earth, and now ſhine with undiminiſhed luſtre amidſt the greateſt ſplendour of ſcientific diſcovery—ſuch an author is not to be moved by the praiſe or the cenſure of modern criticiſm; his place in the Temple of Fame is irrevocably fixt, and nothing remains for us but to hail him as one of the immortals.

But the high privileges to which ſuch an author may juſtly lay claim, do by no means deſcend to his commentators, who, on the other hand, incur a reſponſibility in proportion to the value and dignity of the work which they undertake to explain, and cannot be permitted to connect their names with one that is already illuſtrious, without ſatisfying the world that they have a title to ſo high a diſtinction. Such a title, indeed, many of the commentators on Euclid are well prepared to ſupport: and, not to mention Theon and Proclus among the ancients; among the moderns, Commandine, Clavius, Gregory, Barrow, and, laſt

of all, Simson, have claims to public gratitude which will be always recognized. The latter, in particular, has restored that part of the elements which he undertook to explain, to more, we are well convinced, than even its original excellence; and has not only purified it from the errors which editors and transcribers had introduced, but has even cleared it from that mistake, into which it would seem the author himself had fallen. His edition of Euclid has accordingly been well received all over Europe; it is held in the highest estimation; and an author who has written to excellent purpose on the elements, as well as on the higher branches of the mathematics, has remarked that the publication of it ought to be regarded as an important event in the history of geometry. (*La Croix, Elemens de Geomet. Disc. Prel.* 27.) This, however, is not the opinion of the editor now before us, who often censures Simson with much asperity; but with what reason will appear more fully as we proceed.

Dr Horsley has already essayed his skill as an editor in more than one instance. His first attempt, if we mistake not, was made on Apollonius's Books of Inclinations, in which he was more than a mere editor, having *restored* that work from a short account of its contents that had been accidentally preserved in the Mathematical Collections of Pappus. In this, though it required more than the usual exertions of a commentator, no very great difficulty presented itself; and Dr Horsley acquitted himself very much to the satisfaction of geometers.

His next attempt was infinitely more arduous, and the success that attended it was infinitely less. This was a complete edition of the works of Sir Isaac Newton, accompanied with notes; a work requiring the exertion of uncommon talents, and accompanied with difficulties which Dr Horsley was by no means prepared to overcome. Indeed, we know of no literary project, even in this age of literary adventure, of which the failure has been more complete. The reader, at every step, must desiderate not only the extensive information, the philosophic views, the profound skill in geometry, but also the patient and elaborate research which were indispensable in so great a work. Those elementary parts, of which Newton has sometimes condescended to treat, are enlarged on by his commentator at considerable length; but in the great and immortal books, where every word, almost, supplies matter for profound investigation, you may turn over many pages, without meeting with a single remark. What wants elucidation the most, is the least treated of; the difficult parts of the new analysis are not explained; the views that guided Newton in his discoveries are not unfolded, nor the effects which those discoveries have produced; the corrections, the enlarge-

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ments, the improvements, that have been made on them after a hundred years of laborious and profound investigation—concerning all these, the most perfect silence is observed. No hint escapes to make us suppose that the editor was acquainted with this part of his subject; and for any thing that his commentary contains, it might have been written the year after the book of the Principia was published. It can indeed stand in no comparison, for utility, with that of Le Sieur and Jaquier, and still less, for elegance, with that of Madame Chastellet. The whole carries with it the air of a work undertaken without due preparation; carried on with little industry or ardour, and abandoned, in effect, long before it was brought to a conclusion. A philosopher,* who has pursued the discoveries of Newton the farthest of any of his successors, has said, that a commentary on the Principia of Newton, such as it deserves to have, will hardly do less honour to the age which produces it, than that work itself did to the seventeenth century. We are well convinced of the truth of this remark. The glory of accomplishing so great a work is a noble prize, still left to posterity to contend for.

In the volume now before us, as the learned Bishop had not to encounter the same difficulties, he is not chargeable with the same defects; and it will be readily acknowledged, that he made a far juster estimate of his powers, when he undertook to comment on the Elements of Euclid, than when he began to interpret the Principia of Newton. Yet there are, we doubt not, who will be of opinion, that the praise due to both works may be expressed nearly in the same words, and that their merit consists in being fuller and more elegant editions than are usually to be met with.

The edition of Euclid now offered to the public, consists of the first twelve books of the Elements; it is elegantly printed, and does credit to the Clarendon press. The translation followed in the first six books, and in the eleventh and twelfth, is that of Commandine, according to Keil's edition; in the other four books, Gregory's translation is given, from the Oxford edition of the works of Euclid. Though the whole is intended for the instruction of students in geometry, those who are more advanced will certainly be well pleased to have a good modern edition of so many of the books of Euclid, and will probably only regret that the whole was not given in the same neat and commodious form. With respect to the advantages of this edition for the purpose of academical instruction, we can by no means agree with the editor: in the books usually taught, it has not any peculiar merit; and

* La Grange.

with regard to the four books here introduced, we are clearly of opinion, that they cannot be made a part of an elementary course, without turning the attention of the student away from more important branches of the mathematics.

We must, however, hear what Dr Horsley has to say on this subject.

'Primo igitur, plerique eorum, qui in usum studiosæ Juventutis Euclidem ediderunt, secus ac nos fecimus, non nisi priores sex libros cum undecimo et duodecimo typis mandârunt; partim, ut opinamur, quia facile sibi persuaserint, septimi, octavi, et noni nullam eos jacturam facturos esse, qui vel in puerorum scholis, vel a quocunque demum præceptore arithmeticæ elementa didicerint; partim quia omnem libri decimi utilitatem parvi penderint, præ surdorum doctrinâ, prout ab iis exponitur qui artem algebraicam tradunt—quod inerudite magis factum sit, nescio, an oscitanter; *tam a ratione alienum est, juniores ad algebram amandare, priusquam geometriæ elementa rite calluerint, e quibus pendet etiam regularum algebraicarum sive veritas omnis, sive evidentia.* Etenim has ut artem quandam, si placeat, absque geometriâ quis condiscat; ut scientiam non intelliget, nullâ geometriæ ratione habitâ, quæ et ea amplectitur, e quibus generales numerorum affectus exoriri compertum est.' Præf. p. 2.

It is plain from this, that Dr Horsley considers the books of Euclid, usually taught in the schools, as not laying a sufficiently broad foundation for mathematical instruction; and for that reason would introduce the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, as necessary for demonstrating the rules of arithmetic and algebra—that the two last are to be considered as arts rather than sciences, which do not explain their own principles. To these positions, however, we by no means assent. With the imperfect numeral characters which the Greeks possessed, it would be singular, indeed, if their methods of unfolding the properties of number were better than those of their successors, furnished with an arithmetical notation, which, if any thing that men possess may be called perfect, is deserving of that epithet, and having besides the noble invention of algebraic language. The truth is, that the ancients wanted so much the means of simplifying the operations of arithmetic, that they proved, with considerable difficulty, many truths which a better mode of expression has reduced to the class of self-evident propositions. It cannot be said, with any good reason, that arithmetic and algebra do not possess the power of demonstrating their own principles and rules. Sufficient care in explaining the fundamental operations of those sciences, may not always be taken by those who have written of them. This, however, is not the fault of the science, but of the writers on it; and it is, besides, a censure that is by no means general. Dr Horsley says, it is absurd to send young men to study alge-

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bra before they have learnt the elements of geometry, on which depends the truth or evidence of all the algebraic rules. To us, again, it seems certain, that algebra can demonstrate its rules, just as well as geometry. The sciences both reason concerning quantity; the ideas, in both, are equally clear and well defined; they make use of the very same axioms; and, therefore, that the conclusions of the one should be more certain than those of the other, what reason can possibly be assigned? Indeed, those mathematical reasonings, into which no idea of position is introduced, are not, strictly speaking, geometrical; they are mathematical; and if the arithmetic symbols are used, which will in general contribute much to render them clearer and more concise, they become algebraic. The reproach, therefore, thrown against this science is ill-founded, and is injudicious; being calculated to diminish the attention paid to a part of mathematical learning that is of the very first importance. Farther, it is so far from being absurd to begin the study of the mathematics with algebra, rather than geometry, that it has been the practice to do so with some of the nations who have made the greatest progress in mathematical learning. One very great disadvantage that would necessarily arise from forcing the student of mathematics to read the seventh, &c. of the elements, is, that it would detain him long in the study of synthetical reasonings, when he ought to be applying his mind to those that are analytical, and that lead to understand the methods of investigation. The sooner that the former method is abandoned for the latter, the sooner are the powers of invention called into action, and the more speedily do we acquire, not merely the knowledge of truth, but the capacity of discovering it. As all the demonstrations in Euclid are synthetical, the time spent in the study of those books we now speak of, would be far better bestowed in gaining a knowledge of the analytical investigations of algebra. It cannot indeed be denied, that many of the fundamental truths of algebra might be better proved than they are in some of the books of that science; but this might certainly be done without abandoning the analytical methods, and without consuming time in the study of demonstrations which, even when fully understood, would not put the learner in possession of the principle on which they were discovered.

Too great an attachment to such demonstrations is perhaps one of the chief reasons why the mathematical sciences have been for a long time so stationary in this country, compared with what they have been among our neighbours on the Continent. If there be any truth in this remark, the plan recommended by the Bishop of Rochester would tend greatly to retard the progress of science

amongst us, and to increase an evil, of which the magnitude is already so much to be regretted. It is to be hoped, therefore, that they who have the care of the studies of the young men at the universities, will not hastily suffer themselves to be led away by the confidence with which Dr Horsley delivers his opinion on this subject. The work, however, contains a fuller collection than usual of the books of Euclid; and will, for that reason, be very agreeable to those who are already versed in mathematical studies, though, we apprehend, not very useful to those who are only beginning them.

But, waving the consideration of the purpose, we are now to examine the execution of this work, and in what respects the editor has improved on those who went before him. He professes to have taken no assistance from them, more especially from Simson.

'Quæcunque autem sint ea, vel qualesquales, quæ in editione hâc nostrâ fecimus emendationes, ducem in plerisque eorum SIMSONUM certissime non secuti sumus. Illud nobis propositum fuit unice in Euclide emendando, Euclide ipso duntaxat magistro uti, per omnia intueri eum, et ad illius mentem quantum fieri potuit omnia componere.—Immo hoc ipsum erat ut rem non diffiteamur quod primo omnium ad Opus hoc nostrum excitavit nos, certa nimirum, et nunquam immutata opinio, Euclidem a Simsono sermone Anglico donatum juventutis academicæ institutioni non sufficere, aut satis fideliter veterum geometrarum methodum, quæ nunquam non ἀκριβεστάτη est, iis in conspectu ponere.' (Præf. ad fin.)

The maxim, of employing only Euclid for the purpose of elucidating Euclid, seems at first sight to be highly commendable, and to promise something very genuine and unsophisticated. This, however, is a hollow and deceitful appearance; for, in fact, no rule of criticism can be more injudicious and unsound. It is one which, if uniformly pursued, must prevent the accumulation of learning and knowledge; and, instead of placing every scholiast on the shoulders of the preceding, would oblige him to begin his work anew, and execute the whole for himself. Had all men been vain enough to follow this maxim, the remains of antiquity, dug out from under the ruins of the barbarous ages, would not have gradually assumed all the perfection and elegance of the original compositions; and the classics in the days of Heyne would have been in no respect better than in those of Chrysoloras. A few giants in literature may have been entitled to guide themselves by this rule; but even they would have done more honour to themselves by the *breach* of it, than the *observance*. Such pretensions are much more likely to attend want of industry and patience in research, or an excessive self-confidence, than to accompany the possession of real talents. But we must not censure

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Dr Horsley too severely on this ground; for it will perhaps appear that he has adhered less scrupulously to his rule than the preceding passage might lead us to imagine.

As to what particularly regards Simson in the above passage, we acknowledge that the constant attacks made by the learned Bishop on that excellent geometer has excited our surprise, and often our indignation. As an adept in the ancient geometry, a commentator on Euclid, and the restorer of Apollonius, Simson has merited the highest praise. The spirit of the ancient geometry was known to him in its full extent; he studied it with industry and zeal; and possessed more power over it, as an instrument for the discovery of truth, than any man of the present age, if we except his pupil and friend, the late Dr Mathew Stewart. Of this, his restoration of the Loci Plani, the Problems in his Conic Sections, and his restoration of the Porisms of Euclid, bear ample testimony. His Euclid, though not admitting, like the works just named, the same exertion of original and inventive powers, is a model for the accuracy of its reasonings. What Dr Horsley refers to, therefore, when he speaks of it as giving but an imperfect idea of the extreme accuracy of the ancient geometry, we are unable to comprehend. Had he contented himself with saying that Simson is now and then prolix, and that his notes are sometimes unnecessary, we could have seen reason for what he said, at least in a few cases; but of this we cannot find a single instance to justify the remark. As he has not specified what he meant particularly to speak of as destitute of geometric [illegible] in Simson, we cannot know precisely at what point the defence should be made; but we shall proceed to consider on what his own pretensions to superior accuracy are founded.

For that purpose we must look particularly into those parts where the elements of geometry involve some difficulty in them; and if Dr Horsley has got over those in a more masterly way than any other editor, the ostentatious display in his preface will more easily be forgiven.

One of the first questions that has usually exercised the ingenuity of the editors of Euclid, and the writers on elementary geometry in general, relates to parallel lines. It is easy to show, that two lines having certain relations in their position with respect to another line, will never meet; but it is very difficult, from the mere negative consideration of two lines not meeting, to show what relation of position they must necessarily have to a third line. Euclid himself could find no other method of doing this, than by introducing an axiom, which almost every body has objected to as wanting one very essential property of an axiom, that of self-evidence. Mathematicians have therefore exerted themselves,

ſelves, in a variety of ways, to remove this difficulty, ſome with more, and ſome with leſs ſucceſs; but none in a manner that has given entire ſatisfaction. It has, however, we think, fared worſe with nobody in this matter than our author. Euclid had laid it down as an axiom, that lines which make with a third line the two interior angles leſs than two right angles, muſt meet, if produced; and this propoſition Dr Horſley endeavours to demonſtrate; but he does ſo by a proceſs of reaſoning which involves another axiom taken for granted without being expreſſed; this is, that lines which incline toward one another, or have, as he calls it, their directions *ad ſe invicem*, muſt meet, if produced; where not only a new axiom, but alſo a new definition (that of the words inclined *ad ſe invicem*, or toward one another) is implied. Now, if this definition be ſupplied, the axiom juſt mentioned will be found the very ſame with that of Euclid, that is, with the propoſition which it was Dr Horſley's purpoſe to demonſtrate: His demonſtration is therefore nothing more than a begging of the queſtion, concealed under the obſcurity of a new and undefined expreſſion. Such is the firſt example which he gives of geometrical preciſion, when he is fairly left to himſelf, and has not Euclid for his guide. Dr Simſon has treated of this ſame ſubject, with conſiderable prolixity, we will acknowledge, and without any thing remarkably happy or ingenious in his demonſtration; but in a manner perfectly logical and accurate. Indeed, we are fully perſuaded, that if it had been propoſed to that geometer to commit to the flames all that he had ever written concerning Euclid, or to inſert the demonſtration which Dr Horſley has given of this propoſition, he would have ſubmitted much more readily to the former than the latter mortification. The reader who will peruſe with attention the corollary which Dr Horſley has annexed to the 28th of the firſt of Euclid, will not think that in theſe remarks we have done him any injuſtice.

In the beginning of the third book of Euclid, it is ſtated as a definition, that equal circles are thoſe of which the diameters are equal. This, however, is evidently not a definition, but a theorem; and is very improperly given as a definition by Euclid, or, as is more probable, by ſome of his editors. Dr Horſley has made an axiom of it, and this alſo ſeems not very agreeable to ſtrict logic; for, as it is capable of being proved, by laying the one circle on the other, and ſhewing that they may wholly coincide, ſo it ought to be proved in that manner, becauſe the notion of equality has been before laid down as founded on the coincidence of magnitude; and no other idea of equality, but what is founded on this definition, and on the application to it of the other two axioms, that if equals are added to equals, or

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taken from them, the results are equal, can ever be admitted into geometry.

The fifth book of Euclid, which treats of the subtle and difficult subject of proportion, is the part of the elements which has most exercised the skill and ingenuity of commentators, and has given rise to much dispute, not concerning the conclusions, but concerning the mode of reasoning which the Greek geometer has employed. In this part Dr Horsley considers himself as having made great improvements, though, when we compare his edition with Simson's, except in one particular, we are quite at a loss to perceive in what they consist. Yet, to hear him speak of them, one would imagine that, before his time, the fifth of Euclid was quite unintelligible: 'Siquidem omnia,' says he, 'a nobis ita disposita sunt ut tandem aliquando, *mente tuâ ista et vidas*, explicetur hæc definitionum series, impedita antea, et mire interturbata. Fac enim in iisdem periculum, prout apud alias elementorum editiones extant, et nihil inveneris, quod aut perspicuum, aut ad doctrinam utile, aut denique iis quibus interponitur satis consonum est. Rem ipsam deinde perpendito et subductis rationibus, quomodo ex salebris hisce quis se expediat aliter quam nos fecimus, ut opinor vix invenies:' (Præf. 7. ad fin.) Considering what men they are who have undertaken to explain the matter in question before Dr Horsley, this may be considered as one of the most ample panegyrics which any mathematician, since the days of Cardan, has ventured to pronounce on his own performances. Yet we must acknowledge, that, after following the directions here given to his readers, '*subductis rationibus*,' the alterations he speaks of, seem all, except one, to be extremely immaterial.

This one, which seems of more importance than the rest, relates to the seventh definition, that of *greater* and *less ratio*, on which Dr Horsley makes a remark, which we believe to be just, but by no means new. The remark is, that ratio being a relation, and not a quantity, greater or less, equal or unequal are not predicable of it; so that to speak of one ratio being greater than another, is a catachrestic expression. When we say, for instance, that the ratio of A to B is greater than that of C to D, we mean that A is greater than that magnitude which has to B the same ratio that C has to D. This is without doubt true in strictness; and the same observation is made, and very well illustrated, by Barrow in his Mathematical Lectures (lect. 20.), where he maintains against Gregory of St Vincents, Meibomius, Borelli, and others, that *ratio* is not *quantity*, and not strictly susceptible of greater and less; and he adds, that when one ratio is called greater than another, it is by a kind of catachresis

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... the same language that Dr Horsley ... now, however, though he has said every ... of this definition, and the others that re... which could be expected from a man of pro... great acuteness, has not proposed to make ... definition itself, nor on the demonstrations ... Dr Horsley has changed the former to one which ... to what is usually given as Euclid's: several ... are changed in consequence of this, and they are ... respects improved; but they are certainly very ... the demonstrations of Euclid, and employ a pos... he has never admitted into the fifth book. This, ... only change of any importance, that Dr Horsley ... made in the doctrine of proportion; the advan... both but inconsiderable, and, at the same time, ... seems rather to exceed that which a commentator ... to make on his author's text. *

... book nothing occurs that requires to be taken no... the four books that follow are given with very little ... from Gregory's folio edition.

... eleventh and twelfth, where solids are treated of, the ... of Euclid have been thought to require some alteration. ... part, the Elements have been much indebted to Simson, ... and shewed that Euclid's idea of equal and similar solids ... not accurate. Euclid holds those solids to be equal which ... contained by the same number of similar and equal plane fi...; and yet it can be shewn, that solids may be unequal in ... proportion, though contained by such planes. This error ... first pointed out by Simson; and Dr Horsley, without tak... any notice of that circumstance, corrects Euclid's idea near... as he had done. The great accuracy of Simson was eminent... shewn in this part of the Elements; and he was the first who ... the method of comparing solids with strict geometric ... It is curious that this honour should have remained ... a geometer who wrote so late as Simson; and it is not a lit... extraordinary, that any one should now treat of the same ..., and avail himself of all his improvements, without ... any notice of the person by whom they were first sug...ed. This may be what Dr Horsley means, when he says,

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* Euclid gave no definition of compound ratio, though he uses the ... sion, and though it is certainly one that required to be explained. ... Horsley follows Euclid in this, which is surely a defect; but, to ... have done otherwise, he must have followed Simson.

'*Simsonum docem minime secuti sumus.*' Not to acknowledge a leader, may certainly be said, not to follow him.

In the twenty-sixth of the eleventh it is proposed to make a solid angle equal to a given solid angle, at a point in a given line. Of this problem, Euclid himself has given a very imperfect, and indeed a faulty solution, for which Simson substituted another, quite accurate, but not very happily conceived, nor so extensive as the nature of the thing requires. Dr Horsley has been more successful in correcting this error; he has given a very simple and general solution of the problem; and this superiority, he does not leave the reader to discover, but announces it with no small exultation. 'Problematis de quo agit propositio libri XI. vicesima sexta, solutionem adjecimus uberiorem multo, quam quæ ex *angustis suis principiis* a Simsono prolata est.'

Now, though it is true that Dr Horsley's solution is more elegant and more general than Simson's, this superiority might have been announced in less offensive terms. The problem is by no means of great difficulty; it admits of several solutions, some of them even more simple than that of Dr Horsley; but nothing that relates to so easy an investigation can decisively mark the genius of the inventor. A geometer, because his solution was not the best or most elegant, should not be charged with a limited and imperfect knowledge of the principles of his own science. Indeed, we are at a loss to know what is here meant by the *angusta principia* of Simson. His notions with regard to mathematics in general, might in some respects be accounted narrow and confined: he entertained strong and unreasonable prejudices against the algebraic methods of investigation, and seemed continually jealous of the encroachments which a barbarous rival (as he thought it) was every day making on his favourite science. This is confessed on all hands; and to such prejudices the phrase above quoted might not improperly be applied. But here the question is only concerning a matter of pure geometry, in which the extent and fertility of his genius were never before questioned. The truth seems to be, that his excellence in this science was too great, to allow his defects to be easily passed over.

On the subject of the eleventh book, we must also remark, that Euclid, contrary to his custom, and not very consistently with the rules of sound logic, has given two definitions of a solid angle, of which one only is retained by Simson. The definition retained is, that a solid angle is that which is formed by the meeting in a point of several plane angles which are not in the same plane. The other definition is, that a solid angle is the mutual inclination of more than two straight lines which meet,

meet, but are not in the same plane. Dr Horsley, in the spirit of which we have seen so many examples, remarks,

'Inscitè admodum Simsonus definitionum anguli solidi, quas duas Euclidis posuit, alterâ repudiatâ alteram illam retinere maluit quæ vel minus universalis est, vel si aliter, ea saltem de quâ universalem esse, non æquè manifestum est.'

This, we will not hesitate to say, is a very uncandid criticism. There could be no reason for retaining both definitions, as they either meant the same thing, or they did not: If they meant the same thing, one of them *might* be rejected; if they meant different things, one of them *must* be rejected, otherwise we must call different things by the same name. Simson, finding himself in this dilemma, retained the definition which most readily presents to the mind that idea of a solid angle, which is the subject of investigation in the Elements. Dr Horsley alleges that the other definition is more general, and that Euclid may have meant to include the vertex of a cone, or of any surface that terminates in a point, under the notion of a solid angle. But of this we have no proof; for nothing is more certain, than that he never takes the words *solid angle* in such a sense, in any part of the Elements. Indeed, to have done so, was quite unsuitable to the usual accuracy of his language. If he had ever called a cone by the name of a pyramid; if he had said that the circumference of a circle was but a polygon of an infinite number of sides; if ever he had made any such deviation from the rigour of geometrical language—he might also have said that a conical surface is made up of an infinite number of infinitely small plane angles. As he has never spoken in this manner, we have no reason to think that he ever meant to do so, nor would Dr Horsley, we believe, have ascribed to him that intention, but for the sake of accusing Simson of ignorance, '*Inscitè admodum Simsonus.*' Our belief, therefore, in the ignorance of the latter, and the candour of the former, seems to rest on a very slight foundation.

The other work announced at the beginning of this article, is the book of Euclid's *Data*, from the same editor, and with the addition of some mathematical tracts of his own. This book, as being the foundation of the geometric analysis, certainly deserves that the greatest attention should be exerted to give it to the public in the most perfect state. Some few inaccuracies seem to have entered originally into the composition of it. In the fourth definition, for example, as it stands in the Greek, and as it is given in the edition before us, there is without doubt an error; for it is there said that lines, points and spaces are given in position which preserve always the same situation. Now, if the word 'given' were really taken in such latitude as this,

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(synonymous with constant or fixt) it would follow, as Simson has justly remarked, that a straight line dividing any given angle, in any given ratio, must be given in position, which is not true, because that position, though a thing determined in itself, cannot be found, except in a few cases, by plane geometry. This limit therefore, is evidently implied, that the things proved to be given, must be found by the rules of plane geometry, that is, by constructions formed on the three postulates prefixed to the Elements. Dr Simson, therefore, expressed this definition differently from what it is in the Greek; and said that points, lines and spaces are given in position, which have always the same situation, and which are either actually exhibited, or can be found. Even the addition thus made, is not sufficiently precise; for by being actually exhibited or found, is understood that they are found by the principles explained in the Elements.

Dr Horsley has paid no attention to these circumstances, but has followed exactly the Greek text, and has thus discharged one part of the duty of a commentator at the expence of another. A similar remark may be made on his demonstration of the second proposition, where, by leaving out a limitation which Simson had introduced, he has preserved the text, to the great prejudice of the sense.

In the general conduct of the book, however, little occurs to be censured, and not much to be praised, if we consider what others had done before. Simson's edition of the *Data* always appeared to us to be excellent, and to admit of very little improvement; and in this opinion we are confirmed by the work before us. Dr Horsley, indeed, has added a second book to the *Data*, and has given, in a separate tract, a selection of problems resolved by the geometric analysis. We doubt, however, whether the first of these is a work of real utility; not that we doubt at all that new geometrical truths have their value, in whatever shape they appear, but because they cannot always be proper for elementary instruction. Propositions of this nature may be multiplied without end; and it is necessary to make a selection of those that are of most extensive application, and are most frequently referred to, in order that the young geometer may retain them in his mind, and have them always ready to be applied. The great secret for preparing a young man to exert his talents in investigation, as well as in any thing else, is to send him out furnished with all the principles necessary to be known, but loaded with as few as possible of those that are not necessary, or that may be easily supplied by his own ingenuity. The truths or principles that are not every day called for, had better be supplied by the invention than the memory.

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The utility of the other little tract just mentioned, the *Delectus Problematum*, cannot be doubted. It is a work exactly of the kind that is most wanted as an elementary *institution* in this branch of science. The problems are in general well chosen, with ingenious and elegant solutions, laid down strictly according to the method of the ancient geometers.

Some remarks, that form a *scholium* at the end of the *Data*, contain an encomium on the geometric analysis, but tending too much to depress the algebraic. This should be carefully avoided; and, however sensible we may be of the great beauty and elegance of the former, and of the valuable effects produced by the study of it on the powers of the mind, we should not forget, that in the most general and difficult speculations of the pure mathematics, and in all the most important branches of the mixt, it is the latter only that can be employed to advantage. An accurate inquiry into the extent of their different provinces, and into the principles on which the difference between the two branches of analysis depends, are objects that well deserve the attention of mathematicians. Dr Horsley has not touched on that subject.

One of the tracts in this volume contains the re-invention of a sort of table, known by the name of the Sieve of Eratosthenes, which appears to be no other than a method of finding out the prime numbers. If the contrivance of the Greek geometer was the same with Dr Horsley's, which we think extremely probable, it was very simple, and consisted in ranging all the numbers, 1, 2, 3, &c. in a table, and effacing from that table, in succession, all the multiples of 2, of 3, of 5, 7, &c.; so that what remained must obviously be the prime numbers, or such as are not multiples of any other number. This device, though somewhat ingenious, is simple and obvious enough; so that we cannot acquiesce in the very high encomium which Dr Horsley bestows on it. 'Cribrum igitur Eratosthenis, lector benevole, jam tibi ut fruaris eo, in manus traditum est, non fictum aliquid aut adulterinum, sed quale ab auctore ipso olim illud concinnatum esse omnino existimandum est. Quin et illud te monitum esse velim, inter veterum mathematicorum inventa, vix in aliud quodvis te incidere posse, quod vel magis artificiose, vel magis ad utilitatem (in iis saltem quæ calculo indaganda sunt) uspiam excogitatum est.'

Now, of the *great* ingenuity of this invention, we see no proof: Nothing is performed here, but what has been done, and that very nearly in the same way, by every one who ever set about forming a table of the divisors of numbers. The prime numbers have their places, in such a table, ascertained almost

almost exactly in the same manner as in the Sieve of Eratosthenes; and there seems hardly any arithmetical device more simple or more obvious. Yet Dr Horsley holds it up, in this passage, as one of the most ingenious and subtle inventions of the ancients in matters of arithmetic. To us it seems, on the other hand, that there is hardly a problem in all the thirteen arithmetical books of Diophantus, that does not display vastly more ingenuity and contrivance. The invention is useful, because, in many researches, it is of importance to distinguish the prime numbers. This, however, is the simplest problem which can be proposed with respect to these numbers, and throws no light at all on those that are more difficult. If a number, beyond the limits of the table of prime numbers, is given; to find whether it be a prime number, or not, is sometimes a work of much difficulty; and what is said here, will not help us to the solution of it. Were it proposed, for instance, to find whether 262657 be a prime number, we should find the investigation require some thought, and would derive no benefit from the Sieve.

The tract on the Sieve of Eratosthenes was published in the Philosophical Transactions many years ago, and is now republished, having, as the author informs us, been abridged and translated into Latin by the Dean of Christ-Church. He also expresses his thankfulness to Dr Jackson for assisting him in drawing up his prefaces; and adds, 'Particeps igitur laborum in laudis etiam partem veniat.' Some will no doubt say, that as the labour has been but small, the glory must be little in proportion; but all will confess, that the less a morsel is, there is the more merit in dividing it with another; and that, on the present occasion, it is highly edifying to see these two great men sitting down contentedly to so meagre a repast.

The volume which we are now treating of, besides the tracts already enumerated, contains a book on Sphæricks, from the first and second of Theodosius, in which the propositions demonstrated are very elementary, and the whole not very interesting, as keeping at a great distance from any application to spherical trigonometry: Next comes the measure of the circumference of the circle, from Archimedes: And, lastly, Keil's dissertation on Logarithms, as usually annexed to his Euclid; a work of great merit, and which is here accompanied with notes by Dr Horsley, that are many of them very useful, and not a few which, though useful, appear ludicrous from the parade with which they are brought forward. At p. 134, Dr Horsley finds the logarithm of the cube root of a decimal fraction by a process a little different from the common, and, as he thinks, some-

what easier. He immediately stops to admire the ingenuity of the proceeding; yet, the device which the learned Bishop esteems so much, is one for which a master might applaud a very young pupil who had discovered it of himself, and, in doing so, he would allow it its full measure of praise; for, in reality, it amounts to no more than that $\frac{-a+b}{3}$ is equal to $-\frac{a}{3}+\frac{b}{3}$. Yet the commentator of Newton calls this a discovery which he had made, *Dis propitiis usus.* The rule, *Nec Deus interfit nisi, dignus vindice nodus acciderit,* was probably never more violated in poetical fiction than it is here, amid the sobriety of an arithmetical calculation.

The two volumes which we have now been considering, were preceded by another published in 1801, the whole being intended to make one entire course of elementary geometry. That volume, as well as the other two, contains many things useful to a beginner, and particularly in what regards the application of arithmetic to geometry. Yet the three together will form a course of which the parts are not very accurately proportioned, nor very happily arranged; and he who would use it as his text, must supply many things, retrench several, and transpose not a few. But the work, whatever may be its defects, manifests a degree of knowledge and talent which would deserve praise, if it came forward with less ostentation, and a less marked contempt for others. It is a proof of no common activity of mind, and taste for science, in a station which has sometimes been thought too high, or too sacred for the exercise of these sublunary virtues: And, to the credit of the learned Prelate, it should also be observed, that his love of science has not turned him aside from the duties of his profession; that his investigations take a very extensive range; and that, while he finds leisure to comment on Euclid and Eratosthenes, he demonstrates, beyond all contradiction, that France is not a country with wings, and that geographic maps were unknown to the prophet Isaiah.

ART.

ART. II. *The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper, Esq. with an Introductory Letter to the Right Honourable Earl Cowper.* By William Hayley, Esq. Vol. III. 4to. pp. 416. Johnson, London. 1804.

THIS is the continuation of a work of which we formerly submitted a very ample account and a very full character to our readers:* on that occasion, we took the liberty of observing, that two quarto volumes seemed to be almost as much as the biography of a secluded scholar was entitled to occupy; and with a little judicious compression, we are still of opinion that the life and correspondence of Cowper might be advantageously included in somewhat narrower limits. We are by no means disposed, however, to quarrel with this *third* volume, which is more interesting, if possible, than either of the two former, and will be read, we have no doubt, with general admiration and delight.

Though it bears the title of the life of Cowper, this volume contains no farther particulars of his history, but is entirely made up of a collection of his letters, introduced by a long, rambling sort of dissertation on letter-writing in general, from the pen of his biographer. This prologue, we think, possesses no peculiar merit. The writer has no vigour, and very little vivacity; his mind seems to be cultivated, but not at all fertile; and, while he always keeps at a safe distance from extravagance or absurdity, he does not seem to be uniformly capable of distinguishing affectation from elegance, or dulness from good judgment. This discourse upon letter-writing, in short, contains nothing that might not have been omitted with considerable advantage to the publication; and we are rather inclined to think, that those who are ambitious of being introduced to the presence of Cowper, will do well not to linger very long in the antichamber with Mr Hayley.

Of the letters themselves, we may safely assert, that we have rarely met with any similar collection, of superior interest or beauty. Though the incidents to which they relate be of no public magnitude or moment, and the remarks which they contain be not uniformly profound or original, yet there is something in the sweetness and facility of the diction, and more perhaps in the glimpses they afford of a pure and benevolent mind, that diffuses a charm over the whole collection, and communicates an interest that cannot always be commanded by performances of greater dignity and pretension. This interest was promoted and assisted, no doubt, in a considerable degree, by that curiosity which always seeks to penetrate into the privacy of celebrated men, and which had been almost entirely frustrated in the instance of Cowper, till the appearance of this publication. Though his writings had

* Vol. II. p. 64, &c.

long been extremely popular, the author was scarcely known to the public; and having lived in a state of entire seclusion from the world, there were no anecdotes of his conversation, his habits or opinions, in circulation among his admirers. The publication of his correspondence has in a great measure supplied this deficiency; and we now know almost as much of Cowper as we do of those authors who have spent their days in the centre and glare of literary or fashionable notoriety. These letters, however, will continue to be read long after the curiosity is gratified to which perhaps they owed their first celebrity: for the character with which they make us acquainted, will always attract by its rarity, and engage by its elegance. The feminine delicacy and purity of Cowper's manners and disposition, the romantic and unbroken retirement in which his life was passed, and the singular gentleness and modesty of his whole character, disarm him of those terrors that so often shed an atmosphere of repulsion around the persons of celebrated writers, and make us more indulgent to his weaknesses, and more delighted with his excellences, than if he had been the centre of a circle of wits, or the oracle of a literary confederacy. The interest of this picture is still farther heightened by the recollection of that tremendous malady, to the visitations of which he was subject, and by the spectacle of that perpetual conflict which was maintained, through the greater part of his life, between the depression of those constitutional horrors, and the gayety that resulted from a playful imagination, and a heart animated by the mildest affections.

In the letters now before us, Cowper displays a great deal of all those peculiarities by which his character was adorned or distinguished; he is frequently the subject of his own observations, and often delineates the finer features of his understanding with all the industry and impartiality of a stranger. But the most interesting traits are those which are unintentionally discovered, and which the reader collects from expressions that were employed for very different purposes. Among the most obvious, perhaps, as well as the most important of these, is that extraordinary combination of shyness and ambition, to which we are probably indebted for the very existence of his poetry. Being disqualified, by the former, from vindicating his proper place in the ordinary scenes either of business or of society, he was excited, by the latter, to attempt the only other avenue to reputation that appeared to be open, and to assert the real dignity of the talents with which he felt that he was gifted. If Cowper had acquired courage enough to read the journals of the House of Lords, or been able to get over the diffidence which fettered his utterance in general society, his genius would probably have evaporated in conversation, or been contented with

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the humbler glory of contributing to the Rolliad or the Connoiſſeur.

As the preſent collection relates to no particular ſet of ſubjects or occurrences, but exhibits a view of the author's miſcellaneous correſpondence with the few intimate friends he had retained, it is impoſſible to give any abſtract of its contents, or to obſerve any order in the extracts that may be made from it. We ſhall endeavour however to introduce as great a variety as poſſible.

Though living altogether in retirement, Cowper appears to have retained a very nice perception of the proprieties of conduct and manners, and to have exerciſed a great deal of acuteneſs and ſagacity upon the few ſubjects of practical importance which he had occaſion to conſider. The following ſketch is by a fine and maſterly hand, and proves how much a baſhful recluſe may excel a gentleman from the grand tour in delicacy of obſervation and juſt notions of politeneſs.

'Since I wrote laſt, we had a viſit from ———. I did not feel myſelf vehemently diſpoſed to receive him with that complaiſance, from which a ſtranger generally infers that he is welcome. By his manner, which was rather bold than eaſy, I judged that there was no occaſion for it, and that it was a trifle which, if he did not meet with, neither would he feel the want of: He has the air of a travelled man, but not of a travelled gentleman; is quite delivered from that reſerve, which is ſo common an ingredient in the Engliſh character, yet does not open himſelf gently and gradually, as men of polite behaviour do, but burſts upon you all at once. He talks very loud, and when our poor little robins hear a great noiſe, they are immediately ſeized with an ambition to ſurpaſs it—the increaſe of their vociferation occaſioned an increaſe of his, and his in return, acted as a ſtimulus upon theirs—neither ſide entertained a thought of giving up the conteſt, which became continually more intereſting to our ears, during the whole viſit. The birds however, ſurvived it, and ſo did we. They perhaps flatter themſelves they gained a complete victory, but I believe Mr ——— could have killed them both in another hour.' p. 17. 18.

Cowper's antipathy to public ſchools is well known to all the readers of his poetry. There are many excellent remarks on that ſubject in theſe letters. We can only find room for the following.

'A public education is often recommended as the moſt effectual remedy for that baſhful, and awkward reſtraint, ſo epidemical among the youth of our country. But I verily believe, that, inſtead of being a cure, it is often the cauſe of it. For ſeven or eight years of his life, the boy has hardly ſeen or converſed with a man, or a woman, except the maids at his boarding houſe. A gentleman, or a lady, are conſequently ſuch novelties to him, that he is perfectly at a loſs to know

what fort of behaviour he ſhould preſerve before them. He plays with his buttons, or the ſtrings of his hat, he blows his noſe, and hangs down his head, is conſcious of his own deficiency to a degree, that makes him quite unhappy, and trembles leſt any one ſhould ſpeak to him, becauſe that would quite overwhelm him. Is not all this miſerable ſhyneſs the effect of his education? To me it appears to be ſo. If he ſaw good company every day, he would never be terrified at the ſight of it, and a room full of ladies and gentlemen, would alarm him no more than the chairs they ſit on. Such is the effect of cuſtom.' p. 60.

There is much acuteneſs in the following examination of Dr Paley's argument in favour of the Engliſh hierarchy.

'He ſays firſt, that the appointment of various orders in the Church, is attended with this good conſequence, that each claſs of people is ſupplied with a clergy of their own level and deſcription, with whom they may live and aſſociate on terms of equality. But in order to effect this good purpoſe, there ought to be at leaſt three parſons in every pariſh, one for the gentry, one for the traders and mechanics, and one for the loweſt of the vulgar. Neither is it eaſy to find many pariſhes, where the laity at large have any ſociety with their miniſter at all. This therefore is fanciful, and a mere invention: in the next place he ſays it gives a dignity to the miniſtry itſelf; and the clergy ſhare in the reſpect paid to their ſuperiors. Much good may ſuch participation do them! They themſelves know how little it amounts to. The dignity a parſon derives from the lawn ſleeves, and ſquare cap of his dioceſan, will never endanger his humility. Again—'Rich and ſplendid ſituations in the Church, have been juſtly regarded as prizes, held out to invite perſons of good hopes, and ingenuous attainments.' Agreed. But the prize held out in the ſcripture, is of a very different kind; and our eccleſiaſtical baits are too often ſnapped by the worthleſs, and perſons of no attainments at all. They are indeed incentives to avarice and ambition, but not to thoſe acquirements, by which only the miniſterial function can be adorned, zeal for the ſalvation of men, humility, and ſelf-denial. Mr Paley and I therefore cannot agree.' p. 172. 173.

One of the moſt remarkable things in this volume, is the great profuſion of witty and humorous paſſages which it contains, though they are uſually ſo ſhort, and ſtand ſo much connected with more indifferent matter, that it is not eaſy to give any tolerable notion of them by an extract. His ſtyle of narrative is particularly gay and pleaſing, though the incidents are generally too trifling to bear a ſeparation from the whole tiſſue of the correſpondence. We venture on the following account of an election viſit.

'As when the ſea is uncommonly agitated, the water finds its way into creeks and holes of rocks, which in its calmer ſtate it never reaches, in like manner the effect of theſe turbulent times is felt even at Orchard-ſide, where in general we live as undiſturbed by the political element,

ment, as ſhrimps or cockles that have been accidentally depoſited in ſome hollow beyond the water mark, by the uſual daſhing of the waves. We were ſitting yeſterday after dinner, the two ladies and myſelf, very compoſedly, and without the leaſt apprehenſion of any ſuch intruſion, in our ſnug parlour, one lady knitting, the other netting, and the gentleman winding worſted, when to our unſpeakable ſurpriſe, a mob appeared before the window, a ſmart rap was heard at the door, the boys halloo'd, and the maid announced Mr G———. Puſs * was unfortunately let out of her box, ſo that the candidate, with all his good friends at his heels, was refuſed admittance at the grand entry, and referred to the back door, as the only poſſible way of approach.

'Candidates are creatures not very ſuſceptible of affronts, and would rather, I ſuppoſe, climb in at a window, than be abſolutely excluded. In a minute, the yard, the kitchen, and the parlour, were filled. Mr G———, advancing toward me, ſhook me by the hand with a degree of cordiality that was extremely ſeducing. As ſoon as he, and as many as could find chairs were ſeated, he began to open the intent of his viſit. I told him I had no vote, for which he readily gave me credit. I aſſured him I had no influence, which he was not equally inclined to believe, and the leſs no doubt becauſe Mr A———, addreſſing himſelf to me at that moment, informed me that I had a great deal. Suppoſing that I could not be poſſeſſed of ſuch a treaſure without knowing it, I ventured to confirm my firſt aſſertion, by ſaying, that if I had any, I was utterly at a loſs to imagine where it could be, or wherein it conſiſted. Thus ended the conference. Mr G——— ſqueezed me by the hand again, kiſſed the ladies, and withdrew. He kiſſed likewiſe the maid in the kitchen, and ſeemed upon the whole a moſt loving, kiſſing, kind-hearted gentleman. He is very young, genteel, and handſome. He has a pair of very good eyes in his head, which not being ſufficient as it ſhould ſeem for the many nice and difficult purpoſes of a ſenator, he had a third alſo, which he wore ſuſpended by a riband from his button-hole. The boys halloo'd, the dogs barked, Puſs ſcampered, the hero, with his long train of obſequious followers, withdrew. We made ourſelves very merry with the adventure, and in a ſhort time ſettled into our former tranquillity, never probably to be thus interrupted more. I thought myſelf however happy in being able to affirm truly, that I had not that influence for which he ſued, and for which, had I been poſſeſſed of it, with my preſent views of the diſpute between the Crown and the Commons, I muſt have refuſed him, for he is on the ſide of the former. It is comfortable to be of no conſequence in a world, where one cannot exerciſe any without diſobliging ſomebody.' p. 242–4.

Melancholy and dejected men often amuſe themſelves with purſuits that ſeem to indicate the greateſt levity. Swift wrote all ſorts of doggrel and abſurdity while tormented with ſpleen,

* His tame Hare.

giddiness, and misanthropy. Cowper composed John Gilpin during a season of most deplorable depression, and probably indited the rhyming letter which appears in this collection in a moment equally gloomy. For the amusement of our readers, we annex the concluding paragraph, containing a simile, of which we think they must immediately feel the propriety.

'I have heard before of a room, with a floor laid upon springs, and such like things, with so much art, in every part, that when you went in, you was forced to begin a minuet pace, with an air and a grace, swimming about, now in, and now out, with a deal of state, in a figure of eight, without pipe or string, or any such thing; and now I have writ, in a rhyming fit, what will make you dance, and as you advance, will keep you still, though against your will, dancing away, alert and gay, till you come to an end of what I have penn'd; which that you may do, ere Madam and you, are quite worn out, with jigging about, I take my leave; and here you receive a bow profound, down to the ground, from your humble me— W. C.' p. 89.

As a contrast to this ridiculous effusion, we add the following brief statement, which, notwithstanding its humble simplicity, appears to us to be an example of the true pathetic.

'You never said a better thing in your life, than when you assured Mr ——— of the expedience of a gift of bedding to the poor of Olney. There is no one article of this world's comforts with which, as Falstaff says, they are so heinously unprovided. When a poor woman, and an honest one, whom we know well, carried home two pair of blankets, a pair for herself and husband, and a pair for her six children, as soon as the children saw them, they jumped out of their straw, caught them in their arms, kissed them, blessed them, and danced for joy. An old woman, a very old one, the first night that she found herself so comfortably covered, could not sleep a wink, being kept awake by the contrary emotions, of transport on the one hand, and the fear of not being thankful enough on the other.' p. 347–8.

The correspondence of a poet may be expected to abound in poetical imagery and sentiments. They do not form the most prominent parts of this collection, but they occur in sufficient profusion; and we have been agreeably surprised to find in these letters the germs of many of the finest passages in the 'Task.' There is all the ardour of poetry and devotion in the following passages:

'O! I could spend whole days, and moon-light nights, in feeding upon a lovely prospect! My eyes drink the rivers as they flow. If every human being upon earth, could think for one quarter of an hour, as I have done for many years, there might perhaps be many miserable men among them, but not an unawakened one could be found, from the arctic to the antarctic circle. At present, the difference between them and me is greatly to their advantage. I delight in baubles, and know them to be so; for, rested in, and viewed, without a reference to

their

their Author, what is the earth, what are the planets, what is the ſun itſelf, but a bauble? Better for a man never to have ſeen them, or to ſee them with the eyes of a brute, ſtupid and unconſcious of what he beholds, than not to be able to ſay, "The Maker of all theſe wonders is my friend!" Their eyes have never been opened, to ſee that they are trifles; mine have been, and will be, 'till they are cloſed for ever. They think a fine eſtate, a large conſervatory, a hot-houſe rich as a Weſt Indian garden, things of conſequence; viſit them with pleaſure, and muſe upon them with ten times more. I am pleaſed with a frame of four lights, doubtful whether the few pines it contains will ever be worth a farthing; amuſe myſelf with a green-houſe, which Lord Bute's gardener could take upon his back, and walk away with; and when I have paid it the accuſtomed viſit, and watered it, and given it air, I ſay to myſelf—"This is not mine, 'tis a plaything lent me for the preſent, I muſt leave it ſoon." p. 19–20.

'We keep no bees; but if I lived in a hive, I ſhould hardly hear more of their muſic. All the bees in the neighbourhood reſort to a bed of mignonette, oppoſite to the window, and pay me for the honey they get out of it, by a hum, which, though rather monotonous, is as agreeable to my ear, as the whiſtling of my linnets. All the ſounds that nature utters are delightful, at leaſt in this country. I ſhould not perhaps find the roaring of lions in Africa, or of bears in Ruſſia, very pleaſing; but I know no beaſt in England whoſe voice I do not account muſical, ſave and except always the braying of an aſs. The notes of all our birds and fowls pleaſe me, without one exception. I ſhould not indeed think of keeping a gooſe in a cage, that I might hang him up in the parlour, for the ſake of his melody; but a gooſe upon a common, or in a farm-yard, is no bad performer: And as to inſects, if the black beetle, and beetles indeed of all hues, will keep out of my way, I have no objection to any of the reſt; on the contrary, in whatever key they ſing, from the gnat's fine treble to the baſs of the humble bee, I admire them all. Seriouſly, however, it ſtrikes me as a very obſerveable inſtance of providential kindneſs to man, that ſuch an exact accord has been contrived between his ear and the ſounds with which, at leaſt in a rural ſituation, it is almoſt every moment viſited. All the world is ſenſible of the uncomfortable effect that certain ſounds have upon the nerves, and conſequently upon the ſpirits—And if a ſinful world had been filled with ſuch as would have curdled the blood, and have made the ſenſe of hearing a perpetual inconvenience, I do not know that we ſhould have had a right to complain.—*There is ſomewhere* in infinite ſpace, a world that does not roll within the precincts of mercy; and as it is reaſonable, and even ſcriptural to ſuppoſe, that there is muſic in heaven, in thoſe diſmal regions perhaps the reverſe of it is found. Tones ſo diſmal, as to make woe itſelf more inſupportable, and to acuminate even deſpair. But my paper admoniſhes me in good time to draw the reins, and to check the deſcent of my fancy into deeps with which ſhe is but too familiar.' p. 287–289.

The following ſhorter ſketches, though not marked with ſo much enthuſiaſm, are conceived with the ſame vigour and diſtinctneſs.

'When we look back upon our forefathers, we ſeem to look back upon the people of another nation, almoſt upon creatures of another ſpecies. Their vaſt rambling manſions, ſpacious halls, and painted caſements, the Gothic porch ſmothered with honeyſuckles, their little gardens and high walls, their box-edgings, balls of holly, and yew-tree ſtatues, are become ſo entirely unfaſhionable now, that we can hardly believe it poſſible that a people, who reſembled us ſo little in their taſte, ſhould reſemble us in any thing elſe. But in every thing elſe, I ſuppoſe, they were our counterparts exactly, and time, that has ſewed up the ſlaſhed ſleeve, and reduced the large trunk-hoſe to a neat pair of ſilk ſtockings, has left human nature juſt where it found it. The inſide of the man, at leaſt, has undergone no change. His paſſions, appetites, and aims, are juſt what they ever were. They wear perhaps a handſomer diſguiſe than they did in days of yore; for philoſophy and literature will have their effect upon the exterior, but in every other reſpect a modern is only an ancient in a different dreſs.' p. 48.

'I am much obliged to you for the voyages, which I received, and began to read laſt night. My imagination is ſo captivated upon theſe occaſions, that I ſeem to partake with the navigators in all the dangers they encountered. I loſe my anchor; my main-ſail is rent into ſhreds; I kill a ſhark, and by ſigns converſe with a Patagonian, and all this without moving from the fire ſide. The principal fruits of theſe circuits that have been made around the globe, ſeem likely to be the amuſement of thoſe that ſtaid at home. Diſcoveries have been made, but ſuch diſcoveries as will hardly ſatisfy the expence of ſuch undertakings. We brought away an Indian, and having debauched him, we ſent him home again to communicate the infection to his country—fine ſport to be ſure, but ſuch as will not defray the coſt. Nations that live upon bread-fruit, and have no mines to make them worthy of our acquaintance, will be but little viſited for the future. So much the better for them; their poverty is indeed their mercy.' p. 201–202.

Cowper's religious impreſſions occupied too great a portion of his thoughts, and exerciſed too great an influence on his character, not to make a diſtinguiſhed figure in his correſpondence. They form the ſubject of many eloquent and glowing paſſages: and have ſometimes ſuggeſted ſentiments and expreſſions that cannot be peruſed without compaſſion and regret. The following paſſage is liberal and important:

'No man was ever ſcolded out of his ſins. The heart, corrupt as it is, and becauſe it is ſo, grows angry if it be not treated with ſome management, and good manners, and ſcolds again. A ſurly maſtiff will bear perhaps to be ſtroked, though he will growl even under that opera-

tion,

tion, but if you touch him roughly, he will bite. There is no grace that the spirit of self can counterfeit with more success than a religious zeal. A man thinks he is fighting for Christ, and he is fighting for his own notions. He thinks that he is skilfully searching the hearts of others, when he is only gratifying the malignity of his own; and charitably supposes his hearers destitute of all grace, that he may shine the more in his own eyes by comparison.' p. 179–180.

The following is in a fine style of eloquence:

'We have exchanged a zeal that was no better than madness, for an indifference equally pitiable and absurd. The holy sepulchre has lost its importance in the eyes of nations, called Christian; not because the light of true wisdom has delivered them from a superstitious attachment to the spot, but because he that was buried in it is no longer regarded by them as the Saviour of the world. The exercise of reason, enlightened by philosophy, has cured them indeed of the misery of an abused understanding, but together with the delusion they have lost the substance, and, for the sake of the lies that were grafted upon it, have quarrelled with the truth itself. Here, then, we see the *ne plus ultra* of human wisdom, at least, in affairs of religion. It enlightens the mind with respect to non-essentials; but with respect to that in which the essence of Christianity consists, leaves it perfectly in the dark. It can discover many errors, that in different ages have disgraced the faith; but it is only to make way for the admission of one more fatal than them all, which represents that faith itself as a delusion. Why those evils have been permitted, shall be known hereafter. One thing in the mean time is certain; that the folly and frenzy of the professed disciples of the gospel have been more dangerous to its interests than all the avowed hostilities of its adversaries.' p. 200–201.

There are many passages that breathe the very spirit of Christian gentleness and sober judgment. But when he talks of his friend Mr Newton's *prophetic* intimations (p. 35), and maintains that a great proportion of the ladies and gentlemen who amuse themselves with dancing at Brighthelmstone, must necessarily be damned (p. 100.), we cannot feel the same respect for his understanding, and are repelled by the austerity of his faith. The most remarkable passage of this kind, however, is that in which he supposes the death of the celebrated Captain Cook to have been *a judgement* on him for having allowed himself to be *worshipped* at Owhyhee. Mr Hayley assures us, in a note, that Cowper proceeded altogether on a misapprehension of the fact. The passage, however, is curious, and shews with what eagerness his powerful mind followed that train of superstition into which his devotion was sometimes so unfortunately betrayed.

'The reading of those volumes afforded me much amusement, and I hope some instruction. No observation, however, forced itself upon me with more violence than one, that I could not help making, on the death of Captain Cook. God is a jealous God, and at Owhyhee the

poor

poor man was content to be worshipped. From that moment, the remarkable interposition of Providence in his favour, was converted into an opposition that thwarted all his purposes. He left the scene of his deification, but was driven back to it by a most violent storm, in which he suffered more than in any that had preceded it. When he departed, he left his worshippers still infatuated with an idea of his godship, consequently well disposed to serve him. At his return, he found them sullen, distrustful, and mysterious. A trifling theft was committed, which, by a blunder of his own in pursuing the thief after the property had been restored, was magnified to an affair of the last importance. One of their favourite chiefs was killed, too, by a blunder. Nothing, in short, but blunder and mistake attended him, 'till he fell breathless into the water, and then all was smooth again. The world indeed will not take notice, or see that the dispensation bore evident marks of divine displeasure; but a mind, I think, in any degree spiritual, cannot overlook them.' p. 293-294.

From these extracts, our readers will now be able to form a pretty accurate notion of the contents and composition of this volume. Its chief merit consists in the great ease and familiarity with which every thing is expressed, and in the simplicity and sincerity in which every thing appears to be conceived. Its chief fault, perhaps, is the too frequent recurrence of these apologies for dull letters, and complaints of the want of subjects, that seem occasionally to bring it down to the level of an ordinary correspondence, and to represent Cowper as one of those who make every letter its own subject, and correspond with their friends by talking about their correspondence.

Besides the subjects of which we have exhibited some specimens, it contains a good deal of occasional criticism, of which we do not think very highly. It is not easy, indeed, to say to what degree the judgements of those who live in the world are biassed by the opinions that prevail in it; but, in matters of this kind, the general prevalence of an opinion is almost the only test we can have of its truth; and the judgement of a secluded man is almost as justly convicted of error, when it runs counter to that opinion, as it is extolled for sagacity, when it happens to coincide with it. The critical remarks of Cowper furnish us with instances of both sorts, but perhaps with most of the former. His admiration of Mrs Macaulay's History, and the rapture with which he speaks of the Henry and Emma of Prior, and the compositions of Churchill, will not, we should imagine, attract the sympathy of many readers, or suspend the sentence which time appears to be passing on these performances. As there is scarcely any thing of love in the poetry of Cowper, it is not very wonderful that there should be nothing of it in his correspondence. There is something very tender and amiable in his affection

affection for his cousin Lady Hesketh; but we do not remember any passage where he approaches to the language of gallantry, or appears to have indulged in the sentiments that might have led to its employment. It is also somewhat remarkable, that during the whole course of his retirement, though a good deal embarrassed in his circumstances, and frequently very much distressed for want of employment, he never seems to have had an idea of betaking himself to any profession. The solution of this difficulty is probably to be found in the infirmity of his mental health: but there were ten or twelve years of his life, when he seems to have been fit for any exertion that did not require a public appearance, and to have suffered very much from the want of all occupation.

This volume closes with a fragment of a poem by Cowper, which Mr Hayley was fortunate enough to discover by accident among some loose papers which had been found in the poet's study. It consists of something less than two hundred lines, and is addressed to a very ancient and decayed oak in the vicinity of Weston. We do not think quite so highly of this production as the editor appears to do; at the same time that we confess it to be impressed with all the marks of Cowper's most vigorous hand: we do not know any of his compositions, indeed, that affords a more striking exemplification of most of the excellencies and defects of his peculiar style, or might be more fairly quoted as a specimen of his *manner*. It is full of the conceptions of a vigorous and poetical fancy, expressed in nervous and familiar language; but it is rendered harsh by unnecessary inversions, and debased in several places by the use of antiquated and vulgar phrases. The following are about the best lines which it contains:

'Thou wast a bauble once; a cup and ball,
Which babes might play with; and the thievish jay
Seeking her food, with ease might have purloin'd
The auburn nut that held thee, swallowing down
Thy yet close-folded latitude of boughs,
And all thine embryo vastness, at a gulp.
But fate thy growth decreed: autumnal rains,
Beneath thy parent-tree, mellow'd the soil
Design'd thy cradle, and a skipping deer,
With pointed hoof dibbling the glebe, prepar'd
The soft receptacle, in which secure
Thy rudiments should sleep the winter through.'

'Time made thee what thou wast—King of the woods!
And time hath made thee what thou art—a cave
For owls to roost in! Once thy spreading boughs
O'erhung the champaign, and the numerous flock

That

That graz'd it, ſtood beneath that ample cope
Uncrouded, yet ſafe-ſheltered from the ſtorm.
No flock frequents thee now; thou haſt outliv'd
Thy popularity, and art become
(Unleſs verſe reſcue thee a while) a thing
Forgotten, as the foliage of thy youth!'

'One man alone, the father of us all,
Drew not his life from woman; never gaz'd,
With mute unconſciouſneſs of what he ſaw,
On all around him; learn'd not by degrees,
Nor ow'd articulation to his ear;
But moulded by his Maker into man
At once, upſtood intelligent, ſurvey'd
All creatures, with preciſion underſtood
Their purport, uſes, properties, aſſign'd
To each his name ſignificant, and fill'd
With love and wiſdom, render'd back to Heaven
In praiſe harmonious, the firſt air he drew.
He was excus'd the penalties of dull
Minority; no tutor charg'd his hand
With the thought-tracing quill, or taſk'd his mind
With problems; hiſtory, not wanted yet,
Lean'd on her elbow, watching time, whoſe courſe
Eventful, ſhould ſupply her with a theme;—' p. 415–416.

On the whole, though we complain a little of the ſize and the price of the volumes now before us, we take our leave of them with reluctance, and lay down our pen with no little regret, to think that we ſhall review no more of this author's productions.

Art. II. *Sur la Philoſophie Mineralogique, et ſur l'Eſpece Mineralogique.* Par le Citoyen D. Dolomieu. Paris. An IX.

THIS is the laſt bequeſt made to ſcience, by the powerful genius of Dolomieu. Educated to the profeſſion of arms, he was a late, but a zealous diſciple of ſcience; and, though his beſt years were waſted in the endleſs adjuſtment of monaſtic quarrels, he has done more for geology than any man who has preceded or followed him, unleſs an exception be made in favour of the illuſtrious De Sauſſure. Valuable as the writings of Dolomieu are, perhaps they do not convey an adequate idea of the capacity of his mind, or the vaſtneſs of his information. A life ſpent in continual activity left him few moments to arrange his obſervations, or to deſcribe the regions he viſited. Yet the detached eſſays he has publiſhed, are the moſt original and ingenious ſpeculations to which the ſtudy of the earth has yet given riſe; and his deſcriptions of the Lipari and Pontian Iſlands need no higher

praiſe,

praiſe, than they derive from a compariſon with the performances of other mineralogical travellers. His ardent purſuit of ſcience was aided by the remarkable acuteneſs of his talent for obſervation; and the knowledge which he had acquired, was ſpeedily diffuſed by the happy perſpicuity of his deſcriptions. But the boldneſs and improbability of his theories, the light grounds on which they were aſſumed, and the eaſe with which they were relinquiſhed, have been urged as proofs that his mind was frivolous, and his judgment defective.

We have ſeen too many remarkable inſtances of the triumphs of imagination, to allow the aſpect or deſcription of thoſe theoretic phantoms, which the wiſeſt of us are ſometimes amuſed by embodying, to have much weight in the appretiation of a man's intellectual powers. We conceive judgment to conſiſt rather in a nice adjuſtment of the ſeveral faculties of the mind, than in one independant quality. In this view, the judgment of Dolomieu cannot be diſputed; for he was moſt judicious in obſervation, and moſt judicious in deſcription. So accurate was his judgment in matters of ſcience, and ſo profound his contempt for the little jealouſies of theoriſts, that he repeatedly abandoned his own opinions, and adopted thoſe ſuggeſted by others, whoſe ingenuity he never failed to reward by ſuitable praiſe, and whoſe hints often received from him extenſion and conſiſtence. Never has the veracity of Dolomieu been queſtioned, or the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion ariſen, that he diſtorted facts to favour his hypothetical aſſumptions: His writings are referred to as *evidence*, by the moſt oppoſite theoriſts, and with a confidence equally implicit. In moſt inſtances, his opinions are ſtill the ſtandard of authority among the beſt informed geologiſts; and he has only been betrayed into idle ſpeculation on thoſe ſubjects, which have not derived additional illuſtration from the ſapient cogitations of his critics. *

Great as the individual exertions and ſucceſs of Dolomieu have been, they were ſurpaſſed by the indirect ſervices which he rendered to ſcience, by his zealous patronage of men of talents, by the frankneſs with which he communicated his ample ſtores of information to the young men who accompanied him in his travels, and by the unbounded liberality with which he diſtributed the rare and valuable ſubſtances he collected. Yet nearly two of the laſt years of this man's life were ſpent in priſons, into which he was thrown by a violent abuſe of arbitrary power; and nearly half

* Sir James Hall is an honourable exception; for his experiments on the tranſition from glaſs to ſtone have entirely obviated the difficulty which forced Dolomieu into one of his wildeſt conjectures.

half of that time he was confined in a dungeon, in whoſe mephitic atmoſphere ſuffocation would have enſued from a recumbent poſture, and where the violent efforts, ſometimes required to maintain reſpiration, made him vomit blood. In the ſolitude and horror of this dungeon, the plan of the work we are about to examine was conceived, and its arrangement digeſted. Portions of it were written between the lines of ſome books he accidentally retained, with ſplinters of wood inſtead of a pen, and with ink made by mixing the ſoot of his lamp with water. For his deliverance from this ſepulchral den, Dolomieu was chiefly indebted to the generous interpoſition of the Royal Society of London, and of their worthy preſident; and to the powerful influence of an heroic admiral, who endeavoured, by this act, to efface the ſtains which his glory had received from the imputation of a violated capitulation.

The health of Dolomieu, however, was never completely reſtored; and he died in leſs than a year after his releaſe, and ſoon after the termination of a journey in Switzerland, during part of which he was accompanied by a Dane, called Neergaard.

This perſonage has attempted to perform for Dolomieu the poſthumous attentions paid by Boſwell to Dr Johnſon, by Biſſet to Burke, and, in a more recent inſtance, by Miſs Seward to Dr Darwin. Like theſe illuſtrious biographers, he undoubtedly expects to enjoy celebrity, as high-prieſt in the Temple of Fame which he has erected; and, in this happy perſuaſion, he has given to the world, and more eſpecially to the trunk-makers and paſtry-cooks of Paris, a performance which boaſts three diſtinct titles: For, in the firſt page, it is called *Journal d'un Danois*; in the title page, *Journal du dernier Voyage du Citoyen Dolomieu*; and at the top of the firſt page of the text, *Journal de mon Voyage avec le Citoyen Dolomieu*. As the firſt and the laſt of theſe deſcriptions are in ſome degree applicable to the performance, we ſhall not ſtop to inquire what right the ſecond had to uſurp the title-page. Indeed, as the work is altogether foreign to the treatiſe we are about to conſider, we perhaps ought to diſmiſs it entirely; but there is ſomething ſo ſeducing in the ſound of *Dernier Voyage du Citoyen Dolomieu* (the title to which it has no real claim), that our readers may not think a very few obſervations entirely miſplaced, or devoid of intereſt.

Did we not know, that the Danes, in general, are more prudent than witty, we ſhould think the author of this '*Journal*' had been expatriated by the ridicule of his countrymen; but as the intelligent part of them would certainly have endeavoured to keep concealed ſo deplorable a ſpecimen of the breed, we have rejected this ſuppoſition in favour of another, which we have good

reaſon

reason to believe correct. Among those who bear sway in Denmark, some are to be found, who, from congeniality of sentiment and talent, have graciously considered M. Neergaard as a proper person to be fitted out as a scientific privateer, to accumulate and carry home the arts and sciences of Europe. Fortunately for the success and economy of this enterprize, M. Neergaard concentrates the most opposite attainments: he is equally profound in painting, music, chymistry, mineralogy, *belles lettres*, antiquities, and agriculture. In every page of this journal, he passes, with inimitable nimblenoss and facility, from one of these sciences to another, and thereby affords an attentive reader frequent opportunities of gleaning much diversified information.

He tells us, that Dolomieu had no theory at hand to explain the *Roche polie*, and that he wondered how Bonaparte and his cannon passed St Gothard; he finds, in the churches of Sion, the Madonna Santissima painted with the face of a Cretin; and we are informed, that Dolomieu gave alms to a cripple at the baths of Leuk, where the author drank excellent Muscat wine. Moreover, that the travellers were received at Leuk, in the house of a man who was 'not an innkeeper, but one of the first nobles of the country; that he charged them the value of what they eat; and that Dolomieu was much delighted with this *modern hospitality*.' After describing a cascade, he sagely remarks, that 'if travelling is expensive to him on one hand, it is economical on the other; for he will never make an artificial cascade, after seeing those of Norway and Switzerland.' We have translated this remark at full length, as it is infinitely the best in the book; and if M. Neergaard's resolution was generally adopted, much money might be saved, and the display of much bad taste prevented. As Saussure has already recorded some instances of the inhospitality of Alpine curés, our readers probably have been more surprised at M. Neergaard's late effort of sagacity, than they will be, at being informed that the pastor of St Roch refused bread to the travellers, though he afterwards gave some to their mules. Every one, however, may not be aware, that it is 'the mode in Switzerland, for persons to have a piece of chalk always in their hands to make calculations;' and, accustomed as we were to M. Neergaard's vivacity of transition, we were somewhat astonished at being told, immediately after a magnificent declamation of Dolomieu's on the best way of forming specimens, 'that every body there eats brocoli, a kind of cauliflower very common in Italy.'

During the time the travellers remained in the mountains, Dolomieu is occasionally seen, though kept as much as possible in the back-ground. The Dane Neergaard is every where the principal

cipal figure; and a Benedictine of Discoutir, whose brethren appear to have been concerned in a massacre of French prisoners, 'complimented him on the good reception Copenhagen had given the English.' After their arrival at Berne, Dolomieu almost entirely disappears; and the whole attention of M. Neergaard is occupied in panegyrizing some obscure artists, most of whom possess the limited and equivocal reputation he labours to attain for himself. The remainder of the volume contains sundry passages equally precious with those we have quoted; but we do not propose to increase our selection; and hasten to the conclusion, where we find, to our inexpressible satisfaction, that the travellers having separated some days before the commencement of Dolomieu's fatal illness, the tranquillity of his last hours was not disturbed by the impertinence of his *soi-disant* friend. *

Let us turn to a work of a very different cast, '*Sur la Philosophie Mineralogique.*'

The similarity of the title will not, we hope, induce any one to suppose that this tract resembles, in any respect, a book called the Philosophy of Mineralogy, which was published in this country some years ago. That was the crude performance of a man, who had just learnt enough of the German system, to observe some of its glaring defects, but who had not sufficient genius to suggest an adequate remedy; who, conceiving his imperfect and limited geological knowledge to comprise all the arcana of the science, imagined that an ill arranged compilation of the common-place notions on geology, and on the description and classification of minerals, could deserve the high-sounding title of the 'Philosophy of Mineralogy.'

The essay we are about to examine '*Sur la Philosophie Mineralogique,*'

* It is not our intention to be either the biographers or eulogists of Dolomieu; but we think it an honourable department of our duty to rescue illustrious characters from misrepresentation. Perhaps some of our readers may not have been informed, that, at an early period of his life, Dolomieu saved most of the sick in an hospital from being burnt to death, by exposing his own life in cutting off the communication of the flames—that at the most atrocious period of the Revolution he had the intrepidity to publish an eloquent tribute to the virtues of the murdered La Rochefoucault, and a terrible denunciation against his authorised assassins—that when, on his release from prison, the First Consul desired him to ask what he pleased, he was contented with demanding the erazure of his eldest brother's name from the list of emigrants—and that when he was elected a professor at the *Jardin des Plants*, he resigned his commission as engineer of mines, because, he said, many men of merit needed the salary more than he did.

ogique,' is the work of a man who was acquainted with all existing systems, and sensible of their defects; who had genius to devise a remedy, and judgment to point out its application. This work has nothing to do with present systems, but to expose their errors; and proceeds no farther in framing a new one, than to define, clearly, the line that should be pursued.

Mineralogy, properly so called, may be practical or philosophical. Its practical employment consists in the research and examination of all mineral substances, in recognizing and distinguishing them, in naming and arranging them in determinate species and convenient genera, in describing them with exactness, and assembling them to form collections. To philosophical mineralogy belong—the examination of methods practically employed—the investigation of all the properties of which minerals are susceptible, that from their comparison distinctive and specific characters may be deduced—the right of determining the meaning of the words employed, and of affixing precise and invariable terms to every modification of substances—the formation of methods for the arrangement and description of minerals—the right of criticizing systems proposed or adopted—the history of what has been done for the advancement of the science, and of the causes which have advanced or retarded it—and the indication of every thing that can facilitate the progress of the mineralogist, that can assist his labours, or simplify his researches.

Important as these considerations are, they have been treated with comparative neglect. The attention of mineralogists has been almost entirely occupied by the more showy toil of accumulating specimens into classes and genera, dividing them into species, and arranging them in cabinets. They forgot to examine, by strict philosophic inquiry, the foundation of their divisions, the justice of their criteria, or the propriety of their arrangement. Though no mineralogist, since the time of Bergman, has written expressly on the philosophical part of the subject, many have indirectly contributed to its advancement. Werner did much, by limiting the meaning of the terms employed, and by proving the vast utility of external characters in the discrimination of minerals. Yet Werner left the subject extremely imperfect, by his voluntary rejection of internal characters, and by his absolute neglect of all fixed rules in determining the species. This negligence, indeed, has been common to every system of mineralogy that has appeared, * and the most extraordinary and prejudicial confusion has resulted

* When Dolomieu composed this essay, the '*Traité de Mineralogie*' by Haüy was not published. In most respects it is composed on such a plan as he indicates.

reſulted from it. A number of minerals, from ſome imagined ſimilitude, have been huddled into a genus, and then, from fancied differences, have been ſplit into ſpecies. As the accumulation into genera generally preceded the diviſion into ſpecies, that operation became a fertile ſource of ſubſequent miſtakes. Sometimes the groſſeſt incongruities were united in the varieties of the ſame ſpecies; and ſometimes the ſainteſt ſhade of diſſimilarity conſtituted a ſeparate ſpecies.

With an amiable attention to the feelings of living authors, Dolomieu has ſelected the inſtances by which he illuſtrates theſe abſurdities, from Wallerius and Born, though he might have ſtrengthened his argument by approaching nearer to his own times. The arrangements he refers to are now generally allowed to be defective; but, unfortunately, the attempts to reform them have, in too many inſtances, been made by hands equally raſh and indeciſive with thoſe that committed the original miſtakes. It is only by examining, in detail, the ſources of error, that we can intercept their operation on future ſyſtems; and ſuch an inquiry is certainly one of the moſt important in which we can engage.

Nothing has contributed more copiouſly to the errors of mineralogy, than the perverſe and prevailing ſyſtem of eſtabliſhing *genera*, previous to the accurate diviſion into *ſpecies*. Other errors have proceeded from conſidering compound maſſes as ſpecies. Additional miſtakes have been created, by confounding the ſtrict mineralogical ſpecies with the conventional ſpecies of artiſts; and, from the cooperation of theſe cauſes, ſuch confuſion has been produced, that many naturaliſts have denied the poſſibility of limiting the mineralogical ſpecies, or, in other words, have denied that any real diſtinction of ſpecies exiſted.

By removing from our view all the deceptive circumſtances with which the conſideration of this ſubject has been embarraſſed, we ſhall find that the mineralogical ſpecies actually exiſts; that it is defined by a combination of the moſt invariable laws; that every ſpecies is repreſented by a molecule poſſeſſing properties whoſe aggregate is peculiar to itſelf; that every ſpecies of mineral is diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar molecule, and that each kind of molecule is always found in poſſeſſion of its characteriſtic properties; that a combination of ſimilar molecules can only conſtitute one ſpecies of mineral, and that the aggregate ſo formed will retain the characters of the molecules which form it.

We are informed by chemiſtry, that fragments from different parts of a homogeneous mineral are ſimilarly compoſed, and that minerals of the ſame phyſical characters yield ſimilar reſults; and therefore we are aſſured that the compoſition of the molecule

molecule is always the ſame in the ſame ſpecies. We find that, in breaking ſuch minerals as are ſuſceptible of mechanical diviſion, we always extract from the ſame ſubſtance ſolids of preciſely ſimilar forms. We alſo find that all the cryſtalline modifications of ſuch ſubſtance, are deducible from the accumulation of ſolids ſimilar to thoſe which we have mechanically extracted; and thence we acquire this moſt important information, that the molecule has an invariable form, determined with geometrical preciſion. We find that ſalts diſſolved and cryſtallized a thouſand times, never vary in their cryſtalline forms; and therefore we know that the molecule poſſeſſes an inherent cryſtalline polarity, which gives it an indefinite power of reproducing ſolids ſimilar in form and compoſition. We alſo find the magnetic phænomena to be attached to the ſmalleſt fragments of ſuch bodies as poſſeſs it in the maſs; and therefore we know magnetiſm to be inherent in the molecule.

The molecules of thoſe bodies which, by reſiſting our efforts to diſintegrate them, have hitherto been conſidered as ſimple, can only be deprived of their properties by combination with other elementary bodies. This combination generates new molecules, which cannot be taken away without effecting the decompoſition and deſtruction of the molecule. This may be accompliſhed, either by forming a new combination with a freſh ingredient, or by removing ſome of the conſtituent elementary particles. It may be obſerved, that this intimate union of the ultimate particles of ſubſtances rarely takes place among many ingredients, and that, in many molecules, only two ingredients are eſſential, and in few more than three.

Each molecule, therefore, however minute, has a certain compoſition, is inveſted with a determinate form, and poſſeſſed of unalterable phyſical characters. It therefore is an individual, and the repreſentative of a ſpecies. The accumulation of ſuch molecules, in the moſt favourable circumſtances, would generate regular cryſtals poſſeſſing the form of the molecule, or derivable from it, and inveſted with all the properties which the molecule poſſeſſes. The accumulation of different molecules would form another ſpecies; and there can be no binary or other combination of molecules to form intermediate ſpecies.

But though intermediate ſpecies cannot exiſt, it is but rarely that minerals are found in a ſtate of aggregation fit for diſplaying all the properties of the molecule, or uncontaminated by paraſitical ſubſtances. If the molecules are ſuſpended in a fluid, if they are in a pulverulent ſtate, or forming an amorphous maſs, the developement of many of their properties is neceſſarily prevented. The moſt important of them all, the regularity of form, is entirely concealed; and if other characters are not

found ſufficient to diſcriminate the ſpecies, recourſe muſt be had to the analytic inveſtigation of its components. Thus, if the fluid be homogeneous, the ſpecies may be detected; if the powder be unmixed, its compoſition may be found out; the amorphous maſs may poſſeſs ſuch internal arrangement, that the direction of the natural joints may be obſerved, and conſequently the form of the molecule may be determined; and, even when arrangement is wanting, the taſk of diſcrimination may be performed by numerous diſtinct phyſical qualities.

It is not, however, the variety of aggregation that proves the moſt abundant ſource of error, but the adventitious additions which contaminate minerals. Some of theſe ſeem to adhere to the molecule itſelf, to be even inſinuated as paſſive ingredients into its compoſition, to be enveloped during the aggregation of molecules into cryſtals, and, ſtill more abundantly, during their conſolidation into irregular maſſes. Theſe ſuperfluities in no reſpect alter the form or properties of the molecule, and their quantity is rarely ſufficient to affect, in any conſiderable degree, the apparent reſults of analyſis. As chemiſtry cannot ſeparate them, it is only by obſerving their want of influence that their ſuperfluity can be aſcertained. Though theſe ſuperfluities may not affect the eſſential properties of the molecule, there may be many cauſes in which they may vary ſome of its phyſical characters. Thus, all varieties of colour are produced by ſuperfluous matter; and when it is added in greater abundance, it affects the tranſparency, and perhaps the hardneſs of the ſubſtance, and may vary the action of chemical teſts. The ſuperfluous matter may be increaſed to ſuch an amount, that it may exceed in quantity the molecules of the ſubſtance, which may nevertheleſs retain its characteriſtic qualities. Thus the (improperly ſo called) cryſtallized ſand-ſtone of Fountainbleau, contains more ſilex than carbonated lime; and yet the cryſtals, ſo charged, aſſume one of the regular forms of carbonated lime, effervesce with acids, and are decompoſed by heat.

The changes *thus* induced in the phyſical conſtitution of the ſpecies, neither form new ſpecies, nor are they properly varieties of the original one: they are mere imperfections. Yet even theſe imperfections may be of important uſe in diſcriminating ſpecies, though particular care muſt be taken not to fall into the very common error of founding the diſtinctions of ſpecies upon them. It ſhould never be forgotten that the ſapphire, the ruby, and the topaz of the Eaſt, in defiance of the ſuperior judgement of the natives of the countries where they are found, have been ſeparated into three ſpecies by all the mineralogiſts in Europe, merely becauſe the one was blue, the other red, and the third

third yellow; and it required ſome years of controverſy, with all the ſagacity of Mr Greville, the cryſtallographical ſkill of Count Bournon, and the analytical ability of Mr Chenevix, to produce a conviction of their identity. Yet, we repeat it, there *is no difference* between theſe bodies except in colour! The ſame talents that have determined the propriety of their union, have alſo united with them the corundum, or adamantine ſpar; a ſubſtance which preſents much more ſtriking diverſity to the eye, though in every eſſential character it coincides, and in compoſition is exactly the ſame. Let this inſtance ſuffice to ſhow the wretched errors into which thoſe muſt fall who claſs minerals by the luſtre or the hue, and who, conſequently, are almoſt invariably guided by their imperfections inſtead of their eſſential characters.

In the formation of ſpecies, nothing ſhould be conſidered but the inalienable characters of the molecule; but in the diſtribution of ſpecimens to the ſpecies to which they appertain, recourſe muſt be had, not only to ſuch of the characters of the molecule as are never concealed, but alſo to the paraſitical characters cauſed by the ſuperfluous matter which attaches itſelf to the molecules. Though the conſtant occurrence of ſimilar imperfections ſhould in no reſpect whatever influence the formation of ſpecies, they may afford moſt uſeful diſtinctive criteria; and their union with other characters, in themſelves unimportant, may form an evidence ſufficiently deciſive of the nature of particular ſpecimens. To ſtrengthen this evidence, many extrinſic circumſtances may be taken into conſideration. Independent of the characters derivable from the eſſential properties of the molecule, the general aſſumption of a particular colour may afford a ſtrong preſumption. Other ſpecies may be diſtinguiſhed by their affecting peculiar diſpoſitions of the molecules, as by their cryſtals being generally of one form, or generally defective, or aſſuming particular indeterminate forms, or being always amorphous. Other indications, equally important, may be derived from aſſociation; for it is aſcertained, that certain minerals are almoſt invariably found together, and that others are always diſunited. In ſecondary rocks we need not look for primitive minerals. We know that lavas generally contain certain bodies; and therefore the knowledge that the baſis is a lava, affords a preſumption that the imbedded ſubſtances only belong to a few ſpecies which are eaſily diſtinguiſhable from one another.

It is not enough to be informed of the characters which ſerve to unite individual ſpecimens to a given ſpecies: we muſt alſo poſſeſs a knowledge of the points of reſemblance between differ-

ent ſpecies, that a contraſt may be oppoſed to each ſimilitude. The chemiſt finds a ſufficient contraſt in the analyſis. The mineralogiſt ſeeks it in the phyſical characters. The union of diſtinctive characters forms the ſpecific character of a ſpecies which may conſiſt of one property or of ſeveral; and there are few ſubſtances which do not require the union of ſeveral properties to form it. We can affirm of the diamond, that it is harder than any known body; and this may ſerve as its ſpecific character: but there are few ſubſtances which poſſeſs any one property ſo univerſally peculiar. For it muſt be remembered, that the ſpecific character is to diſtinguiſh the ſpecies from every other ſubſtance, though each of the diſtinctive characters of which it is compoſed may only ſerve to ſeparate it from a particular ſpecies.

As the ſpecies is capable of being defined with the moſt rigorous preciſion, it ought to form the baſis of every methodical arrangement. No ſubſtance can be admiſſible into any ſtrict mineralogical ſyſtem, which is not referable to ſome ſpecies; and every ſpecies may be conſidered as the centre, round which all its varieties are to be collected. Genera ought to be formed by the union of ſpecies, and from ſimilarities derivable from their eſſential characters, and not from their imperfections. This is comparatively an unimportant taſk; for it was truly ſaid by Buffon, that 'ſcience makes the ſpecies, and ignorance the genera;' and provided the analogy, on which the congregation into genera proceeds, be ſtrictly obſerved, it is of little importance which is aſſumed of the numerous relations that preſent themſelves.

But it is obvious, that there are a formidable number of compound bodies which this arrangement would exclude from methodical mineralogy, and which are of vaſtly too great importance to be treated with neglect. Where their components are diſtinguiſhable by the ſeveral teſts we have it in our power to apply, they may be claſſed as compounds, and deſcribed by the enumeration of their components; but in the more numerous inſtances, where the particles that form them are too minute to be recogniſed, there ſeems to be no other reſource, than to refer them to geology, to whoſe province they belong, to arrange them according to their relative poſition and combinations, and to deſcribe them according to ſuch phyſical characters as they poſſeſs. As all theſe ſubſtances are liable to perpetual mutability of compoſition, theſe characters cannot be permanent or unchanging, though they may be in ſome degree regulated by the geological relations which afford the only means of determining the nature of heterogeneous maſſes, unleſs recourſe be

had

had to the endleſs toil of analyſes, whoſe reſults muſt vary in every ſpecimen. Theſe maſſes cannot conſtitute ſpecies, though they form rocks of a particular *ſort*; and that term ſeems to be the moſt applicable to them, as well as to theſe conventional ſpecies depending on particular and unphiloſophical conſiderations which artiſts have laviſhly invented.

It ſeems obvious, that the adoption of the ſtrict rules of inveſtigation here recommended, would operate moſt beneficially in aiding the progreſs of mineralogy, and in facilitating the acquiſition of what is already known. The attention, inſtead of being unprofitably directed to frivolous *minutiæ*, would be centred on a few grand eſſentials, the acquiſition of which would not merely ſerve to form mineralogical diſtinctions, but to convey an important knowledge of the nature of the ſubſtance, by enforcing attention to its phyſical properties. Mineralogy would be ſimplified by the rejection of unneceſſary ſpecies, and by the ſubdiviſion of ſuch as were incongruouſly comprehenſive. The ſubjection of all unknown ſubſtances to rigorous examination, would either aſcertain their union with a ſpecies already known, or legitimate their claims to forming a ſeparate ſpecies. Geology would become an eſſential branch of knowledge; ſo that no mere mineralogiſt of the cabinet could exiſt. The chaos of improper appellations would in time be done away; and mineralogy, thus ſimplified and extended, would become more acceſſible, comprehenſive, and important.

In this ſhort abſtract, we have not exactly followed the arrangement of the original work, nor have we entered into the collateral diſcuſſions which appeared not intimately connected with the ſubject, or to be of little conſequence in its conſideration. We have not followed Dolomieu in his attempt to fix the meaning of certain words he employs, becauſe they only apply to thoſe *minutiæ*, into the diſcuſſion of which our limits do not permit us to enter; and we here confined our endeavours to laying before our readers the ſcope and the ſtrength of his argument. Though we might complain that, in this work, Dolomieu has ſometimes been tedious, and ſometimes frivolous, and that he has too often reſorted to the inaccuracy of metaphorical illuſtration, we conſider his object as completely and deciſively eſtabliſhed; and we venture to hope, that no future fabricator of a ſyſtem of mineralogy will forget, that each ſpecies is capable of the moſt rigorous definition; that genera are to be formed from ſpecies, and not ſpecies from genera; that the imperfections of individual ſpecimens ought never to conſtitute ſpecies; and that ſuch maſſes as, by the mutability of their compoſition, or variability of their characters, cannot be conſtantly referred to any

definite ſpecies, are not to be intruded into ſyſtematic mineralogy at all, but are to be transferred to their geological relations. After ſo maſterly an expoſition of the capabilities of this ſcience, no indulgence, we think, ſhould be ſhown to thoſe whoſe weakneſs or perverſion of intellect ſhall hereafter allow them to neglect or abandon the ſtraight line which the illuſtrious hand of Dolomieu has traced, and thus retard, by retrograde or erring movements, the march of that ſcience they pretend to advance.

ART. IV. *The Georgics of Virgil.* Tranſlated into Engliſh verſe by William Sotheby Eſq.

THE author of this tranſlation has deſervedly the character of a refined and elegant ſcholar. He is known to the public by numerous productions, but principally by the tranſlation of Wieland's Oberon; a charming poem, in the peruſal of which we forget the ſober and ſceptical criticiſm of the age in which we live, and willingly indulge to a modern writer that licenſe of wild and extravagant fiction which has been uſually confined to the ſpecious miracles of antiquity. * He has now ventured on a bolder taſk, in clothing with an Engliſh dreſs the moſt perfect, though not the loftieſt monument of Roman art and genius. No writer has rivalled Virgil in the charms of his diction, or the elaborate beauty of his phraſeology: and the poem before us is Virgil's moſt abſolute and complete performance. It contains no careleſs paſſages, by improving which a tranſlator may hope to atone for inferiority, where his original is diſtinguiſhed by unuſual delicacy or vigour. There is here no current of narration, which, by intereſting the reader in the progreſs of events, may prevent him from obſerving very carefully the finiſhing and felicity of the expreſſion. Theſe, from the very nature of the caſe, muſt generally evaporate in the tranſfuſion from one language into another. Mr Sotheby, however, has diſcharged his arduous undertaking with great and unuſual ſucceſs. He has run the ſame

* It does not ſeem to be generally known, in this country, that the Oberon of Wieland is itſelf a tranſlation from an old French Romance, entitled, Sir Huon of Bourdeaux. The German poet has improved and decorated the fable with much ingenuity, but its groundwork is not altered. The ornaments, too, of the romance and of the poem, are uſually ſimilar. M. Petit de la Croix is ſaid to have been largely indebted to the ſame book in his Perſian Tales. The romance ſeems not to be of a date prior to the invention of printing.

same race with some of the first and most celebrated worthies of English poetry, and he has manifestly distanced his competitors. He will not thank us for indiscriminate approbation; and his pretensions, even in the attempt to translate the Georgics, are so extremely high, that he must excuse us, if at any time we may seem fastidious in pointing out what we think defects in its execution.

One objection, *in limine*, we feel ourselves called upon to make, to the Darwinian modulation with which Mr Sotheby's versification is infected. Of this tendency in the author we were not apprised till we entered upon the present work. His Oberon, by which he was principally known to us before, is written in the stanza metre, to which the false decorations which Dr Darwin has introduced into the common iambic measure, are not to be easily transferred. They are ornaments which can scarcely be worn but with a particular habit. We think ourselves fortunate that, at entering upon Mr Sotheby's version of the Georgics, we had no previous knowledge of his connexion with this school of writing. Such an impression would have excited in us so violent a prejudice against the man who could think of violating the matron-like simplicity of the Mantuan bard, with glittering and meretricious graces, that we could hardly have reduced ourselves to the temperament of impartial judges; and in our indignation at the deserters from genuine English, we should not perhaps have been able to discover that, though Mr Sotheby had made several excursions into the enemy's country, and, in some instances, imbibed their manners, and acquired their complexion, yet that at the bottom he was a native still, and redeemed his delinquency by many and unsophisticated excellences.

The reader, however, will not doubt but that we can substantiate our charge of *Darwinianism*, after he has perused the following passages.

B. II. 323. *Ver adeò frondi nemorum*, &c. is thus translated;

'Spring comes, new bud the field, the flow'r, the grove
Earth swells, and claims the genial seeds of love:
Æther, great lord of life, his wings extends,
And on the bosom of his bride descends,
With show'rs prolific feeds the vast embrace
That fills all nature, and renews her race.
Birds on their branches hymeneals sing,
The pastur'd meads with bridal echoes ring;
Bath'd in soft dew, and fann'd by western winds,
Each field its bosom to the gale unbinds:
The blade dares boldly rise new suns beneath,
The tender vine puts forth her flexile wreath,
And, freed from southern blast and northern shower,
Spreads without fear, each blossom, leaf, and flower.'

IV.

IV. 30. *Hæc circum caſiæ*, &c.

'There all her ſweets let ſavoury exhale,
Thyme breathe her ſoul of fragrance on the gale,
In dulcet ſtreams her roots green caſia lave,
And beds of violets drink at will the wave.'

IV. 236. *Illis ira modum ſupra eſt*, &c.

'The injur'd ſwarms with rage inſatiate glow,
Barb every ſhaft, and poiſon every blow,
Deem life itſelf to vengeance well reſign'd,
Die on the wound, and leave their ſtings behind.'

This laſt paſſage is happily rendered; but we are inclined to ſuſpect that the tranſlator fancied the bees of Virgil to have ranged in gardens particularly dedicated to botany; that they were protected by 'aerial powers hovering round,' who pointed their ſtings, and animated 'their tiny bands' to vengeance.

A literal uninjured tranſmiſſion of ſentiment from a dead into a living language is generally impoſſible. Adherence to the letter, where it enervates the ſpirit, is the moſt unpardonable infidelity: and a certain degree of licenſe, in conſideration of the difficulty attending on his office, is allowed to the poetical tranſlator; as, in diplomacy, conſiderable diſcretionary powers are veſted in the ambaſſador at a diſtant court. A poet has authority entruſted to him, to complete a picture of which, the outlines only are ſuggeſted by his original; and, while he preſerves the character of the landſcape, to vary the light and ſhade with which it is inveſted. But this licenſe, which is never to be uſed raſhly, is always dangerous in the application. It requires a taſte more than uſually accurate, a thorough perception of that mind, the ſcope and lineaments of which are to be expreſſed, and a kindred ſpirit. It is carried, perhaps, to its greateſt allowable extent, where Dryden, in his tranſlation of the 12th Æneid, having deſcribed Iuturna precipitating herſelf into the river Tiber, from the effect of a phrenzied and ſorrowful deſpair, adds, with happy audacity to the deſcription of Virgil, that celebrated line,

'And her laſt ſobs came bubbling up in air.'

We could point out many inſtances in which Mr Sotheby has uſed the ſame bold freedom with felicity. To the deſcription of the manner in which the bees recruit their waſting numbers, is added, with great happineſs, in the tranſlation before us, the ſeaſon of the year when the hive may moſt poetically be ſuppoſed to acquire this fabled acceſſion to its citizens. B. IV. v. 255. of the tranſlation,

'By inſtinct led, *at ſpring-tide's genial hour*,
They gather all the race from herb and flower.'

So alſo, B. II. 149. *Hic ver aſſiduum atque alienis menſibus æſtas*,

is converted, with great taste, into a description more vivid and particular,

'And winter wears a wreath of summer flowers.'

We do not think it fair to attribute the *whole* merit of these elegancies to the rhyme; though rhyme, probably, is as often the connecting cause of poetical invention, as the bond by which it is constrained. We attribute great merit to Mr Sotheby for the translation of these passages; but we have to complain, that though he is to be commended for having often varied, judiciously, the drapery, he has also often violated the costume of Virgil.

The celebrated lines, B. I. 328. *Ipse pater mediâ nimborum in nocte, &c.* are rendered by Dryden with great spirit. The present translation has the merit of more stately versification, and greater fidelity.

'The Thunderer, thron'd in clouds, with darkness crown'd,
Bares his red arm, and flashes lightnings round.
The beasts are fled: earth rocks from pole to pole,
Fear walks the world, and bows th' astonish'd soul:
Jove rives with fiery bolt Ceraunia's brow,
Or Athos blazing 'mid eternal snow.'

It is to be regretted that, after having executed the rest so well, the translator should have deviated from his original, for the purpose of introducing so quaint an antithesis as this, between the cold snow and the hot thunderbolt which blazed on Athos. Had he been busied with the snowy mantle, the icy beard, and the rivers which trickle down the chin of Atlas in the fourth Æneid, we would have excused a similar addition to the picture, but here every thing is grand and simple.

This 'blazing amid snow' belongs, indeed, partly to a vitiated mode of expression, to which Mr Sotheby is partial. Book II. line 82. of the translation, we have 'toils that never tire,' without any perceivable reason why they should not produce the usual effect of toil: Book I. 114. Tr. 'The chill north blisters as it blows:' I. 378. Tr., and again IV. 645. Tr. 'The river freezes as it flows:' I. 94. Tr. The vetch and lupine 'Bow'd to the gale, and rattled as it blew:' Book IV. 305. Why should Virgil's '*Zephyris primùm impellentibus undis,*' be translated,

'——when first young zephyr laves
His sportive pinions in the vernal waves.'

III. 49. '*Seu quis Olympiacæ miratus præmia palmæ.*'

'Does fame for Pisa's palm the courser rear?'

In these, and in other passages, why should metaphorical agency be introduced where Virgil, 'the great master of proprieties,' uses the language of simple precept?

A similar admixture of injudicious circumstances, or affected expression, is a blemish to this work in many of its most interesting

ing parts; and it is a blemiſh from which the original is free, beyond all other writers. We wiſh that Mr Sotheby, in preparing a new edition of his verſion, which, we believe, is loudly called for, would diſcard ſuch prettineſſes, and aſſume a dignity more worthy his own talents, and the majeſty of his incomparable author. The taſk will not be a long or tedious one,

To rip the *tinſel* ' from the ſatin
Of that pure uncorrupted Latin. '

That he is competent to better things, no perſon can doubt, who will read his tranſlation of that noble apoſtrophe to ruſtic happineſs, II. 459. *O fortunatos nimium*, &c.

' Ah! happy ſwain! ah! race belov'd of heaven!
If known thy bliſs, how great the bleſſing given!
For thee juſt earth from her prolific beds
Far from wild war ſpontaneous nurture ſheds.
Though nor high domes through all their portals wide
Each morn diſgorge the flatterer's refluent tide;
Though nor thy gaze on gem-wrought columns reſt,
The brazen buſt, and gold-embroider'd veſt;
Nor poiſoning Tyre thy ſnowy fleeces ſoil,
Nor caſia taint thy uncorrupted oil;
Yet peace is thine, and life that knows no change,
And various wealth in Nature's boundleſs range,
The grot, the living fount, the umbrageous glade,
And ſleep on banks of moſs beneath the ſhade;
Thine, all of tame and wild, in lawn and field,
That paſtur'd plains or ſavage woodlands yield:
Content and patience youth's long toils aſſuage,
Repoſe and reverence tend declining age:
There Gods yet dwell, and, as ſhe fled mankind,
There Juſtice left her laſt lone trace behind. '

This is admirable. We beg leave to refer alſo to Book I. 393 & 466; II. 136; and IV. 219.

We have already adverted to the known neceſſity of permitting conſiderable liberty of word and ſentiment to a tranſlator, that he may be able to fulfil his part with vigour and ſucceſs. That this neceſſity has been much exaggerated by Dryden, and moſt of the tranſlators who formed themſelves on his model, the Georgics now preſented to the public are a ſufficient proof. It is the cloſeſt verſion of a claſſic author, that we have ſeen, deſerving the name of poetry, and it owes much of its excellence and ſpirit to its fidelity. Some of its brighteſt paſſages are thoſe which are the moſt literal.

Book I. 34. ——*tibi brachia contrahit ingens*
Scorpius, &c.

' Scorpius, even now, each ſhrinking claw confines,
And more than half his heaven to thee reſigns. '

Book

Book I. 247. *Illic ut perhibent,* &c.

'There night, eternal night, and ſilence ſleep,
And gathering darkneſs broods upon the deep:
Or, from our clime when fades the orient ray,
There bright Aurora beams returning day:
And when above Sol's fiery courſers glow,
Late Veſper lights his evening ſtar below.'

If the laſt line but one had been ſtill more rigidly exact, as it might eaſily have been, the ſtrength and harmony of the period would not have been impaired.

We have compared ſome of Dryden's beſt paſſages with the parallel tranſlation of Mr Sotheby: and though we find in Dryden a flow and exuberance of language almoſt peculiar to that great and intereſting poet, it would be unjuſt not to allow to the preſent tranſlator the palm of ſuperiority. Much of Dryden's exuberance proceeds from a want of ſcrupulous accuracy: but it is remarkable that he is often indebted for his energy to an adherence to words which Mr Sotheby has too haſtily forſaken, or from a preſervation of individual circumſtances, which Mr Sotheby has reduced to general terms.

Book I. 462. *——nam ſæpe videmus*
Ipſius in vultu varios errare colores.

'For oft we find him finiſhing his race
With various colours erring on his face.' DRYDEN

'But chief obſerve, along his weſtern way,
Each hue that varies at the cloſe of day.' SOTHEBY.

In the ſtory of Orpheus too: *Septem illum totos,* &c. The ſeven continued months are retained by Dryden; while, in the preſent tranſlation, we are ſurpriſed to find, 'He many a month.' Is it poſſible that a man, ſo practiſed in poetry as Mr Sotheby, can be ignorant how great a charm is added to the expreſſion by a ſtudious adherence to particulars? Does he not know how mean and beggarly a nameleſs mountain would appear in compariſon of 'the froſty Caucaſus?' Would he ſubſtitute 'many a ſylph,' in the room of the fifty choſen guardians who protect the petticoat; or would he conſent that an indefinite ſea ſhould ſupplant 'the Caſpian?' But 'many a' is a favourite expreſſion of Mr Sotheby. In the firſt book, it occurs four times within the ſpace of leſs than forty lines; and in the whole tranſlation ſo frequently as to be diſguſting.

We proceed to ſome detached obſervations on certain lines which we have ſelected from thoſe which ſeem to require alteration, without thinking it neceſſary to apologize for the minuteneſs of our obſervations. Every perſon who has practiſed metrical compoſition, is conſcious of the importance of verbal niceties and diſtinction; and, as has been before mentioned, in a tranſlation

ſlation of the Georgics, the ſtricteſt accuracy may juſtly be expected.

I. 28. *Omnia liberius*, &c. 'And the free earth unaſk'd but gave the more.' *Liberius ferebat* implies, ſimply, *brought forth abundantly.*

I. 281. 'On Pelion Oſſa upheave.' A very heavy line and harſh eliſion, produced by a fooliſh attempt at imitative harmony.

II. 130. *Ac membris agit atra venena*, 'the draught of hell, is very grating to our ears; and ſimilar expreſſions occur more than once.

III. 139. *Exactis gravidæ cum menſibus errant.* 'Ah! ſooth her weakneſs!' The exclamation is miſplaced. Virgil would not have prefaced his directions with an Ah! or with an O! It is eaſy to try the experiment on the original, and its incongruous effect will immediately be diſcovered.

III. 201. *Ille volat, ſimul arva fugâ, ſimul æquora verrens.*

'While his fleet wings at once the earth and ocean ſweep.'

Cannot poets be taught by the example of Pope's Camilla, that the Alexandrine is a very unhappy contrivance to expreſs velocity?

III. 409. Tr. *Cicada* neither is nor ought to be an Engliſh word.

III. 417. *Stills*; and IV. 88. *Shrilly*, we think exceptionable.

III. 437. *Quum poſitis novus exuviis*, &c.

'When caſt his ſlough, and ſcorn'd his famiſh'd young.'

Virgil does not mean to intimate any parental negligence in the ſerpent; but, in ſaying that he leaves his young, means ſimply to recal that period of year when the ſerpent, in common with other animals, is fierceſt and moſt irritable. '*Tum ſævus aper, tum peſſima tigris.*'

III. 453. Tr. 'Breath *palpable to touch* at once deſcends,
And rigid ice from matted beards depends.'

The ſecond of theſe lines is an exact tranſlation. If the tautology in the firſt line had been omitted, it would have been better. If the whole line, which is a gratuitous patch upon Virgil, were to be eraſed, better ſtill.

IV. 127. Tr. 'All glorious to behold.' Hardly to be tolerated, even in pſalmody.

IV. 296. Tr. 'She pours her pale ray.' We muſt enter our proteſt againſt the too common practice of introducing *pale*, *ſoft*, and *fair*, and other *ſweet* monoſyllables into the accented places of heroic meaſure.

IV. 453. *Non te nullius exercent numinis iræ;*
Magna tuis commiſſa: tibi has miſerabilis Orpheus
Haudquaquam ob meritum pœnas, ni fata reſiſtant,
Suſcitat, et raptâ graviter pro conjuge ſævit.

'Great

> ' Great is thy guilt; on thy devoted head
> Indignant gods no common vengeance ſhed;
> Sad Orpheus, doom'd, without a crime, to mourn
> His raviſh'd bride that never ſhall return;' &c.

The ſenſe of the original we conceive here to be entirely miſtaken. The diſaſters of the young Theſſalian befel him not as a puniſhment for any ſuppoſed ' guilt' which attached to his purſuit of Eurydice, but as the vengeance of Nemeſis for his having been the involuntary occaſion of her death. This involuntary crime, if it may be ſo called, was the ' commiſſum' for which Ariſtæus ſuffered. The ' Haudquaquam ob meritum' in the third line, refers not to Orpheus, but to the ſame unintentional offender. That actions, indifferent in themſelves, from which death incidentally may have reſulted, required expiation, is ſupported by all the concurrent evidence of antiquity.

To conclude. If this be not the moſt perfect tranſlation of a claſſic poet now extant in our language, it aſſuredly is capable of being advanced to that high diſtinction. We ackowledge ourſelves ſincerely indebted to Mr Sotheby; and we repeat our wiſhes, that he may be diſpoſed to purſue the path upon which he has ſo happily entered. If he is inclined to rely on his general merits, as an excuſe for partial inaccuracy in taſte or in expreſſion, we cannot altogether reſiſt the plea. We think it, however, unbecoming the tranſlator of the Georgics, for reaſons which we have already mentioned—the didactic ſcheme, the finiſhed elegance, and purity of the original. We renew, therefore, our wiſhes, that he would exert deſerved ſolicitude in the reviſal of his work, and that the excellence he has already attained may be an incentive to farther improvement.

Σπαρτην ἐλαχες, ταυτην κοσμει.

Art. V. *Indian Recreations: Conſiſting chiefly of Strictures on the Domeſtic and Rural Economy of the Mahommedans and Hindoos.* By the Reverend W. Tennant, LL.D. M. A. S. and lately one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in India. 2 Vol. 8vo. pp. 834. Edinburgh, Anderſon: London, Longman & Rees. 1803.

From the earlieſt times, India has attracted the commercial enterpriſe of Europe, and the acquiſition of the trade of that country ſeems almoſt to have fixed an æra in the civilization of the nations by whom it has been ſucceſſively engroſſed. By England it has been cultivated to a far greater extent than by any other people. To our monopoly of this ancient and favourite branch of commerce, we have added a vaſt dominion; and every diſcuſſion or reſearch connected with that quarter of the world

has

has now become of the utmoſt urgency and importance, as the rapidity with which our empire has been acquired has hitherto afforded us but little leiſure to deliberate in what manner it might be beſt ſecured, or moſt advantageouſly governed. The great and the fundamental principle of our government, indeed, appears to us to be obvious, that the people inhabiting thoſe kingdoms and provinces which have been reduced under our dominion in Aſia, are become in every reſpect ſubjects of the ſame government under which we ourſelves live, and are conſequently entitled to all thoſe bleſſings of ſecurity and protection which that condition implies.

The improvement of the provinces of Bengal and the Carnatic ought therefore to be as much an object of attention, as the cultivation of the counties of Middleſex and Dublin; and the perſonal rights and civil liberty of the inhabitants of India are in every reſpect as much under the paternal government of the King, as the rights and privileges of the people of the united kingdom. The object of the Company being at firſt entirely commercial, its whole eſtabliſhment was calculated to promote the views and intereſts of the monopoly. Finding this form of adminiſtration the moſt manageable, and beſt adapted to its immediate views, a ſyſtem, in its nature entirely mercantile, and founded on the moſt narrow principles of policy, was extended to the government of diſtricts and of extenſive provinces. Its defects were early diſcovered indeed, and ſeverely felt; but ſuch is the force of eſtabliſhed habits, that no improvement was adopted until Mr Pitt's bill in 1784, at which time (though much ſtill remained to be done) the moſt prominent and glaring evils were undoubtedly corrected. It is to be recollected, however, that at that period the Company's poſſeſſions were inconſiderable, when compared with their preſent extent. A few agents could do all the buſineſs, and a ſmall army enforce all the orders of their employers; and the power which had not then excited univerſal jealouſy, could always command the aſſiſtance of one ſet of the native powers, when it was threatened with the hoſtility of another. Our ſituation in India is now extremely different. The finances of the Company are confeſſedly unequal to the maintenance of an army ſufficient for the defence and protection of our Aſiatic dominions *. The ſtate of theſe poſſeſſions is ſuch, that the preſence of a few Europeans, an irruption

* To be ſatisfied of this, it is ſufficient to look at the annual accounts laid before Parliament; the third report of the ſpecial committee, p. 83, &c.; and the Lord Viſcount Melville's letter to the Chairman, dated 30th June 1801.

ruption from Perſia, or an attack from the Burman empire, would ſhake our power to the foundation. The very extent of our poſſeſſions is their inſecurity. The ſcattered and unconnected ſtate of our forces, the diſtance at which our different military poſts neceſſarily muſt be from each other, weakens our means of defence, multiplies the opportunities of attack, and renders our detachments liable to be cut off, one by one, before a ſufficient body can be collected to reſiſt the torrent, while the very aſſembling ſuch a body of troops leaves a portion of country open to attack, or a prey to rebellion. When our dominions did not include the whole of the peninſula, our danger and inſecurity aroſe from the intrigues of cabinets, or from open and avowed hoſtility: to counteract the one, or to avert the other, an ambaſſador at each court of Hinduſtan was ſufficient. But now the danger lies every where concealed; it is not confined to one or two ſpots, but extends itſelf over the wide and almoſt boundleſs ſtretch of Engliſh India. An evil ſo extenſive might eſcape the vigilance even of the beſt conſtituted government; and it is not to be expected, that the youth who is ignorant of the language, manners, and cuſtoms of the people over whom he is placed, and with whom he never aſſociates, will be able to diſcover or counteract the ſecret machinations of ſedition, even if he ſhould poſſeſs more activity than our countrymen in Aſia are generally found to retain.

Upon a careful examination of the ſubject, it muſt appear, that the moſt effectual way to preſerve India and England together for the greateſt length of time, and for their greateſt mutual advantage, is to permit the colonization of that country under proper regulations. The fate of our American colonies ſeems to have frightened ſtateſmen even from taking into conſideration the policy of ſuch a meaſure; and their timidity has been ſedulouſly augmented by the influence of the excluſive trade. The two caſes, when compared, are however ſo very diſſimilar, that there is no arguing from the one to the other; and the independence of America can occaſion no ſerious alarm as to the ſecurity of our Indian poſſeſſions, if this meaſure were to be adopted. The colonization of India would take place under circumſtances altogether different from thoſe under which any other ſettlements have hitherto been founded by the Engliſh or any European nation. Few of the European colonies owe their exiſtence to great and liberal views of policy in the parent ſtate. Having been eſtabliſhed by perſecution, and having flouriſhed from neglect, they were permitted during their infancy to ſtruggle with all the difficulty and miſery of their ſituation, without receiving any aſſiſtance whatever from the tenderneſs of their parent.

Their poverty, however, protected them from oppreſſion; their diſtance and their wretchedneſs ſecured them from attack. Increaſing in numbers, and advancing in proſperity, their hardy manner of life inſpired them with the love of freedom; and, poſſeſſing within themſelves every thing neceſſary for their ſupport, they were aware and jealous of their importance. This proſperity, which made them more averſe to dependence, inflamed the deſire of the mother country to maintain them in it; and a ſtruggle enſued, embittered with all the acrimony which the charges of rebellion and of tyranny could occaſion. The Europeans who colonize India, will find themſelves placed in a ſituation differing in every particular from that of their brethren who cultivated the waſtes and woods of America. They will ſettle in a country inhabited by a numerous, induſtrious, and in many reſpects a highly civilized people, differing from them indeed in religion and manners, and probably inferior in vigour of character. The frequent and rapid intercourſe which now ſubſiſts between the two countries, will proportionably increaſe, and Engliſh manners and ideas will receive a conſtant ſupport in the new draughts from Europe. The principle of ſelf-defence will oblige them to preſerve a cloſe connexion with each other, and to depend upon the parent ſtate for aſſiſtance and ſupport in protecting them againſt the inſurrection of the natives, the inroads of the North, or the attacks from Europe; nor will this wealthy and proſperous colony have any reaſon to fear that neglect which was ſhown by the mother country to her weak and indigent ſettlements in the Weſt. The European, by preſerving that ſuperiority which the vigour of his character gives him over the natives, will be enabled, with their aſſiſtance, to reſiſt any external attacks to which the Engliſh empire may be expoſed. But the great and eſſential ſecurity which will be derived from the increaſe of Europeans, is the effectual check which will be given to all plots and conſpiracies among the native ſubjects of our empire. The intimate knowledge of their language and manners, which will naturally reſult from a more extended intercourſe, will enable us to diſcover and counteract every ſtep which may be taken to our prejudice; nor will the period be very diſtant, when a ſtronger and more laſting bond of union will ariſe, and a reciprocity of good offices attach the Indians to the Engliſh character and name.

But we muſt not deceive ourſelves, and argue as if we had it in our power to adopt or to reject this meaſure at our pleaſure. We forget that, even under the preſent ſyſtem, the colonization of India is going on, and upon the worſt of all principles: We forget that, though the Company can prevent an individual from

ſettling

ſettling at Calcutta, the obnoxious perſon can elude their power, by walking to the Daniſh ſettlement of Serampore, a diſtance of fifteen miles, whence he can only be removed by force. A remarkable inſtance of this happened lately; when a number of Baptiſt miſſionaries, wiſhing to ſettle at Calcutta, and being prevented by the authority of the Directors, immediately left the Preſidency, and went to Serampore, where they were permitted to enter upon the object of their miſſion. When the ſettlement of Chandernagore is reſtored to France, the danger and the difficulty will be increaſed in no ſmall degree; and we have every thing to dread from ſuch a *focus* of French intrigue in the very centre of our dominions. The conduct purſued by that power at Pondicherry, is a ſtriking proof of the truth of this obſervation.

The great increaſe of our Aſiatic empire has been productive of another conſequence, tending evidently to ſhake the foundations of the preſent ſyſtem of Indian government. When the trade was firſt eſtabliſhed, the writers, factors and merchants, who were ſent out to manage the commercial concerns of the company, were men in an inferior rank of life to thoſe who ſent them; they were accuſtomed to look up to the latter, as holding a higher ſituation in ſociety. To them, the habits of obedience were already familiar; nor was the capacity of their maſters unequal to the adminiſtration of a mercantile concern. As the Company extended their dominions, the plains of India began to offer a tempting proſpect to the younger branches of our noble and ancient families, who flocked to the Eaſt to accumulate a fortune, without tainting their dignity with the ſtain of trade. The ſame feelings (greatly increaſed by the exerciſe of unlimited power, and by the indulgence of every caprice) which made them flee from the exerciſe of a profeſſion, forbad them to engage in the concerns of the Company at home, the management of which fell into the hands of an equally worthy, but leſs noble ſet of men; and as the ſervants ſurpaſſed at home, in rank and in family conſequence, the maſters whom they were obliged to obey in India, it is not difficult to perceive that, even when abroad, they would pay infinitely leſs regard to the authority of the Company, than the ten factors and writers of the earlier ages of its exiſtence. This evil, it may alſo be obſerved, is not a little increaſed by the importance and rank which the governors of India enjoy in England. Indebted for their ſituation entirely to the patronage of the Crown, and uſually forming a part of the hereditary branch of the Legiſlature, they conſider themſelves rather as the comptrollers of the Company than the miniſters of its power; and there is reaſon to believe, that the

Directors have had to regret, more than once, that their power over their governors was not more extenſive, and their authority better reſpected.

The wiſdom of allowing a *free trade* has been pretty generally allowed in ſpeculation by all ſtateſmen, politicians and merchants, ever ſince the publication of the Wealth of Nations; but, greatly as this ſyſtem has been commended, it is notorious that few have acted up to it, and that every one contrives to diſcover ſomething peculiar in his own caſe, or in the circumſtances of his own profeſſion, to make it an exception to the general rule. In no inſtance has this been ſo univerſal as in the caſe of the commerce between Europe and Aſia; and in every nation of Europe, it has been confidently aſſerted, that the trade of India muſt be committed to the charge of an excluſive company. This more general exception originally proceeded, in a great meaſure, from the prejudices of mankind in favour of this commerce, which tempted them to buy with a high bribe from their reſpective governments, excluſive privileges and extenſive power. In the preſent day, the defence of this falſe policy reſts very much upon an inference, which is wholly inaccurate, from the hiſtorical origin of thoſe companies. They were founded at a time when the capital of individuals was undoubtedly unequal to the taſk of fitting out veſſels for ſo long a voyage, and for eſtabliſhing factories in Aſia to collect and provide proper cargoes. But the true inference from this is only, that Europe was not at that period ready to engage in ſuch remote enterpriſes of trade; that the capital then embarked in commerce, was inſufficient, without extraordinary privileges, to carry on the Aſiatic branch; and that nothing but the hope of exorbitant profits, which at times attend new adventures when protected by excluſive rights, could have withdrawn ſo much capital from more profitable and natural employments nearer home. That diviſion of capital which is required for the maintenance of foreign commerce, has already taken place. The merchants who reſide in India are poſſeſſed of ſufficient wealth, ſkill and induſtry, to purchaſe and collect the various productions which it is the object of European capital to bring to this quarter of the world. But, owing to the reſtrictions to which this trade is at preſent ſubjected, the Indian capitaliſts are not only employed in collecting goods from all parts of the Aſiatic continent, but are alſo employed in ſending theſe productions to England. If a more liberal ſyſtem were to be adopted, theſe capitaliſts would moſt probably find a ſufficient occupation in collecting and aſſorting the goods for the European market, and the carrying trade would fall into the hands of Engliſh European capitaliſts. Of this fact, that the capitals

capitals of individuals are now fully equal to carry on the commerce of Aſia, the ſtate of the private and foreign trade affords the moſt ſatisfactory proof; the more ſo, as thoſe engaged in it are able to contend with all the advantages which the India Company enjoy as lords of the ſoil, and proprietors of the excluſive trade. The inſtance of the Anglo-Americans is particularly ſtrong; for if they who are ſo far our inferiors in ſkill, capital, and every other commercial facility, find it for their advantage to ſend their ſhips to India, to carry their goods to America, where they are landed, and to reſhip thoſe goods for the ſupply of the European market, it muſt ſurely be within the reach of Engliſh adventure to engage in that trade, which is able to bear ſo circuitous and ſo expenſive a voyage, even without taking into account the loſs of time and the damage which the goods muſt ſuffer from their being landed and reſhipped in America.

The ſame concluſion muſt follow, whether the capital which is employed in this roundabout trade be underſtood to be Engliſh or American. If it be Engliſh capital (no matter whether European or Aſiatic) it is a poſitive and unanſwerable demonſtration, that the ſame capital which embraces the roundabout, is fully equal to the maintenance of the direct trade, and that it would not only be equal to this direct trade, but that it would afford a conſiderable profit, which might be advantageouſly employed in promoting and carrying on our manufactures and commerce. This profit is now given up to the Anglo-Americans, for the expence of landing and reſhipping the goods, and for the difference between the length of the near and the roundabout voyage. The importance and the magnitude of this American trade, is not, we believe, ſufficiently known or attended to. According to accounts laid before Congreſs, the amount of Indian goods landed in the United States for re-exportation, was, in 1790, 2,000,000 of dollars; in 1800, 39,000,000 of dollars: and this enormous increaſe was underſtood to have ariſen almoſt entirely from the Indian trade having been opened in the interval by the treaty between the two countries in 1794. The advantages which England would derive from this trade being carried on by Engliſh ſhips and Engliſh ſailors (European and Aſiatic) inſtead of American ſhips, muſt be evident to every one, and would infallibly be ſecured, if the Engliſh trader were relieved from thoſe reſtraints to which he is at preſent ſubjected. *

The more the ſyſtem of Indian monopoly is conſidered in its effects, the more ſingularly miſchievous it will appear. It deſtroys a direct trade between two parts of the ſame empire; it

* See, upon this ſubject, an intereſting paſſage relative to the fur trade, in Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Voyages in North America, Introd.

forces the capital which would naturally be employed in this trade into a roundabout trade, at the ſame time obliging this capital to employ in the roundabout trade, foreign ſhips and foreign ſailors, while, in the direct trade, Engliſh ſhips and Engliſh ſailors would naturally be uſed; or, it forces Engliſh capital out of this trade altogether, and diſcourages our own induſtry in behalf of that of our rivals.

But the wiſdom and policy of this meaſure is defended, becauſe every nation which has had any ſhare in the trade of India, has uniformly adopted the ſame plan, and has entruſted its management to the direction of an excluſive company! The fact is undeniable: but unleſs the utter ruin of every monopoly which has engaged in this trade, can be conſidered as an argument in favour of the ſyſtem, it muſt ſtill remain liable to thoſe objections to which it has ſo long been expoſed. The ſame ſcenes of dilapidation abroad, of large profits for a while at home, and of ſubſequent ruin every where, forms the hiſtory of them all; and the Dutch, the Swediſh, the Daniſh, and the French companies, have fulfilled, in their turn, the ſame melancholy deſtiny. Even that arch-monopoly of England has more than once experienced the fate of its leſs wealthy competitors; nay, at this very moment, ſhe exiſts but by the forbearance of the country. Since the renewal of her charter in 1794, ſhe has been confeſſedly unable to fulfil her agreement with Government; and the weight of her debts bids fair again to ſubject her to that fate which is the neceſſary end of all excluſive companies. *

The bad ſucceſs which attended the private adventures from France, when the trade between that country and India was thrown open, has been triumphantly quoted as an unanſwerable proof of the inadequacy of individual capital to carry on the trade of Aſia. It may be obſerved, in the firſt place, that the commercial adventures of the excluſive companies of that country, have not been attended with any better fortune, while it may be ſuggeſted that the ill-directed and puny attempts of the French traders can never be compared with the great and extenſive enterprifes of the Engliſh merchant; and the failure of their adventures muſt be aſcribed to the ſame cauſe which occaſioned the failure of the more early private adventures from the European nations, ariſing from the want of capital and other commercial facilities; and in the third place, the inſtances of the Portugueſe, (who, during their career of Indian proſperity, had no excluſive company, the eſtabliſhments in that country belonging to the ſtate), the private traders and the Anglo-Americans, are perfectly ſufficient to point out the fallacy of this confident aſſertion.

Theſe

* See the Third Special Report, p. 86 *& ſeqq.*

Theſe obſervations are of conſequence, as they prove, in the firſt place, That the capital of individuals is now equal to carry on the trade of Aſia. 2. That the India Company do not ſupply the European markets ſufficiently, *et vice verſa.* 3. That notwithſtanding the additional ſupply which the private and foreign traders furniſh, the demand for Indian productions is far from being ſatisfied, as theſe goods ſtill bear a monopoly price, the expence of the roundabout trade acting as ſuch upon the ſale of theſe commodities.

It would lead us far beyond our proper limits, if we were to attempt to enter into an inveſtigation of all the evils which the monopoly produces in the home market; 1. by keeping up the price of goods; 2. by preventing a free importation of raw materials, to be worked up partly for the ſupply of the European, partly for the ſupply of the American, and partly for the ſupply of the Aſiatic market; 3. by preventing a free exportation of Engliſh goods to Aſia. For the abſurdity is, that the Company not only have the excluſive trade of their own immenſe dominions, but of all the eaſt coaſt of Africa, of Arabia, Perſia, the Burman empire, China, Japan, and all the Aſiatic iſlands. With theſe countries we have at preſent no trade; but if the activity of individuals were not fettered by theſe unjuſt regulations, there is not the ſmalleſt doubt that they would ſoon open new and extenſive markets for the ſale of Engliſh manufactures. It will be ſaid, indeed, that this is mere ſpeculation; that it is impoſſible to carry it into practice; that the habits and the opinions of the inhabitants of theſe countries are ſo hoſtile to any intercourſe with Europeans, that the Company have never been able to eſtabliſh any connexion with them. We are completely aware, that the Company has not eſtabliſhed any intercourſe with theſe countries; but we know alſo, that the Company have no immediate intereſt in the extenſion and ſale of Engliſh goods, and that the young gentlemen under the Company are not of that rank of life, and have not received that education which ſhould fit them for ſuch occupations. We know alſo, that it is the intereſt of the Company that theſe connexions ſhould be checked, and not encouraged; for the larger the ſupply brought home, the leſs will be the profits and the greater the expence; while the ſmaller the quantity of goods imported, the profits will be the larger.

But it is in the Aſiatic part of our empire, that the effects of the monopoly are principally felt; and the proſperity of millions is ſacrificed to a ſyſtem, which by many is thought ruinous, by all doubtful. The conduct of the Dutch in the Spice iſlands, has been juſtly held up to the diſapprobation of the world; yet that conduct was only the natural policy of an excluſive trade; and

though the Engliſh Company does not now actually deſtroy fields of rice, or plough up the poppies when there is too abundant a crop, * the ſame miſerable effects are produced from the operation of the monopoly. The inveſtment of the Company is far from being equal to the export trade of the Peninſula *alone*, putting the reſt of Aſia out of the queſtion. To keep the price of goods in India from riſing, to prevent them falling at home, every rival that they can exclude is ſhut out from the markets of India. From the want of competition, the manufacturers are obliged to ſell their goods lower than they would otherwiſe do. Every inducement to exertion is cut off, every means of improvement is deſtroyed. They can ſupply no more labour than the demand of the market is permitted to encourage; and the vaſt population of India is condemned to remain for ever in a ſtate of wretchedneſs and poverty. The poverty of the manufacturer affects the proſperity of the huſbandman; the want of a market deſtroys the ſupply; and the whole ſtate muſt advance, with the moſt rapid ſtrides, to degradation and decay.

That we do not indulge ourſelves in too melancholy a view of the ſituation of the Company, our readers may be convinced by conſulting p. 86. *& ſeqq.* of the 3d Report of the Special Committee of the Directors, in which the difficulties of the Company are ſufficiently, though not fully expoſed; and the ſtatements contained in the accounts annually laid before Parliament.

From theſe documents it appears clearly, that during the four years ending in 1801, the Company have been adding to their debt at the rate of *one million one hundred thouſand per annum*, to enable them to defray the expences of government, and to tranſmit the uſual inveſtments to this country; that the private and neutral trade has increaſed in the ſame period from 1,978,190l. to no leſs than 3,580,103l., while the ſales of the Company have diminiſhed from 8,337,066l. to 6,648,028l., and that the debt owing by the Company has increaſed from 9,600,000l. to 23,000,000l. between the years 1787 and 1803, even without reckoning the ſums due to government in the form of public *participation*, which have never been paid ſince 1794, and muſt now amount to at leaſt 4,500,000l. From the lateſt accounts which bring thoſe ſtatements down to the year 1802-3 (Parliamentary Debates, 1803, Vol. VII. p. 337.), it appears that the whole concern is worſe for that laſt year than the preceding by 1,272,880l.,

* It is, however, ſtrongly aſſerted, that a quantity of opium was very lately burnt even in the ſtreets of our Indian metropolis. How much better is ſuch conduct than that of the Dutchmen, which has been ſo deſervedly execrated! (Henchman's Obſervations, p. 233.)

1,272,880l., although it had been ſaid that, during that year, the Company would be in a condition to appropriate a whole million as a ſinking fund for the extinction of their debt.

Deſperate, however, as the condition of the Company appears to be, there is no danger of it ſpeedily committing an act of bankruptcy; and though it will continue to add largely to its debts, it will ſtill find money enough to borrow. It is moſt important to inquire in what manner this is brought about, and to conſider to what conſequences it ultimately leads. By laying before Parliament, yearly, the accounts relative to the Eaſt India Company, and certain reſolutions of approbation and acquieſcence being conſtantly paſſed, the legiſlature, in fact, has held out the credit of the country as the ſecurity to which the creditors of the Company are to look forward in caſe of its failure. The aſſets and debts of the Company paſs unnoticed; they never enter into the conſideration of thoſe who are deſirous of lending money to the Directors. There is not a man indeed in England, who doubts that if the Company ſhould fail, the country would adopt the debt of 23 millions as its own; and there is not a man who would heſitate to recommend that meaſure. Is it not better, therefore, that the country ſhould adopt the debt *now*, when it is comparatively ſmall, than permit it to go on accumulating under the bad management of the Company, having no controul over its increaſe, and in fact incurring a large debt which is borrowed for the advantage of individual merchants, not for the expence of government—always recollecting that the effect of the preſent ſyſtem of monopoly is to diminiſh and deſtroy the reſources of that country from which the intereſt of the debt ought to come in the ſame ratio as the debt itſelf increaſes?

The intereſt and importance of the ſubject has led us perhaps rather too far into theſe general obſervations; and we are ſomewhat aſhamed to think that we have not yet introduced the name of Dr Tennant to the notice of our readers. To thoſe, however, who are acquainted with any thing in the work before us beyond the title-page, we probably will not appear to have indulged in any ſpeculations that are not fairly ſuggeſted by the tenor of its contents. The title indeed we think moſt unfortunately choſen; and acknowledge, that it led us to expect nothing better than a treatiſe upon the ſports and amuſements of Bengal, interſperſed with the lively ſallies, and moral reflections of the reverend author. It turns, out, however, to be a collection of diſſertations and ſtatements upon ſome of the moſt curious and important ſubjects connected with the political and agricultural

œconomy

œconomy of the Hindûs, expreſſed in a very diſagreeable ſtyle, and arranged without the ſmalleſt regard to the connexion of the different ſubjects. It appears, indeed, that this confuſion was altogether voluntary on the part of the author, and that he claims conſiderable merit for the faults of his arrangement. In his Preface to Vol. II. he ſays that a perfect arrangement of the different parts of rural œconomy has not been ſo much ſtudied as variety, and that it has been thought eligible to relieve the attention by introducing other topics, leſs tedious, and more intereſting to the generality of readers.

In the Preface to his firſt volume, the author informs us, that his book contains information, the greater part of which is the reſult of his own perſonal obſervation; but that, in order to make it more complete, he has conſulted the works of Sir W. Jones, Dr Roxburgh, Dr Hunter, Dr Fontano, and Captain Hardwick. This, we muſt acknowledge, is not exactly the account we ſhould have given of the volumes before us: we do not remember to have often ſeen a work of this magnitude ſo entirely deſtitute of any claim to originality. So far from the *greater part* of the work being the reſult of actual obſervation, there is not one ſingle fact, of any conſequence, which is not taken from ſome other perſon. Wherever the author endeavours to give any information from himſelf, it is ſure to be inaccurate and contradictory. It does not appear that he has even read over his compilation after it was put together; for he has taken no pains to reconcile the jarring opinions which exiſt in every page.

The firſt volume is a digeſt of ſuch authors as have written upon thoſe ſubjects of which our author profeſſes to treat, without any thing new or curious being added. In Vol. II. p. 344, we are informed that there is a printed treatiſe, which has not been yet publiſhed, entitled, 'Remarks on the Agriculture and Commerce of Bengal, by a Civil Servant of the Company;' and of this treatiſe he admits that he has made ample uſe. But he has made ſtill greater uſe of it than he is willing to allow, as may be ſeen by comparing the chapter beginning Vol. II. p. 344 with this treatiſe (which, though not publiſhed, has in part found its way into the Aſiatic Ann. Reg. 1802, pp. 47. 53. 71.) From the ſame treatiſe, the materials, and, in many inſtances, the very language of the chapters beginning Vol. II. pp. 1. 8. 75. 289. 296. 304. 321. 328. 337. 344. are taken. The account of the cultivation of the ſugar cane is taken word for word from Dr Roxburgh's Memoir, which has been before the public for ſome time, and may be found in the Aſ. An. Reg. 1802, Miſ-

cel

cel. Tracts, p. 7. The deſcription of the attempts made to introduce the cochineal into Bengal, is alſo a copy of Dr Fontano, to be found in the ſame work for 1799. The account of the agricultural proceſſes in the Dooab, p. 274, is the production of Captain Hoar. The deſcription of the fort of Allahabad, and of the adjacent country, p. 241 to p. 252, is the exact copy of a letter from an officer in the army to his friend in this country, inſerted in the Farmer's Magazine, Vol. III. p. 435.

Dr Tennant is alſo guilty of a practice extremely common with all thoſe who have viſited India; we mean, the cuſtom of making uſe of Aſiatic phraſes, without explaining their meaning. This is always inconvenient, but it is quite intolerable where the value of the work depends upon an acquaintance with the weights and meaſures the author uſes, as compared with thoſe of England. Yet ſo it is, that the author never once thinks of even telling us the value of the different meaſures he mentions, and does not even confine himſelf to one ſet, but uſes, indiſcriminately, meaſures of different capacities under the ſame denomination.

It gives us great concern to remark, that the Doctor's partiality to his native country has ſometimes manifeſted itſelf in a way which may expoſe him to the ridicule of our ſouthern neighbours. He recommends, as an improvement upon the unencloſed ſtate of Bengal, the uſe of ſtone dikes or walls; forgetting that what is in a great meaſure the offspring of neceſſity in Scotland, would prove a very expenſive mode of improvement in the flats of Bengal, where there is not a ſtone to be found; and we are afraid ſome obſtinate Engliſhmen will continue to prefer the beauty and comfort of a hedge to the leſs apparent advantages of a dike.

We feel ſtill more deeply, however, for that unfortunate negligence which has led the Doctor to furniſh ſo many new apologies for thoſe Engliſh prejudices which have ſo long prevailed againſt our claſſical learning and ſkill in proſody. Dr Turner's work is full of quotations; but they are ſo inaccurately given, that it is not always eaſy to recognize them.

In his application of what Lucan ſaid of Cæſar to a certain merchant of Calcutta, we have the following harmonious line:

'Nil actum *reputans donec aliquid* ſupereſſet agendum.'

Upon Horace he makes ſimilar improvements:

'Naturam *licet furcâ expellas* tamen uſque recurret.'

And:

'*Celſi* graviori caſu
decidunt turres.'

Nor

Nor does Virgil escape better; for we find,

'O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norunt
Agricolas ——'

And talking of the vengeance which England would inflict upon the disloyalty of her sons in India, he exclaims,

'——Manet alte *repostum*
——Spreti *injuria* regni,' &c.

For inaccuracies of another kind, we refer our readers to Vol. II. p. 8. & 185. The number of harvests in p. 186. compared with the number of ploughings p. 196, and the production of opium p. 208. But almost every page will furnish an example.

The artificial and unnatural division of a people into distinct classes, is perhaps the most effectual method which could have been derived by the ingenuity of man to check their improvement and repress their industry. Indeed, the natural operation of such an institution is so diametrically opposite to, and incompatible with the strongest principles of our nature, that we are inclined to believe that its existence (in a perfect state) is altogether ideal; and if it had ever been completely carried into practice, the baneful effect would have been so immediate, that the total annihilation of public spirit and enterprise would have been the inevitable consequence.

We therefore cannot help doubting that most authors have, from various very obvious reasons, been led to exaggerate a little in their description of this phenomenon in the constitution of Hindû society. We are the more inclined to adopt this opinion, as we find that many intelligent writers do not by any means confirm the perfect separation of these casts in their intercourse with society; and it is to be remarked, that the later authors, who have had the best opportunities of observing with accuracy, are those who have given us this more probable account.

We shall not stop, however, to examine the various accounts which have been given of this very curious and highly interesting subject. The well known division into four casts, need hardly be mentioned, viz. 1. The *Brahmans*, who constitute the highest class, and from whom the priests are chosen, for all brahmans are not priests: 2. The *Katry*, to which class all princes or rajahs belong, and, according to some, the whole tribe of rajipoots: 3. The *Bhyse*, or Banian cast, under which are enumerated all who cultivate the land, tend the cattle, buy and sell: 4. The *Sordera*, or *Sudra*, to which class belong all artisans and labourers of every description. There are, besides, a numerous body of outcasts, denominated chandalahs [illegible], who are subdivided into two great

great classes, the Pariahs and the Sariperes, who have no connexion with each other. According to some, there is an adventitious class which is called Burum Shunker, * and ranks after the Sudra, and to it belongs all artizans, who are again ranged in tribes according to their professions. These great classes have been divided and subdivided a thousand different ways, by different authors, no one agreeing altogether with another. In order to show the obscurity in which this subject is left, and point out the contradictions of various authors, we only take notice of the following. Dr Tennant says, 'A Hindoo of the higher order *cannot* contract a marriage with any inferior class to her own.' vol. I. p. 119. In the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, Mr Colebrook gives us an enumeration of the principal mixt classes which have sprung *from the intermarriages* of the original *casts*; and we have little hesitation in adopting this opinion, and totally rejecting that stated by Dr Tennant, as we conceive such an artificial society to be literally incompatible with the nature of man, and the constitution of civil society. A brahman is not prevented from exercising an employment which is the usual occupation of any of the inferior tribes; and we thus find him a statesman, a cultivator of the ground (ryot), and even serving in the ranks. (Asiat. Reg. 1799. p. 5. note). Nay, he is obliged at times to submit to the most mortifying and degrading duties. Colonel Jones, in his Account of the Mahrattas, says that he has frequently known brahmans of a very high rank pressed to carry the baggage of travellers, when none of the inferior casts were to be found. It would lead us far beyond our proper bounds to multiply similar instances. But it may be observed, that the brahman, in his military capacity, is obliged to serve with individuals not only of the inferior tribes, but even at times with the outcasts. The blood of a brahman, it is true, cannot be shed; but it did not require much ingenuity to find out, that by *suffocation* the law was easily evaded, and justice satisfied. Most of our accounts of the brahminical institutions are taken from books, and not from actual observation; and our observations have been confined almost entirely to the provinces of Bengal. What the state of society was in the Mysore under Tippoo, in the Carnatic, &c. we have no account; but, from the despotic power of these princes, and of the early conquerors of India, there is little reason to believe that the brahmans retained any great privileges; and in the older provinces of our empire, the justice of England has equally subjected to its rules the brahman and the outcast.

The

* According to Mr Halhead, Burum Shunker is the denomination given to all those produced by the intermarriage of two classes.

The bad effects of the Hindû ſyſtem, imperfectly as we believe it to be enforced, is however every where apparent. The power of the brahmans, or more properly the influence of ſuperſtition, is ſuch, as to be incompatible with the exiſtence of a proſperous or flouriſhing country; and there can be no well regulated and efficient government, when the deluded inhabitants are reſtricted in the choice of their food, and condemned, by the tenets of their religion, to poverty and wretchedneſs. As the obſervance of external forms conſtitutes the chief object of the Indian's worſhip, the ſublime notion of a Supreme Being is loſt amidſt a crowd of inferior deities; and the moral principle of the follower of Brahma is blunted by the example of their prieſts, and deſtroyed by the efficacy of penances and expiations.* In this, however, the Hindû religion is ſo far from being ſingular, that it has merely followed the natural progreſs of all ſuperſtitions. Even the pure and ſublime morality of the Chriſtian ſyſtem did not eſcape the taint of human imperfection; and, previous to the great work of the Reformation, the lives of the prieſts, and the ſale of indulgences, had produced nearly the ſame effects in Europe as the ſame cauſes appear to have done in India.

At this period of their progreſs, therefore, it probably would not be difficult to gain over a great part of the people from their prevailing ſuperſtition; and the ſucceſs which has attended the Baptiſt miſſion at Serampore gives ground to believe, that the exertions of the Eſtabliſhed Church, ſupported by the power and influence of government, would be able to make a rapid progreſs in the converſion and conſequent moral improvement of the Hindûs. The greateſt obſtacle to the converſion of any of the diſciples of Brahma, is the loſs of caſt which follows their deſertion of their religion. It would therefore be proper for the government to adopt ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary for the employment and protection of thoſe who have ſacrificed their worldly concerns, for the ſake of everlaſting happineſs. The melancholy fate of thoſe whom the zeal of the Baptiſt miſſion at Serampore converted to the Chriſtian faith, points out the neceſſity of adopting ſome ſuch meaſure; and it is well worthy the attention of our modern government to inquire how far it would be right to extend a like protection to the deſerving part of the pariahs or outcaſts.

The

* The Hindûs are reported to have *thirty crore* of deities, and their almanack enjoins the obſervance of upwards of *ninety* feſtivals in the year, ſome of which engage the whole time of the worſhippers for four or five days.

The agriculture of the Hindûs is wretched in the extreme. The rudeneſs of their implements, the ſlovenlineſs of their practice, and their total ignorance of the moſt ſimple principles of the ſcience, are all equally remarkable. The huſbandry of the ſouth of Europe is bad; but, when compared to that of India, it is perfection. Amidſt the ignorance and poverty which diſgrace the once fertile provinces of Spain and Italy, we find traces of their former excellence, and we can, without difficulty, perceive in their tools the reſemblance of thoſe which were in uſe two thouſand years ago. No ſuch traces of former ſuperiority are diſplayed in the huſbandry of India; and the rudeneſs and unfitneſs of all their implements is a moſt curious inſtance of want of contrivance and ingenuity, in a people who have arrived at a certain degree of civilization.

The Hindû farmer is generally obliged to *ſcratch* his field four times over before he is able to produce the ſemblance of mould; and, even then, except in light land, the field remains full of dirt and rubbiſh, and has by no means the appearance of land prepared for ſeed. In ſome inſtances, it is neceſſary to plough the field *fifteen* times over in every direction, before it is fit for ſowing. The harrow is ſtill more wretched than the plough. It will ſcarcely be believed that the *highly civilized* inhabitant of Hindûſtan has no other ſubſtitute for that neceſſary tool, than a bough broken from the neareſt tree. The engine uſed for a roller is equally cumbrous and unſerviceable, 'reſembling a ladder of 18 feet long, and drawn by four bullocks, which are guided by two men, who ſtand upon the inſtrument, in order to increaſe its weight.'

Unfit as theſe implements are for the cultivation of the ground, in general, they are particularly ill-ſuited for the new and loamy country of Bengal, where all ſorts of weeds grow particularly ſtrong and thick, as in every country in the ſame circumſtances. The ſpontaneous growth of vegetables and underwood of all ſorts, makes the culture of land an operation of much time, of great labour, and of vaſt expence. We accordingly find, that the cultivation of the Dewannee provinces is far leſs perfect than that of the lighter ſoils in the upper country. The beſt cultivated diſtrict in this part of India, ſeems to extend from Mongheer in Bahar to Mirzapore. In the neighbourhood of Mongheer and Patria, indeed, the utmoſt activity and induſtry prevail.

The more glaring defects of the Hindû agriculture may be conceived from the following ſhort ſtatement. 1. The uſe of manure is entirely unknown in moſt diſtricts, and, where it is at all uſed, it is in ſuch ſmall quantities as not to form any material object of attention. 2. The rotation of crops is entirely unknown.

The

The only object of the Hindû farmer, is to raiſe as many white crops as his land will bear. When it is entirely exhauſted, he permits it to lye waſte until it regains its productive powers, when the ſame courſe of cropping is again purſued. In the vicinity of Allahabad, when the field is exhauſted, they turn in ſheep to manure it. 3. The total want of green crops is a formidable check to the improvement of any country, but more eſpecially of ſuch a country as Hindûſtan. Without ſuch a ſpecies of cropping, the whole ſyſtem muſt be bad, the quantity of dung produced muſt be trifling, and the ſtock of an inferior and beggarly deſcription. 4. From the want of artificial graſſes, the ſkill of the farmer and the improvement of the country at large is confined within narrow bounds, where the country is for ſo conſiderable a period deprived of all kind of vegetation by the exceſſive heats. 5. In the choice of the proper ſeaſons for ploughing and ſowing, the Hindû is equally defective. 6. The barbarous ſyſtem of ſowing two and three ſpecies of grain in one field, is of itſelf ſufficient to eſtabliſh the character of Hindû huſbandry. 7. The mode of reaping is equally defective: if two or three ſpecies of grain are ſown in the ſame field, the Indian huſbandman treads down a great part of his crop in order to collect each kind ſeparately: indeed, ſo fond is he of this method of proceeding, that he purſues it even where the crop is all of one kind, that he may ſelect what he reckons the ripeſt. 8. The entire want of encloſures is an evil of ſuch magnitude, that it is impoſſible to calculate its extent. 9. But the great drawback to all improvement, is the inſecurity of the ryut, who is ſtill far from being completely protected, notwithſtanding every thing that may have been done in his favour. The zemindar raiſes his demand according to the produce of the year; and though an abatement is made in an unfavourable ſeaſon, the uncertainty of rent operates powerfully to check all ſpirit of improvement. The collection of the rents in kind is attended by all that loſs and vexation which are found to accompany it in Europe. Finally, 10. In the want of capital, the farmer and the proprietor of Hindûſtan feels an inſurmountable obſtacle to all improvement.

In the lower parts of India, the number of harveſts are three; two of rice in the ſummer, and one of wheat, barley and peas, in ſpring. It would have been entirely inconſiſtent with our author's inaccuracy to have mentioned the different periods at which the ploughing, ſowing and reaping, takes place. In the upper provinces, the harveſts are two in number, Kheereef and Rubbeef; the former happening in September and October, the latter in March and April. The ſpecies of grain cultivated in Hindûſtan are extremely numerous, and in general different from

thoſe

thoſe which are raiſed in Europe. Rice is the prevailing crop in the low country; and along the courſe of the Jumna and Ganges, from Allahabad upwards, wheat forms the principal object of the farmer's attention.

The meaſures which occur in the courſe of this work are, for land, the cutcha and pukka biggah; the former being equal to one eighth, the latter to one third of an acre. The latter is the moſt generally uſed, and is always meant where biggah occurs without the addition of the adjective.

Grain is meaſured by the weight, viz. by maunds and ſeers. The maund is 74 lib. 10 oz. 10 dr. avoirdupois, and a fraction of no great value. Taking the average weight of a buſhel of wheat at 60 lib., the maund is 1 buſhel 15 pints. If the grain is barley at 48 lib. a buſhel, the maund is 1 b. 1 p. 1 p. The ſeer is $\frac{1}{40}$th part of a maund, and is equal to 1 lib. 13 oz. 13 dr.; about 2 pints. The calculations are made, taking wheat as the ſtandard, except when barley is particularly mentioned. The maund is taken at 12 anas. This allowance is no doubt high; but it was thought better to do ſo, as there was no average given. The rupee uſed is the Sicca rupee (2s. 6d.), conſiſting of 16 anas, valued at 1½d. each.

The price of gram (a ſpecies of tare) near Patna, is a rupee (2s. 6d.) for 30 ſeer. Rice and doht (a ſpecies of pulſe) ſomewhat cheaper.

The ſyſtem of rural economy in Hindûſtan, cloſely reſembles what in France was known by the title of the *metayer* ſyſtem, but which, in fact, is to be found in all countries in a ſimilar ſtate of improvement. The landlord provides the ſeed, upon which he makes very conſiderable profit. The farmer pays his ploughman, partly in wages, and partly by giving him ſo much land for his own uſe. This allowance is generally about 16 biggahs, or 5 acres arable. This quantity of land can be cultivated with one plough, and, in addition to it, there is generally given an equal quantity of waſte or paſture land. The intereſt of this leſſee is merely annual. His condition is wretched in the extreme, and it appears that this claſs is the moſt indigent of all the natives of Bengal. The labourer is in all reſpects in a much better ſituation, and the wages he receives greatly exceeds the profit of the poor metayer.

In this country there exiſts a burden upon agriculture, which has no exact parallel in any other country with which we are acquainted. In the village of each zemindary, there are a certain number of officers and artificers who receive a per centage, or allowance of grain from each plough, or at each harveſt. Among theſe is the bhaut or *poet*, the village prieſt,

and the blackſmith. The zemindar is entitled to have his ſhare of the work done at an inferior rate. Where a tradeſman has no plough, he pays a certain ſum of money. We can form no computation of the wages of theſe different people, as they receive payment for their work beſides. In the Dooab, the tradeſman is obliged to work for the allowance. This great diviſion of labour, in the villages, is the more curious, as it does not occur in the manufactures of India. In vol. II. p. 18. it is mentioned that the manufacturer conducts the whole proceſs of his profeſſion, from the formation of his tools to the ſale of his production. Unable to wait the market, or anticipate its demand, he can only follow his trade when called to it by the wants of his neighbours. In the mean time, he muſt apply to ſome other employment; and and agriculture is the general reſource. The inconveniences and evils of this ſyſtem have been long felt and acknowledged. The remedy has never been conſidered; and there ſeems but little proſpect of any thing ſoon being done, to alleviate the miſery, or improve the ſituation of this deſcription of men. The introduction of Engliſh capital, ſkill and induſtry, appears to be the only reſource. The indocility and prejudices of the natives have been ſtated as likely to render even this ineffectual: but the ſucceſs which has attended the introduction of the potato and the cultivation of indigo, and the perfection which they have attained (under the direction of Europeans) in ſhip-building, ſeem to prove, that they want only the means and the opportunity of becoming a great and important addition to the ſtrength and power of the empire.

In the two chapters commencing at p. 183. 191. vol. II., we have a detailed account of a zemindary in the neighbourhood of Benares, which is chiefly valuable for the information it contains as to thoſe ſingular practices which we have noticed above. The extent of the zemindary is 4000 cutcha, or 1500 pukka biggahs (500 acres). Of this, 300 acres are under the plough; the remaining 200 are waſte or paſture land. The annual rent paid to government is 900 rupees (112l. 10s.); the proprietor's ſhare, amounting to 100 rupees (12l. 10s.) or 10 *per cent.* The number of inhabitants is 1000 living in one village, which, according to Dr Tennant, is nearly *one* perſon to each *Scotch acre.* We believe, if he will take the trouble of turning up p. 184, vol. II. of his own book, he will find that the 'ſmall zemindary, of which we have lately had a deſcription,' conſiſts of *five hundred* acres, which is exactly *two* perſons to each acre. The number of working cattle is 400. The wages of the ploughmen are five ſeer of the grain which happens to be in cultivation, and two rupees at each *hulwary* or ploughing ſeaſon, namely, after the ſetting in of the rains in June, and after they break up in October. The amount

mount of theſe wages are 7 quarters 3 buſhels 4 pecks 11½ pints, which is within a trifle of the wages near Allahabad, as will be ſeen preſently. The wages of the other country labourers, are 5 ſeers of grain, and a 25th ſheaf during harveſt. The reaper has a tenth of the coarſe, and a twentieth of the finer grains. After all theſe deductions, the ſhare of the ryut muſt be inconſiderable indeed. The food of the huſbandman in this diſtrict conſiſts of rice, barley, with the various kinds of pea, either ſeparately or mixed. Wheat is only uſed by the higher ranks. The moſt ſubſtantial meal to which the lower ranks can aſpire, is a ſort of porridge of fried *grain*, reduced to flour by a hand-mill.

In the diſtrict about Allahabad, the whole ſtock of the farmer is not worth 8 rupees (20s.) excluſive of the value of his cattle. Wheat is the prevailing crop. A man and two cattle can till a biggah many times in a day. The protection of the ſeed and crop from the birds, is neceſſary all over this country. This duty falls to the lot of the women and boys, though in ſome parts it forms the occupation of the men.

The rate of wages in this diſtrict, and the produce of an acre, as compared with thoſe of England, will be ſeen from the following table, taking, according to Sir George Shuckburgh, 1s. 5d. as the average wages of a labourer, and 7s. 10d. as the price of a buſhel of wheat. In order to get real and practical information upon the ſubject, it is neceſſary to ſtate the value of the wages, &c. in grain, the money price of labour forming no ſtandard of compariſon.

	ONE HARVEST.				WHOLE YEAR.			
	Q.	B.	P.	P.	Q.	B.	P.	P.
Quantity of ſeed to an acre in India	0	2	3	1½	0	5	2	3½
Ditto in England	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	0
Produce of an acre in India	0	7	2	3	13	7	0	6
Ditto in England	2	4	0	0	2	4	0	0
The rent of wheat land in India, 18s. 9d.					1	4	1	3
Ditto of arable land in England, 14s. 2½d.					1	1	0	5
The wages of a ploughman in India					7	1	2	4
In England					8	2	3	14

From this table it appears, that the quantity of ſeed ſown in each country is nearly the ſame, while the produce is nearly treble in India. The circumſtance moſt worthy of attention, is the high wages of the Indian. According to the uſual calculations, a man in England conſumes a quarter of wheat *per annum*, and the inhabitants over-head 6 buſhels. Out of the remaining

7 quarters he has to pay for his houſe, his clothes, taxes, and a variety of other things which cuſtom has rendered neceſſary to his exiſtence. The Indian labourer (for the ryut is by no means ſo well off) receives within one quarter of as high wages as the Engliſh peaſant, without having any of thoſe outgoings to diminiſh his income. If the fact is as here ſtated, (and it agrees with what the author himſelf ſtates relative to the wages near Benares), we are at a loſs to find a reaſon for ſuch a ſingular circumſtance. The labourer receives a certain allowance at certain periods of the year, entirely independent of his regular wages. From the largeneſs of that allowance, there is reaſon to think that it was fixed in a period of great proſperity, or adopted for the purpoſe of making the regulation of *wages* more eaſy. This cuſtom prevails alſo in the ſouthern part of the peninſula. Much light would be thrown upon the whole ſubject, if ſome perſon would communicate to the public an account of the Carnatic and the Myſore. This claſs of day-labourers appears now to bear a very ſmall proportion to the *metayers.*

In Bengal, the ſtate of the peaſantry and produce of the land ſeems to be much inferior to what we have been contemplating in the vicinity of Benares and Allahabad. The ſtate of the new country of Bengal muſt bid defiance to the ſkill and implements of the country; and we repeat again, that the only remedy to the evil is by introducing the induſtry and the capital of this country.

The farmer of the lower provinces does not depend, however, upon the cultivation of grain for the profit of his farm. It is upon the produce of his dairy, ariſing from the profits from the ſale of milk, of curds, and of ghee (clarified butter), upon which a profit of no leſs than 33 *per cent.* might be made with a tolerable capital. The poultry of Bengal are of a ſmaller ſize than thoſe of Europe. The price of a pair of good turkies in the Bengal market is about 30 rupees (3l. 15s.), for which ſum you can buy 20 or 30 dozen of fowls. In the neighbourhood of Patna, turkies coſt 6 rupees (15s.), fowls and ducks from ſix to ten ana rupees.

From the introduction of that uſeful root the potato, and from its adoption in ſome diſtricts, we may expect great and laſting benefits to the natives of Hindûſtan. The rice crops in that country are liable to ſuch frequent deſtruction, and their total failure, when it happens, is likely to be ſo general, that it requires the utmoſt exertion upon the part of government to obviate the bad effects likely to ariſe from ſuch a ſtate of things. As a dry ſeaſon is the moſt unfavourable to a rice crop, and is that in which the potato grows to the higheſt perfection, the advantages ariſing from having ſuch a ſubſtitute, and at ſuch a period, muſt be

be productive of the happieſt effects. To this uſeful plant the benevolence of individuals has attempted to add another, the breadfruit tree; and at Madras, and upon other parts of the Coromandel coaſt, the propagation of that tree has been attempted with ſome ſucceſs.

The agriculture and commerce of Bengal will derive much benefit from a proper diſtribution of navigable canals throughout this diſtrict; by facilitating the communication; by a proper diſtribution of water for irrigation; and by forming reſervoirs to receive the overflowing of the rivers, which is at preſent a ſource of deſtruction to the crops of the unfortunate Bengaleſe.

The extent and population of Engliſh India comes now to be conſidered. The poſſeſſion or influence of the Company reaches from lat. 60. north to lat. 30; for ſuch is the magnitude of their empire, that miles are too ſmall a meaſure to compute it by. The breadth of theſe poſſeſſions cannot be ſo eaſily determined; but the whole peninſula of India is now nearly ſubjected to their power. To our former poſſeſſions of Bengal, Bahar, and Benares, the preſent government of India has added the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, with the Rohilcund; Oude remains, more than ever, from its weakneſs, an appendage of this Preſidency. From the Nizam has been taken his ſhare of the ſpoils of Tippoo; the Carnatic and Tanjore have been added to our dominions; and the choice of a prime miniſter for the Rajah of Travancore, was the only circumſtance, after he became tributary, wanting to ſubject that country alſo to our power. Poſſeſſing therefore the Myſore, we enjoy in full ſovereignty all the peninſula down to the ſouth of the river Toombuddra. But, beſides this, the Nizam has been ſo fond of the Engliſh ever ſince the French were diſmiſſed his ſervice, that he retains in his capital, Hydrabad, an additional garriſon of our troops, to the amount of 4400 men. The Paiſhwah, too, has not been wanting in his proofs of attachment; and the important ceſſions, in the Guzerat, of the coaſt between Surat and Canara, together with the province of Bundlecund, muſt confirm the good opinion which we entertained of his wiſdom and integrity, which he has ſtill further increaſed by taking 8000 of our troops into his pay, and ſtipulating to make no treaty without our conſent. (Lord Welleſley's Notes.)

The only powers in that part of the world, who ſeem to have been inſenſible of our kindneſs, are the Mahrattas; but they will no doubt ſpeedily open their eyes to the force of reaſon and of arms. The deſcendant of the Moguls, when reſtored to the throne of his fathers, will require the aſſiſtance of a company

of European ſoldiers 24,000, * making a total of 29,161, to govern a people whoſe numbers amount to 70 millions! The inadequacy of this ſyſtem, when oppoſed by rebellion aided by European intrigue, muſt be apparent to every man, while the numbers are ſufficient to produce a race who will eventually expel us from our eaſtern empire.

This queſtion aſſumes new intereſt, from the account which our author, a chaplain in the King's ſervice, gives of the very unſatisfactory condition of that main ſupport of our power under the *preſent* circumſtances of India. 'The European part of the army, ſays our author, p. 336, 'is a motley mixture of all nations; *a ſmall bribe might engage them in any enterprize;* but they are the moſt debauched and unprincipled troops any where to be met with, and *would give no ſufficient ſupport* to any cauſe, whether good or bad.' In page 382, he adds, Great Britain has perhaps more to fear 'from the *diſloyalty* of its army, than its diſſipation.' Upon a Sepoy army, according to our author, muſt depend the ſafety of our poſſeſſions in India. We are ready to allow, that, under Engliſh officers, the ſeppys form excellent and enterprizing ſoldiers. But is their fidelity ſo tried, and their attachment to *our* cauſe ſo great, that no bribe could tempt, and no attachment to their country prevail upon them to deſert? But, granting that to us they are perfectly loyal, will it be aſſerted that they are at all equal to thoſe troops of France, before whom all but Engliſhmen have fled? or will it be maintained, that the ſuperiority of the European, which has given India to our power, will not transfer it to thoſe who make uſe of ſimilar means to acquire it? In the late conteſts, were not the Mahrattas, bravely and obſtinately as they fought, and officered by Europeans or their children, obliged to give way to Engliſh bravery and proweſs? And is not this a pretty deciſive proof, that India can never be defended againſt European forces by a native army alone? We have much to fear from the introduction of French troops into Hindûſtan; much more from French intrigue, and more than all from the operation of thoſe principles upon the rotten and combuſtible matter of our European army, upon the unſteady and fickle minds of the natives, and upon the diſaffected and mutinous inhabitants of India, eſpecially thoſe numerous and formidable bodies who have loſt all means of obtaining a livelihood, the troops formerly in the ſervice of the

* This is the number ſtated by Lord Caſtlereagh. In fact, however, there are not much more than half that number of European troops in India.

the native princes. Unleſs ſome ſteps are taken to introduce a body of Europeans who may have a ſtrong and permanent intereſt in the preſervation of the power of England, and from their ſituation be capable of counteracting the intrigues of the enemy, it is impoſſible to ſay how ſpeedy may be the downfal of our influence in India. Such a line of conduct is particularly called for at the preſent moment, when we conſider the precarious ſtate of our colonial empire in the Weſt. A complete freedom of trade between India and England would at once provide an opening for that capital which the loſs of the Weſt Indies would throw out of employment, and provide the means of inſtantly filling up the blank which ſuch a diſaſter would occaſion.

ART. VI. *Popular Tales.* By Maria Edgeworth, author of Practical Education, Caſtle Rackrent, &c. &c. 8vo. 3 vol. Johnſon, London, 1804.

THE deſign of theſe tales is excellent, and their tendency ſo truly laudable as to make amends for many faults of execution. There is nothing new, indeed, in the idea of conveying inſtruction in the form of an amuſing narrative; for from the days of Homer downwards, almoſt all the writers of fictitious hiſtory have been thought to aim at the moral improvement of their readers. The means which they have employed for this purpoſe, however, have hitherto been but indifferently calculated to effect it. The truth is, that almoſt all moral tales which are not expreſsly accommodated to the taſte and condition of *children*, ſeem to have been intended for the benefit of perſons of high faſhion and ſplendid accompliſhments only; they ſeldom condeſcend to the incidents or the duties of ordinary characters or ordinary life, but are occupied entirely in adjuſting the claims of nice honour and heroic affection, or in deſcribing the delicate perplexities and fantaſtic diſtreſſes of thoſe who ſet vulgar ſorrows at defiance. Now, conſidering that there are in theſe kingdoms at leaſt *eighty thouſand* readers, it is obvious, that no great moral utility could reſult from the general peruſal of thoſe brilliant narratives; and that the leſſons which they were calculated to teach, were quite inapplicable, to ſay the leaſt of them, to that great multitude who are neither high-born nor high-bred. It is for this great and moſt important claſs of ſociety that the volumes before us have been written; and their object is, to intereſt, amuſe and inſtruct them by ſtories founded on the incidents of common life, and developed by the agency of ordinary characters; to withdraw their attention from thoſe dazzling diſplays of faſhionable

able manners, with which they have no natural connexion, and to fix it upon those scenes and occurrences which have an immediate application to their own way of life; and in this way to impress upon their minds the inestimable value and substantial dignity of industry, perseverance, prudence, good humour, and all that train of vulgar and homely virtues that have hitherto made the happiness of the world, without obtaining any great share of its admiration.

This is an attempt, we think, somewhat superior in genius, as well as utility, to the laudable exertions of Mr Thomas Paine to bring disaffection and infidelity within the comprehension of the common people, or the charitable endeavours of Messrs Wirdsworth & Co. to accommodate them with an appropriate vein of poetry. Both these were superfluities which they might have done very tolerably without; but Miss Edgeworth has undertaken to improve, as well as to amuse them, and to bring them back from an admiration of pernicious absurdities, to a relish for the images of those things which must make the happiness of their actual existence. In this view, she rather deserves to be compared to those patriotic worthies who first ventured, after the revival of letters, to write in their native language, and to interest their countrymen in stories of their home manufacture; who spoke of love without allusion to Ovid, constructed dramas altogether independent of the Scriptures, and published tales that were not to be found in the Book of Troy. It required almost the same courage to get rid of the jargon of fashionable life, and the swarms of peers, foundlings and seducers, that infested our modern fables, as it did in those days to sweep away the mythological personages of antiquity, and to introduce characters who spoke and acted like those who were to peruse their adventures.

The success of such an experiment depends, no doubt, in a great degree, on the skill with which it is conducted; nor are we sanguine enough to hope that it will be very suddenly completed. The millinery misses and aspiring apprentices of our country towns will long hanker, we are afraid, after the elegant adventures of counts, baronesses, or Adelines, and will think every story intolerably low which does not contain anecdotes of masquerades and gaming-houses, elegiac stanzas, duels, and descriptions of the Appenines. This class will certainly be the last to be converted. But in the great and respectable multitude of English tradesmen, yeomen, and manufacturers—in that most important part of our population which consists of the well-educated in the lower and middling orders of the people, we do believe that there is so much good sense and good principle, as to secure the favourable reception of a work which professes

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to interest them by a picture of their own condition, to make them proud of their independence, and cheerful in their submission, and to point out the happiness which is placed within the reach of all who are industrious and affectionate.

Notwithstanding the unqualified praise which we are disposed to bestow on the design of this work, we cannot help observing, that the execution is extremely unequal. Many of the incidents are childish, and several of the stories unmeaning and improbable; yet they all inculcate an unexceptionable and practical morality, and are written throughout in a strain of admirable good sense, liberality, and cheerfulness. There is nothing tawdry or sophisticated about them; no idle description or affected reflection; the story moves on with uninterrupted rapidity; and the writer never seems to pause to admire her own powers of composition, or to wait for the admiration of her readers.

The best tales in the book, we think, are those entitled, 'Lame Gervas,' 'the Contrast,' and 'To-Morrow.' We shall make a few extracts from the last, which turns, as might have been expected, on the dangers of procrastination. The hero, after many mortifications and vows of reformation, is at length settled with a merchant in Philadelphia.

'No one could be more assiduous than I was for ten days; and I perceived that Mr Croft, though it was not his custom to praise, was well satisfied with my diligence. Unluckily, on the eleventh day, I put off in the morning making out an invoice, which he left for me to do; and I was persuaded, in the evening, to go out with young Mr Hudson. I had expressed, in conversation with him, some curiosity about the American *frog concerts*; of which I had read, in modern books of travels, extraordinary accounts. Mr Hudson persuaded me to accompany him to a swamp, at some miles distance from Philadelphia, to hear one of these concerts. The performance lasted some time, and it was late before we returned to town. I went to bed tired; and waked in the morning with a cold, which I had caught by standing so long in the swamp. I lay an hour after I was called, in hopes of getting rid of my cold. When I was at last up and dressed, I recollected my invoice, and resolved to do it the first thing after breakfast; but unluckily I put it off till I had looked for some lines in Homer's "Battle of the Frogs and Mice." There was no Homer, as you may guess, in Mr Croft's house; and I went to a bookseller's to borrow one. He had Pope's Iliad and Odyssey; but no Battle of the Frogs and Mice. I walked over half the town in search of it. At length I found it; and was returning in triumph, with Homer in each pocket, when, at the door of Mr Croft's house, I found half a dozen porters, with heavy loads upon their backs.

"Where are you going, my good fellows?" said I.

"To the quay, Sir, with the cargo for the Betsey."

"My

"My God!" cried I, "Stop.—Can't you ſtop a minute? I thought the Betſey was not to ſail till to-morrow. Stop one minute."

"No, Sir," ſaid they, "that we can't; for the captain bade us make what haſte we could to the quay, to load her."

'I ran into the houſe. The captain of the Betſey was bawling in the hall, with his hat on the back of his head; Mr Croft on the landing-place of the warehouſe ſtairs, with open letters in his hand, and two or three of the under clerks were running different ways, with pens in their mouths.

"Mr Baſil! the invoice!" exclaimed all the clerks at once, the moment I made my appearance.

"Mr Baſil Lowe, the invoice and the copy, if you pleaſe," repeated Mr Croſt. "We have ſent three meſſengers after you. Very extraordinary to go out at this time of day, and not even to leave word where you were to be found. Here's the captain of the Betſey has been waiting this half hour for the invoice. Well, Sir! will you go for it now? And at the ſame time bring me the copy, to encloſe in this letter to our correſpondent by poſt."

I ſtood petrified.—"Sir, the invoice, Sir!—Good Heavens! I forgot it entirely."

"You remember it now, Sir, I ſuppoſe. Keep your apologies till we have leiſure. The invoices, if you pleaſe."

"The invoices! My God, Sir, I beg ten thouſand pardons! They are not drawn out."

"Not drawn out.—Impoſſible!" ſaid Mr Croft.

"Then I'm off!" cried the captain, with a tremendous oath. I can't wait another tide for any clerk breathing."

"Send back the porters, Captain, if you pleaſe," ſaid Mr Croft, coolly. "The whole cargo muſt be unpacked. I took it for granted, Mr Baſil, that you had drawn the invoice, according to order, yeſterday morning; and, of courſe, the goods were packed in the evening. I was certainly wrong in taking it for granted that you would be punctual. A man of buſineſs ſhould take nothing for granted. This is a thing that will not occur to me again as long as I live."

'I poured forth expreſſions of contrition; but, apparently unmoved by them, and without anger or impatience in his manner, he turned from me as ſoon as the porters came back with the goods, and ordered them all to be unpacked and replaced in the warehouſe. I was truly concerned!

"I believe you ſpent your evening yeſterday with young Mr Hudſon?" ſaid he, returning to me.

"Yes, Sir.—I am ſincerely ſorry——"

"Sorrow, in theſe caſes, does no good, Sir," interrupted he. "I thought I had ſufficiently warned you of the danger of forming that intimacy. Midnight carouſing will not do for men of buſineſs."

"Carouſing, Sir!" ſaid I. "Give me leave to aſſure you that we were not carouſing. We were only at a *frog-concert.*"

'Mr

'Mr Croft, who had at least ſuppreſſed his diſpleaſure till now, looked abſolutely angry. He thought I was making a joke of him. When I convinced him that I was in earneſt, he changed from anger to aſtoniſhment, with a large mixture of contempt in his naſal muſcles.

"A frog concert!" repeated he. "And is it poſſible that any man could neglect an invoice, merely to go to hear a parcel of frogs croaking in a ſwamp? Sir, you will never do in a mercantile houſe." He walked off to the warehouſe, and left me half mortified and half provoked. From this time forward all hopes from Mr Croft's friendſhip were at an end.' vol. 3. p. 347–353.

We add the following characteriſtic ſcene, in honour of the fair writer's countrymen. The victim of to-morrow is reduced to poverty, and obliged to pawn his watch to pay his paſſage home to England. It is redeemed, and ſent back again by the gratitude of a poor Iriſhman, to whom he had advanced a ſmall ſum of money on his landing. He then goes to make his acknowledgements to this humble benefactor.

'I knocked at Mr O'Grady's door, and made my way into the parlour; where I found him, his two ſons, and his wife, ſitting very ſociably at tea. He and the two young men roſe immediately, to ſet me a chair.

"You are welcome, kindly welcome, Sir," ſaid he. "This is an honour I never expected any way. Be pleaſed to take the ſeat near the fire. 'Twould be hard indeed if you *would* not have the beſt ſeat that's to be had in this houſe, where we none of us never ſhould have ſat, nor had ſeats to ſit upon, but for you."

'The ſons pulled off my ſhabby great coat, and took away my hat, and the wife made up the fire. There was ſomething in their manner, altogether, which touched me ſo much, that it was with difficulty I could keep myſelf from burſting into tears. They ſaw this; and Barny (for I ſhall never call him any thing elſe) as he thought that I ſhould like better to hear of public affairs than to ſpeak of my own, began to aſk his ſons if they had *ſeen the day's* papers, and what news there was?

'As ſoon as I could command my voice, I congratulated this family upon the happy ſituation in which I found them; and aſked by what lucky accidents they had ſucceeded ſo well?

"The luckieſt accident ever *happened me*, before or ſince I came to America," ſaid Barny, "was being on board the ſame veſſel with ſuch a man as you. If you had not given me the firſt liſt, I had been down for good and all, and trampled under foot long and long ago. But, after that firſt lift, all was as eaſy as life. My two ſons here were not taken from me—God bleſs you! for I never can bleſs you enough for that. The lads were left to work for me and with me; and we never parted, hand or heart, but juſt kept working on together, and put all our earnings, as faſt as we got them, into the hands of that good woman, and lived hard at firſt, as we were bred and born to do, thanks

thanks be to Heaven! Then we swore against drink of all sorts entirely. And as I had occasionally served the masons, when I lived a labouring man in the county of Dublin, and knew something of that business, why, whatever I knew I made the most of, and a trowel felt no ways strange to me; so I went to work, and had higher wages at first than I deserved. The same with the two boys: one was as much of a blacksmith as would shoe a horse; and t'other a bit of a carpenter; and the one got plenty of work in the forges; and t'other in the dock yards, as a ship-carpenter. So, early and late, morning and evening, we were all at the work; and just went this way struggling even on for a twelvemonth; and found, with the high wages and constant employ we had met, that we were getting greatly better in the world. Besides, the wife was not idle. When a girl, she had been baking, and had always a good notion of it; and just tried her hand upon it now, and found the loaves went down with the customers, and the customers coming faster and faster for them; and this was a great help. Then I grew master mason, and had my men under me, and took a house to build by the job, and that did; and then on to another, and another. And, after building many for the neighbours, 'twas fit and my turn, I thought, to build one for myself; which I did out of theirs, without wronging them of a penny. And the boys grew master-men, in their line. And when they got good coats, nobody could say against them; for they had come fairly by them, and became them well perhaps for that *raſon*. So, not to be tiring you too much, we went on from good to better, and better to best. And if it pleased God to question me how it was we got on so well in the world, I should answer, Upon my conscience, myself does not know; except it be that we never made saint-monday, nor never put off till the morrow what we could do the day."

I believe I sighed deeply at this observation, notwithstanding the comic phraseology in which it was expressed.

"But all this is no rule for a gentleman born," pursued the good-natured Barny, in answer, I suppose, to the sigh which I uttered; "nor is it any disparagement to him if he has not done as well in a place like America, where he had not the means; not being used to bricklaying, and slaving with his hands, and striving as we did. Would it be too much liberty to ask you to drink a cup of tea, and to taste a slice of my good woman's bread and butter? And happy the day we see you eating it, and only wish we could serve you in any way whatsoever."

I verily believe the generous fellow forgot, at this instant, that he had redeemed my watch and wife's trinkets. He would not let me thank him as much as I wished, but kept pressing upon me fresh offers of service. When he found I was going to leave America, he asked what vessel we should go in? I was really afraid to tell him, lest he should attempt to pay for my passage. But for this he had, as I afterward found, too much delicacy of sentiment. He discovered, by questioning

questioning the captains, in what ship we were to sail; and when we went on board, we found him and his sons there to take leave of us, which they did in the most affectionate manner; and, after they were gone, we found, in the state cabin, directed to me, every thing that could be useful or agreeable to us as sea-stores for a long voyage." vol. III. p. 374–380.

We shall venture on another extract from this tale, of a more tragical description. The incorrigible procrastinator had had his only son unsuccessfully inoculated for the small-pox. His wife urges him to have the operation repeated, and he replies—

"Undoubtedly, my dear; undoubtedly. But I think we had better have him vaccined. I am not sure, however; but I will ask Dr ——'s opinion this day, and be guided by that. I shall see him at dinner; he has promised to dine with us."

"Some accident prevented him from coming; and I thought of writing to him the next day, but afterward put it off.—Lucy came again into my study, where she was sure to find me in the morning. "My dear," said she, "do you recollect that you desired me to defer inoculating our little boy till you could decide whether it be best to inoculate him in the common way, or the vaccine?"

"Yes, my dear, I recollect it perfectly well. I am much inclined to the vaccine. My friend, Mr L——, has had all his children vaccined; and I just wait to see the effect."

"Oh, my love," said Lucy, "do not wait any longer; for you know we run a terrible risk of his catching the small-pox every day, every hour."

"We have run that risk, and escaped for these three years past," said I; "and, in my opinion, the boy has had the small-pox."

"So Mr and Mrs Nun thought; and you see what has happened. Remember our boy was inoculated by the same man. I am sure, ever since Mr Nun mentioned this, I never take little Basil out to walk, I never see him in a shop, I never have him in the carriage with me, without being in terror. Yesterday, a woman came to the coach-door with a child in her arms, who had a breaking out on his face. I thought it was the small-pox; and was so terrified that I had scarcely strength or presence of mind enough to draw up the glass. Our little boy was leaning out of the door to give a halfpenny to the child. My God! if that child had the small-pox!"

"My love," said I, "do not alarm yourself so terribly; the boy shall be inoculated *to-morrow*."

"To-morrow! Oh, my dearest love, do not put it off till to-morrow," said Lucy; "let him be inoculated to-day."

"Well, my dear, only keep your mind easy, and he shall be inoculated to-day, if possible; surely you must know I love the boy as well as you do, and am as anxious about him as you can be."

"I am sure of it, my love," said Lucy. "I meant no reproach. But since you have decided that the boy shall be vaccined, let us send

send directly for the surgeon and have it done, and then he will be safe."

'She caught hold of the bell-cord to ring for a servant—I stopped her.

"No, my dear, don't ring," said I; "for the men are both out. I have sent one to the library, for the new Letters on Education, and the other to the rational toy-shop for some things I want for the child."

"Then, if the servants are out, I had better walk to the surgeon's and bring him back with me."

"No, my dear," said I; "I must see Mr L——'s children first. I am going out immediately; I will call upon them; they are healthy children; we can have the vaccine infection from them, and I will inoculate the boy myself."

'Lucy submitted. I take a melancholy pleasure in doing her justice, by recording every argument that she used, and every persuasive word that she said to me, upon this occasion. I am anxious to shew that she was not in the least to blame. I alone am guilty! I alone ought to have been the sufferer. It will scarcely be believed—I can hardly believe it myself, that, after all Lucy said to me, I delayed two hours, and stayed to finish making an extract from Rousseau's Emilius before I set out. When I arrived at Mr L——'s, the children were just gone out to take an airing, and I could not see them. A few hours may sometimes make all the difference between health and sickness, happiness and misery! I put off till the next day the inoculation of my child!

'In the mean time, a coachman came to me to be hired. My boy was playing about the room, and, as I afterward collected, went close up to the man, and, while I was talking, stood examining a greyhound upon his buttons. I asked the coachman many questions, and kept him for some time in the room. Just as I agreed to take him into my service, he said he could not come to live with me till the next week, because *one of his children was ill of the small-pox.*

'These words struck me to the heart. I had a dreadful presentiment of what was to follow. I remember starting from my seat, and driving the man out of the house with violent menaces. My boy, poor innocent victim, followed, trying to pacify me, and holding me back by the skirts of my coats. I caught him up in my arms.—I could not kiss him; I felt as if I was his murderer. I set him down again: indeed I trembled so violently that I could not hold him. The child ran for his mother.

'I cannot dwell on these things.—Our boy sickened the next day—and the next week died in his mother's arms!' Vol. III. p. 386-391.

We would willingly make some extracts from the other tales we have specified; but we cannot find any, to which justice could be done, without quoting a larger passage than our limits will

will easily admit. The Irish characters, who are all admirably sketched, appear to us to be the most original personages in the book. Simon O'Dougherty, in the tale called 'Rosanna,' is excellent. That horror of vulgarity which is so apt to infest the wives and children of prosperous shopkeepers, is well exposed in the tales called 'the Manufacturers,' and 'Out of debt, out of danger.' The rewards of industry are pleasingly displayed in 'Lame Jervas' and 'Rosanna;' and the tendency of good affections to lighten or to remedy every disaster, is prettily exemplified in 'the Contrast.' 'The Limerick Gloves,' and 'the Will,' are the most improbable and uninteresting stories in the collection; and 'the Grateful Negro' has more of the extraordinary and romantic in it than seems suitable to the tenor and design of this publication.

We have scarcely any other remarks to offer. The pathetic parts of these tales are in general the best written; and yet the language is uniformly adapted with the greatest felicity to the character and station of the parties concerned. We could not help smiling at the partiality which has led Miss Edgeworth to represent almost all her *female* characters in so amiable and respectable a light. There is not a tale, we believe, in which there is not some wife or daughter who is generous and gentle, and prudent and cheerful: and almost all the men who behave properly owe most of their good actions to the influence and suggestions of these lovely monitresses. If the pride of our sex would permit us, we might perhaps confess, after all, that this representation is not very far from the truth.

We cannot take our leave of these volumes without reminding the fastidious part of our readers, that they were not written to challenge the criticism of scholars, or to gratify the taste of persons of the highest accomplishments. They are not tried by a fair standard, unless the design of writing them be kept constantly in view: and this design appears to us to be so laudably conceived, and so ably pursued, as to entitle them to more consideration than is usually bestowed on works of this description.

ART. VII. *Poems by George Richards, M. A. late Fellow of Oriel College.* 2 vol. 8vo. Oxford and London. 1803.

IT is now almost twelve years, we believe, since Mr Richards first presented himself to the public as a candidate for poetical reputation; and from that time to the present, we do not remember to have heard much of his proceedings. The perusal of his early productions had left upon our minds the impression of luxuriant diction, considerable brilliancy and richness of versifica-

send [illegible] somewhat florid, magnificent and
safe. [illegible] of a genius which time was
[illegible] and which could scarcely fail to
her. [illegible] we turned to the perusal of the
[illegible] good deal of interest, and with ex-
[illegible] completely realized. Mr Richards
[illegible] much by practice as we thought there
[illegible] has lost something of his luxuriance,
[illegible] point of force or correctness; and his
[illegible] is not more natural than at his
[illegible] certainly is not more original or abun-
[illegible] somewhat chaster, his language is more
[illegible].

[illegible], however, these little volumes are still
[illegible] are evidently the productions of an elegant
[illegible] of one who has studied the classical writers
[illegible] relish of their beauties, and learned, at
[illegible] estimate the substantial merits of our great
[illegible] in his own productions, he have oftener *imi-*
[illegible] the excellences of those illustrious models, and
[illegible] reins to his imagination so freely as the career
[illegible] he has at least copied them with gracefulness
[illegible] and not only avoided the hazards of presumptuous
[illegible] but the reproach of unworthy imitation. His ge-
[illegible] too much chastised and subdued by that of the
[illegible] whom he has formed himself; but it is saved, by
[illegible] from the extravagancies of the independants, and
[illegible] if not a very lively image of some of the most
[illegible] of the human understanding. A considerable
[illegible] passages are borrowed with great felicity; and the lan-
[illegible] upon the whole, a degree of sweetness and ele-
[illegible] stamp still more clearly on the author the character of
[illegible] scholar.

[illegible] volume contains two dramas, written on the model
[illegible] Greek theatre, with choruses and continuous scenes;
[illegible] composition, of which the Samson Agonistes of Milton
[illegible] by far the justest and the most striking example that mo-
[illegible] literature can boast of, though the feebler and more orna-
[illegible] performances of Mason have become more popular among
[illegible] part of the community *. In imitation of Mason,
Mr

* Dr Sayer's Sketches of Northern Mythology deserve to be men-
tioned with distinguished praise among productions of this kind: but
the best imitation of the antient drama we have lately met with, is the
Iphigenia in Tauris of Goethe, translated, we believe, by Mr Tay-
lor of Norwich. We are not acquainted with the original.

Mr Richards has attempted to give each of his plays a diſtinct and peculiar character. *Odin* is intended as a ſpecimen of the wild, the ſublime, and terrible; and is written, he informs us, as much as poſſible in the manner of Æſchylus. *Emma* is meant to exemplify the tender and pathetic, and was compoſed, we imagine, upon the model of Euripides. We cannot ſay that either of them comes very near the pattern; but the firſt is by far the beſt.

The ſtory is not very intereſting. It proceeds upon the ſuppoſition that Odin was the chief of the Aſæ, one of the rude nations between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, who yielded to the victorious arms of Pompey when he entered theſe regions in purſuit of Mithridates. This drama contains the account of the laſt battle that was waged by the ſavage monarch in defence of his country; of his reſolution to ſacrifice himſelf, with his whole tribe, after the defeat; and of his being diverted from that reſolution by the appearance of a goddeſs who directs him to migrate to the regions of the North, where he is deſtined to be the founder of a mighty empire. There is nothing very new or very ſtriking in the repreſentation which Mr Richards gives of the character and manners of thoſe warlike barbarians; yet every thing is correctly imagined, and ſmoothly executed. There is a deſcent to hell, and a human ſacrifice deſcribed; and the women who form the chorus, abound in all thoſe heroic and lofty ſentiments which are ſaid to have characteriſed the females of theſe nations. The mixture of feminine tenderneſs and weakneſs with this ſtrain of magnanimity, is the moſt intereſting circumſtance perhaps in the whole drama, and affords a favourable ſpecimen of Mr Richards' dramatical talents. We add the following paſſages in illuſtration:

——————'Balder, I dare
To die: I ſcorn the wretch, who could ſurvive
When theſe our towers are Roman: yet a gloom
Mournful o'erſpreads my breaſt: I cannot bear
Theſe monſtrous engines beat againſt our walls,
And tremble not: Balder, I cannot gaze
On thoſe my native fields far-ſeen; on ſhrines
Rais'd to our country's gods; on theſe rude hills
Cover'd ſo often with our warlike youth;
On yon pil'd hillocks where our fathers ſleep,
And on theſe trophies rais'd upon the deſarts
To valiant chiefs of yore: I cannot gaze,
And think how ſoon the Roman may poſſeſs them,
Without ſome mortal feelings, ſad regrets,
That awe me, holding nobler thoughts enthrall'd.'

Vol. I. p. 22. 23.

After the desperate resolution of general suicide has been adopted, the same female Chorus speaks as follows:

'This pile adorn'd with solemn sacrifice
Awes me, a stranger as I am to fear.
And, when I turn my eyes to yonder plains
And vallies, which the glorious sun illumes,
Once the domain of Odin and his Asæ,
A sorrowful affection touches me.
And you, ye babes, seated upon the pile,
Unconscious of the speedy end that waits you,
Troubled I gaze on you: you might have liv'd
To emulate your fathers, to attain
An equal glory, and more prosperous fortune:
You might have crush'd these Romans, and inscrib'd
Our rocks and mountains with your deeds of valour;
You might have died in all the pride of war,
And met our heroes in Valhalla's courts:
Now you must fall unknown, unnam'd, unhonour'd,
Ere yet your infant hands have grasp'd the sword,
Or your young hearts have beat to war and glory.' p. 84. 85.

When the divine command has been signified for their migration, the Chorus thus addresses the regions which they are about to abandon:

'One look, yet one look more,
Though they be veil'd beneath the mask of night,
Down on the valleys, dear as known in youth,
But now more dear when to be left for ever.
Ye verdant meads, by cooling rivers spread,
Ye fields, on which the summer smiles, farewell:
Farewell, ye plains, with golden harvests crown'd,
O'er which our infant feet have roam'd: O fount
And banks of Cyrus, azure stream, delight
Of virgins sporting in thy glassy wave;
No more shall we behold you: we must go
Far distant: yet in other valleys, wash'd
By other streams, we will remember you.
Though now we dwell on higher joys, more fit
For years mature; yet ne'er shall the innocent bliss,
Once known amidst your peaceful forests, want
Grateful remembrance, but be oft recall'd
At distance from your dells and copses green.' p. 110. 111.

The preceding extracts are rather favourable specimens of the work now before us. Among other traits of classical imitation, those who are acquainted with the style of the Greek tragedians will recognize the happy effect with which Mr Richards has introduced those extended apostrophes or invocations to places and inanimate objects, which, though in a manner proscribed by the usage

usage of modern authors, appear to have been the favourite figure of the ancient masters of eloquence. A great part of the poetry and interest of the delightful drama of Philoctetes in Lemnos, will be found to consist in the use of it; and we think Mr Richards has shown that it may be employed with a very happy effect in the more passionate parts of English composition. Odin, when about to immolate himself, exclaims—

'O Tanais, and ye shores
Wash'd by the sounding Euxine, Odin calls,
Calls with his dying voice, while to the gods
He gives himself,' &c. p. 92.

And the Chorus, in the same spirit, adds the following classical address:

——————'O hills, the last
Of Odin's realm, mountains and rocks, inscrib'd
With Runic rhymes, sacred to chiefs of yore,
Ye soon shall yield to Rome! Farewell, ye plains,
Farewell, ye streams, that flowing roam the vales,
Calm Phasis, and cerulean Cyanus;
Farewell, ye shores, wash'd by the Caspian wave,
Once travers'd with delight, now to the eye
Distressful, spread around with Roman tents.' p. 24.

Though the composition be in general dignified and elegant, there are some low, and several heavy passages. A warrior, describing the agitations of Odin in his troubled sleep, says—

——————'high uprais'd *his clenched fist*
Threat'ning *he shook*;'

an image which is absolutely ludicrous. Another, while the battle is raging, calmly observes—

——————'A field like this,
Brave Cantimir, we saw some winters past.'
——————'Triarius led the Romans; we
Were headed by the Pontic King. In vain
We dar'd them to renew the fight: nine days
We stood expectant,' &c.

All this is very tame and injudicious; though, soon after, we meet with some vigorous lines in the passage where Odin anticipates his dreary march through the desert regions of the North, 'where not a foe shall cheer the way with conquest.'

The story of *Emma*, we think, is ill-chosen, and unskilfully conducted. We have the seduction and sentimental distress of a modern novel combined with the usages of chivalry, and presented in the form of a Grecian drama. The public is sick, we believe, of tender-hearted daughters, betrayed damsels, and high-minded old barons, even in prose narratives. The accompaniments of blank verse and moral lyrics are not likely to make them

more palatable. Yet there is a great deal of elegant language, and some poetry and pathetic effect in this drama also. The following speech should be good, since the idea is borrowed from Homer, and the cast of the diction from Shakespeare.

'Hadst thou been true,
There's not a charm, a power which earth doth own,
Should have estrang'd my love: I would have serv'd thee
In bonds or death with absolute devotion.
Friends, kindred, brother, father, native place,
Had been as nothing: thou to me hadst been
Father, and brother, and dear relative,
And friend, and native place: I had trusted thee
With an unbounded sway o'er my warm heart:
There's not a joy, which the wide world contains,
But had been plac'd within our easy reach.' p. 196.

The second volume contains miscellaneous poems; fourteen odes, written in a verbose and heavy style, though not without occasional indications of vigour and genius; and four or five other pieces in the ordinary iambic measure, all of them upon serious subjects.—'The Dying Penitent' talks, like other ladies in her unhappy situation, of the innocent pleasures of her childhood, the agitation of her guilty hours, and the horrors of her remorse.—'The Aboriginal Britons' is the work with which we have been longest acquainted, and which we are still most disposed to admire. It is more highly coloured, and more closely wrought; the conceptions are bolder, and the expression more nervous than in any of his later productions.—'The Christian' is a didactic poem, which professes to deliver, in regular heroic verse, a short view of the evidences upon which our sacred religion is founded. There are some good lines towards the close, describing the awe and veneration which was felt by the Gothic invaders of Italy when they came suddenly to a monastery where the holy men were chanting their evening prayers.—'Britannia' is a kind of war-song in praise of the British navy, and is written with a good deal of spirit.—'Bamborough Castle,' which terminates the volume, was written so long ago as the year 1792, and contains some striking images and very harmonious versification. We can only afford the following short extract:

'At solemn midnight, when the bark shall ride
With streaming pendants o'er the peaceful tide;
When trembling moon-beams play along the brine,
And stars round all the glowing welkin shine;
When, silent borne along, the whitening sails
Swell with the summer's gently-breathing gales;
The Pilot, listening to the wave below,
Which hoarsely breaks against the passing prow,

Shall

Shall thoughtful turn, where dimly to his eyes
Through the pale night theſe mellow'd turrets riſe;
And, as he muſes on ſome friend moſt dear,
Rais'd by thy mercy from a watery bier,
Swelling at heart, ſhall o'er the tranquil wave
Give thee a ſigh, and bleſs thy hallow'd grave.' p. 191. 192.

Upon the whole, though we do not think Mr Richards a firſt-rate poet, we are inclined to place him very high among writers of the ſecond order, and are ſatisfied that he has much more merit than many that make much loftier pretenſions.

ART. VIII. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth, and into the Means and Cauſes of its Increaſe.* By the Earl of Lauderdale. 8vo. pp. 486. Edinburgh, Conſtable & Co. London, Longman & Rees.

TWO good conſequences have always reſulted from men of high rank beſtowing their attention upon literary purſuits; an uſeful example has been ſet to thoſe whoſe ſituation in life gives them abundance of leiſure for ſpeculative employment; and that occupation, which is in its own nature the moſt dignified, has been exalted alſo in the eyes of the multitude. If any branch of ſcience deſerves ſuch patronage, it is ſurely the ſtudy of political œconomy, both on account of its extenſive importance to ſociety, and its peculiar claims upon thoſe who are born to a high intereſt in ſtate affairs. We are inclined, therefore, to offer Lord Lauderdale our unfeigned thanks for the zeal with which he has devoted his retirement to the cultivation of this great field of inquiry, and to expreſs our conviction, that an example, ſo laudable, will be followed by many perſons who are at preſent laviſhing the influence of their rank and fortune upon objects far leſs worthy of their regard,—upon the affairs of practical policy, for which very few are fitted by nature, or upon the empty trifles of faſhionable life, which are equally below their ſtation and their ſex. We truſt, alſo, that Lord Lauderdale having begun to deſerve well of the ſcientific world, by his fair and honeſt endeavours, will be encouraged to perſevere, until he ſhall augment the obligation by more ſucceſsful exertions. Nor have we any doubt, that, conſtrained as we now are thus to limit our praiſes, we ſhall obtain from his candour ſuch a patient peruſal of our remarks, as may at once correct the eſtimate which he appears to have formed of his preſent work, and excite him to farther enterpriſes, which ſhall ſecure a tribute of more unqualified approbation. There are errors indeed, as it appears to us, in the preſent publication, of a tendency ſo dangerous as to counteract much of the benefit which the noble author's patronage

is calculated to confer upon the ſcience: and this conſideration, together with the unqueſtionable importance of the ſubject, muſt plead our excuſe for lending the work a greater portion of our attention than its actual merits may ſeem to juſtify.

In the volume now before us, Lord Lauderdale profeſſes to diſcuſs the moſt elementary branches of political œconomy. The practical inferences which he from time to time ſtates, are introduced rather as illuſtrations of his general principles, than examples of their actual application to the affairs of nations. The abſtract doctrines of national riches; the diſtinctions between the kinds of wealth; the peculiarities in the modes of its diſtribution; the variations in its quantity, and in the ſources of its production; in a word, what we may denominate the pure metaphyſics of political œconomy—form the whole ſubject-matter of the preſent publication. The ſyſtem, therefore, of the author, if he ſhall be found to have produced any thing that can deſerve ſuch an appellation, muſt receive judgement upon the principles applicable to mere ſpeculative theories, and not upon any views of its practical tendency; the work muſt be regarded altogether as a piece of abſtract reaſoning, without any reference to actual policy; and the novelty of a few paradoxical aſſertions reſpecting the peculiar condition of this country, can in nowiſe be admitted to take it out of this general deſcription.

Lord Lauderdale's pretenſions in the outſet, are of a nature to excite no inconſiderable degree of expectation. The prefatory advertiſement arrogates, with ſome confidence, the merit of radical diſcovery: the general principles which are unfolded, the author tells us, 'are not only new, but even repugnant to received opinions;' inſomuch, that he has thought it prudent to withhold, for the preſent, another volume, containing the practical application of his doctrines—and to pauſe here, that he may judge of the effect produced on the public by the doctrines which are now revealed. He expects, too, it would appear, to be 'aſſailed by prejudice;' and avows his determination, in ſuch a caſe, to 'defend himſelf with obſtinacy.' The ſame kind of language is continued through the whole work; and the repetition of thoſe aſſertions as to the author's diſcoveries, ſeems to be ſubſtituted for the fulfilment of the promiſes they imply. It is very well, no doubt, to announce to us, in the outſet, that we ſhall have the true nature of wealth explained, that we ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the juſt notion of value, and that we ſhall be taught the preciſe means by which nations acquire riches. But when we have peruſed the whole book, chapter after chapter, in ſearch of theſe things, and find ourſelves exactly where we were at the beginning, it is rather teazing to be reminded, at every pauſe, that we have received all manner of inſtruction; to be told, that

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the truth has now, for the first time, been unfolded; and to be congratulated on our good fortune, with sundry hints at the disadvantages under which the œconomists, and Dr Smith and others laboured, who did not possess the lights now communicated to ourselves.

In the *Introduction*, Lord Lauderdale delivers some remarks, rather more judicious than original, upon the evils that have arisen from the use of erroneous and theoretical language in political speculations. He illustrates his observations by the example of the mercantile theory, which owed its origin to the vulgar habit of confounding riches and money as synonymous. This leads him to remark, that a still more fatal error has resulted from confounding together the mass of public or national wealth, and the sum-total of the riches of the individuals who constitute the community. He then settles (rather preposterously, *in a note*) the nomenclature which he deduces from the distinction here hinted at, and premises that he is to use '*wealth*' as denoting the opulence of the state, and '*riches*' to designate the fortunes of individuals. From these preliminaries, he is led to lay down the plan of the treatise in the following words.

'As a clear understanding of the relation which public wealth and individual riches bear to each other, appears of the highest importance, in securing accuracy in every subject that relates to the science of political œconomy; the first and second chapters of this Inquiry, are therefore devoted to the consideration of the nature of *value*, the possession of which alone qualifies any thing to form a portion of individual riches;—to an explanation of what public wealth is, and of what constitutes individual riches;—and to an examination of the relation in which they stand to each other.

'The meaning annexed in this work to the phrase Public Wealth being thus explained, the third chapter contains an investigation of the sources of wealth, in which land, labour, and capital, are separately treated of as the sources of wealth;—an opinion which, though it has been announced by some, and hinted at by others, does not seem to have made on any author so strong an impression as to be uniformly adhered to in the course of his reasonings.

'An idea which has generally prevailed (though it seems in itself a paradox) that wealth may be increased by means by which it is not produced, in particular by parsimony, or deprivation of expenditure, has made it necessary to investigate this subject in the fourth chapter, as a preliminary to an Inquiry into the Means and Causes of the Increase of Wealth; which is the object of the fifth chapter.' P. 9. 10.

It is not our intention to follow the author through the various parts of his Inquiry, exactly according to the arrangement which he has adopted. Without omitting any of his speculations, we shall present all we have to offer, either as the abstract

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of his views, or as our own remarks upon them, in the following order. In the *firſt* place, we ſhall conſider his fundamental poſition concerning the difference between collective and individual wealth, or what he is pleaſed to call public wealth and private riches: This will comprehend alſo his obſervations upon the nature of value. *Secondly*, We ſhall offer a few ſtrictures on the theories of the œconomiſts, and of Dr Smith, reſpecting the ſources of national opulence. This ſpeculation will lead us, in the *third* place, to propoſe a theory extremely ſimple and obvious upon this ſubject, and to examine, by its aſſiſtance, the obſervations which Lord Lauderdale has introduced on the ſources of wealth, and the means of its increaſe. We ſhall reſerve for a ſeparate diſcuſſion, his ſtrange opinions concerning the operation of ſinking funds.

Under theſe ſeveral heads, it is propoſed to exhibit a pretty full analyſis of our author's doctrines; and to demonſtrate, as conciſely as the extenſive nature of the inquiry will permit, the fallacies with which the work every where abounds. We mean to ſtate diſtinctly, that this book, excepting where it refutes ſome errors of former writers, cannot be conſidered as an inveſtigation, merely tinctured with doubtful or erroneous theory; but as a collection of poſitions, all of them either ſelf-evident or obviouſly falſe, and founded upon errors which the ſlighteſt attention is ſufficient to detect. This is our fair and candid opinion; and we can ſcarcely doubt that it will alſo be that of every man who reads the work now before us with any reaſonable knowledge of the ſubject.

Lord Lauderdale ſeems firſt to have been an œconomiſt, and afterwards to have diſcovered ſome of the errors of that ſect;—to have read Smith, before he was weaned from the prejudices of Queſnai, and, during that period, to have reſolved that no two pages in the Wealth of Nations ſhould agree together;—to have found himſelf embarraſſed for want of a theory, and, in this ſtate, to have been dazzled by the firſt paradox which preſented itſelf to his fancy. The paradox, as is uſual, probably appeared, upon examination, leſs ſuſpicious than at firſt view; by degrees, he was convinced of its truth, and reſolved to make every thing fall before it. Not ſatisfied with one ſuch paſſion, he was ſoon ſmitten with new objects of the ſame kind; and his ingenuity always enabling him to diſcover arguments in ſupport of each ſucceſſive favourite, he at laſt adopted the whole train, and has now collected and cemented them together for public edification. We are ſeriouſly convinced, that nothing but a haſty, unthinking proceſs, ſuch as this, could have blunted the natural acuteneſs of our author's powers, and made one who is uniformly ſo clear-

clear-sighted in detecting the errors of others, obstinately keep his eyes shut upon his own mistakes.

I. Value, according to Lord Lauderdale, is constituted by the concurrence of two circumstances;—one or more qualities useful or delightful to man, and a certain degree of scarcity. Nothing can be deemed valuable intrinsically; nor can any commodity, however excellent in itself, be considered as of value, unless it is also rare. When we measure the value of one commodity by comparing it with another, the result is evidently liable to be affected by eight circumstances, viz. by the variations in quantity and in demand of both these commodities. Thus, if we would express the value of grain in pounds Sterling at different times, our calculation might be affected by a diminution or an increase in the quantity both of money and of grain, and by a similar diminution or increase in the demand for both these commodities. It is not, then, upon the possession of any inherent quality that value depends; but upon the proportion between the demand for, and the supply of the valuable commodity.

In all this, it does not appear to us that there is any novelty, if we except the very obvious circumstance of our author confining his attention exclusively to one kind of value. Former writers had considered value as twofold—value in use, and value in exchange—or what may be termed *absolute* and *relative* value. The one of these qualities depends entirely on the nature of the commodity itself, and is wholly uninfluenced either by its quantity or the demand for it; or by the quantity of, and demand for any other commodities. But the idea of relative or *exchangeable* value, owes its existence altogether to the supposition, that an operation of barter renders it necessary to compare a portion of one commodity with a portion of another; and this comparison must depend on the ratios between the supply of, and the demand for both articles. That the idea of value, however, may exist independently of all commerce, no one can deny, without a total perversion of common language. If, to take Lord Lauderdale's own illustration, the quality of insuring a century of robust health were suddenly communicated to each grain of wheat, can any one doubt the propriety of saying that wheat would instantly become infinitely more valuable? Exchangeable value is evidently a secondary consideration; it depends on the circumstance of some men wanting what others possess; it depends on the unequal distribution of possessions. If every human desire were universally gratified in extreme abundance—if all the commodities which we find necessary or desireable to us, were at once multiplied beyond the utmost wants of the whole species, it is true that all barter would cease; and, consequently, that the idea

idea of exchangeable, relative, or comparative value would be no more. But would it not be a groſs abuſe of language, to ſay, that all value whatever had ceaſed, and that in this univerſal abundance nothing valuable remained? Nay, that all commodities exiſting in an indefinite quantity were equally valuable, becauſe equally abundant? Would not grain, for example, be ſtill more valuable in itſelf than ſand, diamonds, or gold?—It deſerves, in paſſing, to be noticed, that certain commodities derive nearly their whole value, in every ſenſe of the word, from their extreme ſcarcity. This, added to a trifling portion of beauty, which of itſelf would have been unable to confer any value, renders them highly valuable, in conſequence of the capricious taſte of men, and their deſire of overcoming difficulties. Were food multiplied to the full extent of the demand which the whole ſpecies has for it, and were every other object of deſire at the ſame time equally multiplied, diamonds would ceaſe to be prized, inaſmuch as they derive their value from the difficulty of procuring them; but food would continue to be prized, becauſe it would retain its power of ſupporting life.

The conſideration of this ſolitary caſe, in which the caprices of men have beſtowed a fictitious value on the mere quality of rarity, ſeems to have miſled our author, and to have confirmed him in his omiſſion of one entire branch of the ſubject which he purpoſed to deſcribe. The diſcuſſion may to ſome appear trivial and verbal; but we ſhall ſoon find that the ſame radical omiſſion pervades the ſubſequent part of his ſpeculations, and occaſions ſtill more obvious miſtakes, of exactly the ſame deſcription, in the doctrine reſpecting individual riches.

It follows very clearly from the poſitions regarding exchangeable or relative value, laid down by Lord Lauderdale, and acknowledged by all who have treated on theſe matters, that it is in vain to ſeek for any invariable ſtandard or meaſure of value. Our author exemplifies this truth by ſeveral pertinent remarks, and very ſucceſsfully refutes the theory of Dr Smith, that labour affords ſuch an unalterable meaſure, by ſhewing, from different paſſages in the Wealth of Nations, how much the value of labour varies at different times, in remote places, in different parts of the ſame country,—and how much more incurable ſuch variations muſt be in the value of labour, than in the value of other commodities.—This mode of argument, however, we do not think altogether adapted to a general treatiſe on the principles of the ſcience. It applies with ſufficient accuracy to the doctrines of the particular author in queſtion, but might very poſſibly fail to convince others, who maintain the ſame opinions with Dr Smith, upon more conſiſtent grounds. In one or two inſtances,

inſtances, the refutation, by means of this *argumentum ad hominem*, wears the appearance of captiouſneſs and ill-temper. A paſſage is quoted from the Wealth of Nations, to ſhow that labour *alone*, of all commodities, may vary in its value at the ſame time, and in the ſame place; whereas it is very obvious from the ſlighteſt attention to this paſſage, that it will not admit of ſuch limitation. 'Different prices,' Dr Smith obſerves, 'are often paid at the ſame place, and for the ſame ſort of labour, not only according to the different abilities of the workmen, but according to the eaſineſs or hardneſs of the maſters.' b. I. c. 8.—a propoſition, applicable to all other paymaſters, as well as to thoſe who pay for *work*; and which only proves, that in every market, the *average* price, which the competition of buyers and of ſellers regulates, muſt be taken as the exchangeable value of the commodity.

Lord Lauderdale is alſo peculiarly ſevere upon the abſurdity of a writer who repreſents a great portion of human labour as unproductive, erecting labour into a ſtandard of value. This, he obſerves, is as ridiculous as if a man were to meaſure dimenſions by a mathematical point which has no magnitude. Now ſurely, Dr Smith, whatever qualities or effects he might attribute to the labour which he terms unproductive, never intended to deſcribe it as a nonentity; and even if ſuch had been his doctrine, it is obvious we could only have inferred, that the productive kind of labour is, in his opinion, the meaſure of value.

Upon the whole, we are diſpoſed to think that our author avails himſelf of certain obſcurities, and even inconſiſtencies in Dr Smith's language, for the purpoſe of faſtening upon him a much more contradictory and erroneous theory than he ever maintained. That a perſon of Dr Smith's metaphyſical and mathematical powers * ſhould have meant to predicate the abſolute immutability of any ſtandard, we cannot for a moment imagine. He muſt have known, that ſuch a propoſition would have been as abſurd as to aſcribe abſolute magnitude or entire immutability to the Tower ſtandards. We apprehend that he only ſought for an approximation, and thought he had found it in that one commodity which, being by much the moſt frequently exchanged againſt all other commodities, and of courſe the moſt conſtantly brought into compariſon with every object of barter, might be aſſumed as the beſt attainable meaſure of their relative value. Lord Lauderdale certainly has not proved the contrary of this propoſition to any one who may hold Dr Smith's opinion, without a minute adherence to his manner of enunciating and demonſtrating it.

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* See Profeſſor Stewart's Life of Smith.

We now come to our author's peculiar theory of public wealth, as contradiſtinguiſhed from private or individual riches. There cannot, he conceives, be a greater miſtake than to confound theſe two ideas, and to eſtimate the riches of a community by calculating the aggregate of the private fortunes which belong to all its members. The value of a commodity depending upon its ſcarcity, the riches of individuals muſt be in proportion to the ſcarcity of the commodities which they poſſeſs. But the whole wealth of a nation is in proportion to the abundance in which it poſſeſſes all commodities uſeful or delightful to man. Therefore, the nation muſt be enriched by that very plenty which neceſſarily diminiſhes the fortunes of its inhabitants. Thus, a ſcarcity of grain renders the whole price of the deficient crop much greater than that of an ordinary crop; and a want of water would give a price to every ſtream and ſpring in the country. The proprietors of grain and water would thereby be enriched; but the community would evidently be impoveriſhed. This is the whole ſubſtance of the argument and its illuſtration. The inference is a propoſition apparently paradoxical, but highly eſteemed by Lord Lauderdale, both for its ſtrict accuracy and its important conſequences. He thus ſtates his grand diſcovery.

'From theſe conſiderations it ſeems evident, not only that the ſum-total of individual riches cannot be conſidered as an accurate deſcription or definition of the wealth of a nation; but that, on the contrary, it may be generally affirmed, that an increaſe of riches, when ariſing from alterations in the quantity of commodities, is always a proof of an immediate diminution of wealth; and a diminution of riches, is evidence of an immediate increaſe of wealth: and this propoſition will be found invariably true, with the exception of a ſingle caſe, which will be afterwards explained. Thus, it becomes neceſſary to adopt a definition of Public Wealth, which conveys a different idea of it from that which has been generally received; and it is therefore ſubmitted, that Wealth may be accurately defined,—*to conſiſt of all that man deſires, as uſeful or delightful to him.*

'But if National Wealth is truly and rightly defined, to conſiſt of all that man deſires as uſeful and delightful to him; as (from the explanation that has been already given of the nature of value, or of the circumſtances that entitle any thing to the character which qualifies it for forming a portion of individual riches) we know, that by adding the circumſtance of ſcarcity to the qualities which make any commodity a component part of public wealth, we ſhould give it value, and thus qualify it to form a portion of individual riches, it follows, that individual riches may be defined,—*to conſiſt of all that man deſires as uſeful or delightful to him; which exiſts in a degree of ſcarcity.*'

Now, we imagine that a very few ſimple conſiderations will make the error and confuſion of all this reaſoning extremely evident even to the author himſelf.

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When we eſtimate the wealth of an individual, we generally ſtate it in money, the common meaſure of value: We ſuppoſe, that his whole effects are to be brought into the market, and ſold at the current prices: Thoſe prices are, of courſe, determined by the proportion between the ſupply of, and the demand for each commodity: Conſequently, our eſtimate of the individual's fortune is affected by the conſideration of *relative* value—by the ſcarcity in which the articles he poſſeſſes are found. That this, however, is by no means the only mode of inſtituting the calculation, is abundantly clear from what was ſaid above reſpecting exchangeable and intrinſic value. For, let us ſuppoſe that the individual poſſeſſes his property ſo parcelled out, as to command, without any exchange, every object of his deſire—let us ſuppoſe, farther, that every other individual poſſeſſes the ſame abundance—Should we, in this caſe, deny that the individual, of whoſe fortune we have been ſpeaking, is maſter of any wealth? Or ſhould we be entitled to ſay, that every perſon in the community had become abſolutely poor, when every perſon was placed in extreme abundance? It is clear, that the eſtimate of wealth is only relative, and depends on a compariſon which proceeds upon the ſuppoſition of ſome perſons wanting what others have to give away. When all are become equally rich, Lord Lauderdale maintains that all wealth, *i. e.* all individual wealth, has vaniſhed. This is ſuch a confuſion of ideas, and ſuch a plain abuſe of language, as demands our unequivocal reprobation. Now, when we eſtimate the collective wealth of a nation, it is clear, *ex vi termini*, that the idea of internal exchange is out of the queſtion. In every ſuch exchange, one man receives what another gives away; and the aggregate remains unaltered. We ſhall afterwards ſee how internal commerce promotes the increaſe of national wealth; but, in itſelf, the mere transference of commodities from hand to hand, or from place to place, cannot enter into the eſtimate of the collective wealth of the country, *i. e.* the aggregate of its commodities, at any inſtant of time. Therefore, it is the abſolute and intrinſic, not the relative value of thoſe commodities, which we conſider; and internal commerce being out of the queſtion, exchangeable value cannot enter into the calculation.

Let us now take Lord Lauderdale's illuſtration, which will ſerve equally to expoſe his miſtake. If the quantity of grain is diminiſhed one half, the price is increaſed tenfold; and the whole value of the leſſer quantity is five times greater than the value of the larger quantity. But what do we mean by the price being increaſed tenfold? What, but that the conſumers of grain have now to pay ten times more of their ſuperfluous commodities for it? They loſe, therefore, exactly what the former gains; and

in return they get from him only half of what they formerly received, for a much ſmaller price. It is obvious that this is a diminution of public wealth: But is it not alſo exactly in the ſame degree a diminution of individual riches? No one ever maintained, that, in eſtimating the riches of a community, we were to conſider only the fortunes of *a part* of its individual members. The propoſition againſt which our author has to contend, is, that the wealth of the community is ſynonymous with the wealth of *all* its members taken together; that is, the wealth of the farmer, whoſe fortune is augmented by the ſcarcity, together with the wealth of the conſumers, whoſe fortunes are diminiſhed by the ſcarcity.

We cannot really conceive any thing more looſe than Lord Lauderdale's mode of ſtating and anſwering what he terms the 'vulgar opinion.' He has not ſtated an opinion that any man ever maintained. He has fought with a creature of his own imagination, in order to defend a poſition clearly untenable, and which he never could have thought of holding, had he not involved it in the moſt palpable obſcurity—a miſt which has prevented him from ever getting a clear view of it. But perhaps he will be ſatisfied at once of his overſight, if we remind him, that he has himſelf repeatedly, though inadvertently, ſtated with ſufficient preciſion, the doctrine maintained by his adverſaries.

'An increaſe of the fortune of any member of the ſociety, *if not at the expence of any individual belonging to the ſame community*, is uniformly deemed an augmentation of national wealth; and a diminution of any man's property, if not producing an increaſe of the riches of ſome of his fellow-ſubjects, has been conſidered as of neceſſity occaſioning a concomitant diminution of national wealth.' p. 7.

And again,

'So much, indeed, is public wealth univerſally deemed the ſame thing with the maſs of private riches, that there appears no means of increaſing the fortune of an individual, *when it is not done directly at the expence of another*, that is not regarded as productive of national opulence.' p. 41.

Now, the condition which is inſerted in each of theſe propoſitions, forms preciſely the foundation of their truth; and it is by omitting the conſideration of this condition in all the ſubſequent parts of his argument, that our author has fallen into his leading miſtake; for his whole reaſoning on the tendency of thoſe things which increaſe individual riches, to diminiſh public wealth, proceeds upon the neglect of the condition ſtated in the paſſages now quoted. The increaſe of individual riches in all his ſtatements, is in fact the gain of one member of the community at another's expence. We are yet to learn how the gain of any individual, when

when not made at another's expence, can be effected without the very ſame gain to the community. We hold the propoſition to be identical, and conceive that the explanation formerly given of value and wealth muſt render it quite evident,—that the riches of a nation, and the ſum of the riches of all its inhabitants, are expreſſions completely ſynonymous.

It is not a little ſingular that the fundamental error of valuing every thing in caſh, which gave riſe to the mercantile ſyſtem, ſhould be at the bottom of all Lord Lauderdale's ſpeculations about the diſtinction of public wealth and individual riches. He has evidently fallen into his miſtakes, by conſidering commodities as worth only their money price, and by entirely forgetting, that when goods are eſtimated in ſpecie, a compariſon or exchange is inſtituted, which is not at all neceſſary in order to confer value on the commodities. We call a certain proprietor of grain worth ten thouſand pounds, becauſe it is poſſible that he might want the money, and his grain would enable him to command it. Were commerce at an end, *i. e.* were every one poſſeſſed of as much grain as he wanted, and of every other uſeful or deſireable commodity, the proprietor certainly would not be called a man worth ten thouſand pounds. Even in the preſent circumſtances, it would be as correct to ſay he was worth ſo many quarters of wheat, as ſo many thouſand pounds. The compariſon between grain and money is only made with a view to exchange; and in this view, the ſtatement of relation is affected, no doubt, by the quantity of each article; while in the other point of view, ſuch a circumſtance has no place. Our author, attending to the view of exchange only, and then confining his attention excluſively to the ſituation of the ſeller, has drawn the abſurd inference, that the wealth of *all* the individuals in a ſtate is different from the wealth of the ſtate, merely becauſe the wealth of *ſome* individuals may be affected differently from that of the community. We are inclined to think the prejudice of valuing all things in money one of the moſt rooted in the minds of men, and of the moſt extenſive influence in political ſpeculations. After all the expoſitions which it has received, and from no author more diſtinctly than from Lord Lauderdale, we find him actually founding a theory upon it. He has been led away by the form of expreſſion which ſubſtitutes the money price for the value—the money for the money's worth. He has not ſufficiently conſidered that all ſuch modes of ſpeech ſuppoſe the compariſon implied in commercial tranſactions; he has entirely forgotten, that in eſtimating the actual amount of national wealth, when we ſay the ſcarcity of an article increaſes its price or its value in money, we include in this propoſition, an aſſertion that the money, or, what is the ſame thing, ſome other

commodities, have loſt ſo much of their value eſtimated in the article which has become ſcarce. We are the more diſpoſed to point out the apparent ſource of Lord Lauderdale's miſtakes, from obſerving that the abuſe of ordinary terms have attracted his particular attention. It is ſomewhat unfortunate, that a theory, founded upon an error in common phraſeology, ſhould be prefaced by a formal diſcourſe on the vulgar errors of language.

II. The two leading opinions which divide political inquirers upon the ſources of national wealth, are thoſe of the Economiſts and of Dr Smith. We purpoſe here to exhibit a conciſe view of the objections to which both of theſe doctrines are eminently liable. Such a ſtatement, ſo far as we know, has never yet been offered to the public; for though Lord Lauderdale has introduced ſome remarks upon the ſubject, we are very far from thinking them ſatisfactory; and are perſuaded that none of the adherents of either ſect will hold his refutation as ſufficient. As the general principle of a diſtinction between productive and unproductive labour is recognized by Dr Smith,—as we conceive his theory to be extremely inconſiſtent with itſelf, and conſider it to be an imperfect approximation to that of the Economiſts, we ſhall begin with a ſhort examination of the principle on which it depends. That eminent writer divides labourers into two claſſes; thoſe who, by adding to the value of ſome raw material, or by aſſiſting in the increaſe of their quantity, realize or fix in a vendible commodity the effects of their exertions; and thoſe whoſe labour leaves nothing in exiſtence after the moment of exertion, but periſhes in the act of performance. The former he denominates *productive*, the latter *unproductive* labourers; not meaning thereby to undervalue the exertions of many uſeful kinds of work performed by the unproductive order, but merely aſſerting that they do not augment the *wealth* of the community. Thus, the work of the farm ſervant, or manufacturing labourer, is fixed in a uſeful commodity; the work of a menial ſervant periſhes with the motion of his hands, and adds to the value of nothing. A man grows rich by employing a number of the former; he ruins himſelf by keeping a multitude of the latter.

To begin with this illuſtration.—The caſe of the menial ſervant muſt not be compared with that of the labourer employed in farming or manufactures. The menial is employed by the *conſumer*, and for his own uſe excluſively; the farm-ſervant and journeyman are employed by another party, by whom the conſumer is ſupplied. The former is, properly ſpeaking, in the predicament of a commodity bought or hired for conſumption or uſe; the latter rather reſembles a tool bought or hired for working withal. But, at any rate, there is no ſuch difference as Dr Smith ſuppoſes.

ſuppoſes between the effects of maintaining a multitude of theſe ſeveral kinds of workmen. It is the extravagant quantity, not the peculiar quality of the labour thus paid for, that brings on ruin. A man is ruined if he keeps more ſervants than he can afford or employ, and does not let them out for hire,—exactly as he is ruined by purchaſing more food than he can conſume, or by employing more workmen in any branch of manufactures than his buſineſs requires, or his profits will pay.

But it may be obſerved, in general, that there is no ſolid diſtinction between the effective powers of the two claſſes whom Dr Smith denominates productive and unproductive labourers. The end of all labour is to augment the wealth of the community; that is to ſay, the fund from which the members of that community derive their ſubſiſtence, their comforts and enjoyments. To confine the definition of wealth to mere ſubſiſtence, is abſurd. Thoſe who argue thus, admit butcher's meat and manufactured liquors to be ſubſiſtence; yet neither of them are neceſſary; for if all comfort and enjoyment be kept out of view, vegetables and water would ſuffice for the ſupport of life; and by this mode of reaſoning, the epithet of *productive* would be limited to the ſort of employment that raiſes the ſpecies of food which each climate and ſoil is fitted to yield in greateſt abundance, with the leaſt labour,—to the culture of maize in ſome countries; of rice in others; of potatoes, or yams, or the bread-fruit tree in others: and in no country would any *variation* of employment whatever be conſiſtent with the definition. According to this view of the queſtion, therefore, the menial ſervant, the judge, the ſoldier and the buffoon, are to be ranked in the ſame claſs with the huſbandmen and manufacturers of every civilized community. The produce of the labour is, in all theſe caſes, calculated to ſupply either the neceſſities, the comforts, or the luxuries of ſociety; and that nation has more real wealth than another, which poſſeſſes more of *all* thoſe commodities. If this is not admitted, then we can compare the two countries only in reſpect of their relative ſhares of articles indiſpenſably requiſite, and produced in greateſt abundance, conſidering the ſoil and climate of each: and, as nothing which is not neceſſary is to be reckoned valuable, a nation wallowing in all manner of comforts and enjoyments, is to be deemed no richer than a horde fed upon the ſmalleſt portion of the cheapeſt grain, or roots and water, which is ſufficient to ſupport human life.

But it is maintained, that admitting the wealth of a community to be augmented by the labours of thoſe whom Dr Smith denominates unproductive, ſtill they are in a different predicament from the productive claſs, inaſmuch as they do not augment the

exchangeable value of any ſeparate portions of the ſociety's ſtock—neither increaſing the quantity of that ſtock, nor adding to the value of what formerly exiſted. To this, however, it may be replied, that it appears of very little conſequence whether the wants of the community are ſupplied directly by men, or mediately by men with the intervention of matter—whether we receive certain benefits and conveniences from thoſe men at once, or only in the form of inanimate and diſpoſeable ſubſtances. Dr Smith would admit that labour to be productive which realized itſelf in a ſtock, though that ſtock were deſtined to periſh the next inſtant. If a player or muſician, inſtead of charming our ears, were to produce ſomething which, when applied to our ſenſes, would give us pleaſure for a ſingle moment of time, their labour would be called productive, although the produce were to periſh in the very act of employment. Wherein, then, lies the difference? Merely in this—that we muſt conſume the one produce at a certain time and place, and may uſe the other in a latitude ſomewhat, though but a little, more extenſive. This difference, however, diſappears altogether, when we reflect that the labour would ſtill be reckoned productive which ſhould give us a tangible equivalent, though it could not be carried from the ſpot of its production, and could laſt only a ſecond in our hands upon that ſpot. The muſician, in reality, affects our ſenſes by modulating the air, *i. e.* he works upon the air, and renders a certain portion of it worth more than it was before he manufactured it. He communicates this value to it only for a moment, and in one place; there and then we are obliged to conſume it. A glaſs-blower, again, prepares ſome metal for our amuſement or inſtruction, and blows it up to a great volume. He has now fixed his labour in a tangible commodity. He then exchanges it, or gives it to us, that we may immediately uſe it, *i. e.* blow it until it flies to ſhivers. He has fixed his labour, however, we ſay, in a vendible commodity. But we may deſire his farther aſſiſtance—we may require him to uſe it for our benefit; and, without any pauſe in his proceſs of blowing, he burſts it. This caſe approaches as nearly as poſſible to that of the muſician; yet Dr Smith maintains that the latter is a different kind of labour from the former. Nay, according to him, the labour of the glaſs-blower is productive, if he ſpoils the proceſs, and defeats the end of the experiment, by pauſing, and giving into unſkilful hands the bubble before it burſts. But if he performs the whole of that inſtructive operation, by contemplating which Sir Iſaac Newton was taught the nature of colour, his labour muſt be denominated unproductive!

But

But it is not fair to deny that the claſs called unproductive fixes its labour in ſome exiſting commodity. Firſt, we may obſerve that no labour, not even that of the farmer, can lay claim to the quality of actually *adding* to the ſtock already in exiſtence: Man never creates; he only modifies the maſs of matter previouſly in his poſſeſſion. But, next, the claſs alluded to does actually, like the claſs termed productive, realize its labour in an additional value conferred upon the ſtock formerly exiſting. The only difference is, that inſtead of working upon detached portions, this claſs operates upon the ſtock of the community in general. Thus, the ſoldier renders every portion of that ſtock more valuable by ſecuring the whole from plunder; and the judge, by ſecuring the whole from injury. Dr Smith would allow that man to be a productive labourer who ſhould manufacture bolts and bars for the defence of property. Is not he alſo, then, a productive labourer, who protects property in the maſs, and adds to every portion of it the quality of being ſecure? In like manner, thoſe who increaſe the enjoyments of ſociety, add a value to the ſtock previouſly exiſting; they furniſh new equivalents for which it may be exchanged; they render the ſtock worth more, *i. e.* exchangeable for more—capable of commanding more enjoyments than it formerly could command. The ſtock of the community is either that part which is conſumed by the producer, or that part which he exchanges for ſome object of deſire. Were there nothing for which to exchange the latter portion, it would ſoon ceaſe to be produced. Hence, the labour that augments the ſum of the enjoyments and objects of deſire for which this portion may be exchanged, is indirectly beneficial to production. But if this portion deſtined to be exchanged, is already in exiſtence, the labour which is ſupported by it, and which returns an equivalent to the former owner, by the new enjoyments that it yields him, muſt be allowed to add a value directly to the exchangeable part of the ſtock.

In every point of view, therefore, it appears that the opinion of Dr Smith is untenable. He has drawn his line of diſtinction between productive and unproductive labour in too low a part of the ſcale. The labour which he denominates unproductive, has the very ſame qualities with a great part of the labour which he allows to be productive. According to his own principles, the line ſhould have been drawn, ſo as to cut off, on the one hand, the labour which apparently increaſes the quantity of ſtock, and to leave, on the other hand, all that labour which only modifies, or in ſome manner induces a beneficial change upon ſtock already in exiſtence. In a word, his principles clearly carry him to the theory of the Economiſts; and, in order to be

conſiſtent, he ought unqueſtionably to have reckoned agriculture the *only* productive employment of capital or labour. That there is only this one doctrine tenable, in conſiſtency with itſelf, has been, we conceive, ſufficiently proved. We ſhall now conſider whether there is in reality any foundation even for this diſtinction, which forms the baſis of the theory ſupported by the Economiſts.

Whoever has honoured the foregoing obſervations with his attention, will ſpeedily be ſatisfied that the reaſonings applied to Dr Smith's claſſification of labour are applicable alſo to the more preciſe and conſiſtent doctrine of the followers of Queſnai. It is the opinion of theſe ingenious metaphyſicians, that the labour beſtowed upon the earth can alone be conſidered as really productive; that all other labour only varies the poſition or the form of capital, but that agriculture increaſes its net amount. That the merchant who tranſports goods from the ſpot of their abundance to the quarter where they are wanted, adds nothing to the whole ſtock, or to the value of the portions which he circulates, theſe reaſoners deem almoſt a ſelf-evident propoſition. That the manufacturer who faſhions raw materials into uſeful commodities increaſes their value, the Economiſts indeed admit; but they deny that any farther addition is thus made to the value of the materials than the value of the workman's maintenance while employed in the manufacture.

It ſeems obvious, at firſt ſight, to remark, that, according to their own principles, theſe theoriſts have committed one error. They have ranged all labour, except that of the huſbandman, in the ſame claſs; while they have virtually acknowledged that as great a difference ſubſiſts between the two members of that diviſion, as between either of them and the other diviſion. For ſurely, the merchant, who adds, according to them, no value to any material, is as much to be diſtinguiſhed from the manufacturer who does add the value of his maintenance to the raw produce, as the manufacturer is to be diſtinguiſhed from the huſbandman, whoſe labour returns a net profit over and above the price of his maintenance. This criticiſm is almoſt deciſive, in a diſcuſſion which, it muſt be admitted on all hands, reſolves into a queſtion of claſſification. But the error of the Economiſts is ſtill more fundamental.

There is no eſſential difference between the powers of man over matter, in agriculture, and in other employments. It is a vulgar error, to ſuppoſe that, in the operations of huſbandry, any portion is added to the ſtock of matter formerly in exiſtence. The farmer works up the raw material, *i. e.* the manure, ſoil and ſeed, into grain, by means of heat, moiſture, and the vege-

tative powers of nature, in whatever these may consist. The manufacturer works up his raw material by means of certain other powers of nature. Dr Smith, however, who states the doctrine of the Economists in its greatest latitude, (Chap. V. Book II. Vol. II. p. 52. 8vo edition), asserts, that in agriculture nature works with man, and that the rent is the wages of her labour; but that, in manufactures, man does every thing. But does not nature work with man, in manufacture as well as in agriculture? If she works with him in forming a handful of seed into a sheaf of flax, does she not also work with him in fashioning this useless sheaf into a garment? Why draw a line between the two effects, when a person can no more clothe himself with an unwrought sheaf of the produce than with an unsown handful of the seed? Why draw a line between the two operations, when the workman can no more change the sheaf into a garment without the aid of those powers which we denominate nature, cohesion, divisibility, heat and mixture, than the farmer can convert the seed into a sheaf without the vegetative powers of heat, mixture and cohesion? If, instead of flax, we suppose the sheaf to be of barley, the analogy still will be more apparent. The brewer or distiller is certainly a productive labourer; yet the changes which he effects are as little the direct work of his hands, as the multiplication of the seed in the field. The conversion of that substance into an intoxicating beverage is the work of nature, as well as its growth in the harvest; and fermentation is as great a mystery as vegetation. If the rent of land, again, may be called the wages of nature, in agricultural operations, the net profits of manufacturing stock may be termed her wages in our operations upon raw produce; meaning by net profits that part of the gross profit which remans after paying the labourer who works, and him who superintends; that is, after deducting wages, and the profit received by a man trading on borrowed capital: for we must always keep in view a consideration, the omission of which, we will venture to assert, has misled almost all political inquirers, that the rent of land is, properly speaking, the net profit of stock advanced by the landlord, and that every thing which the farmer receives over and above the wages of his labour, is the profit of another stock, which may be borrowed as well as the land; and in this case his whole profit resolves into wages—the case of a trader having no capital whatever. In both cases, there is a clear gain; in both it is obtained in the same way; in both distributed among the same classes.

Let us, however, take an example or two, for the purpose of

comparing more closely the productive with the unproductive kinds of labour. The person who makes a plough is, according to the Economists, an unproductive labourer; but he who drives it is a productive labourer. In what predicament, then, is the labourer who makes a hedge round a field for its protection, or a ditch for draining it? This operation, because it is called farm-work, is admitted by the Economists to be productive. But wherein does it differ from the plough manufacture? Both are alike subservient and necessary to the operations of ploughing and reaping; both are alike performed by persons who do not raise the produce that feeds them; and both are alike performed upon some materials produced from the earth by other labour. If the plough were made in a bungling manner by farm-servants in the out-houses of the farm, we imagine the manufacture would of necessity fall under the head of productive labour, as well as the work of hedging and ditching. Again—Capital employed by the corn-merchant in collecting and circulating grain, is most unproductively employed according to the Economists. But the capital employed in collecting seed in a barn, carrying it from thence to the field, and returning the crop at harvest, is employed in the most productive manner possible. Can it be maintained that there is any difference whatever between these two cases, necessarily placed by the theory of the Economists at the opposite extremes of their scale? If the corn-merchant lived on the ground of the farmer, and if the farmer, from this convenient circumstance, were enabled to sell all his grain without having any barns or granaries, certain of supplying himself at his own door next seed-time, the Economists would be forced to allow that the capital of the corn-merchant, in so far as it assisted the farmer, was productively employed.—Wherein lies the difference?—And these observations are applicable to every case of every manufacture, and every species of commerce whatever. They apply to those kinds of employment which are subservient to the purposes of comfort and enjoyment, as well as to those which administer to our necessary wants; for we showed, above, that there is no possibility of drawing a line between the cases, consistently with principles admitted even by the Economists themselves. The foundation of all these misapprehensions is evidently laid in a neglect of the great principle of the division of labour. In whatever part of a community the labour connected with agriculture, immediately or remotely, is performed, the subdivision of the task renders it more productive than if it were carried on upon the farm itself: and, to deny the same properties to this labour, on ac-

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count of its ſubdiviſion and accumulation in different quarters, is little leſs than a contradiction in terms.

There is only one view of the economical theory which remains to be taken; it is that moſt ingenious argument by which the followers of Queſnai attempt to prove that manufacturing labour only adds a value equal to its own maintenance. The above remarks may indeed ſuffice for the refutation of this doctrine; but its peculiar demonſtration merits ſeparate attention *. The works of the artizan, the Economiſts maintain, are in a very different predicament from the produce of the agricultural labourer. Multiply the former beyond a certain extent, and either a part will remain unſold, or the whole will ſell at a reduced price. Multiply the latter to any extent, and ſtill the ſame demand will exiſt, from the increaſed number of conſumers whom it will maintain. The labour of the artizan is therefore limited to a particular quantity; this quantity it will always nearly equal, but never exceed; and the amount is determined by the competition of different artiſts on the one hand, and the fixed extent of the demand on the other. The labour of the huſbandman has no ſuch limits. The extenſion of his productions neceſſarily widens his market. The price of manufactures will therefore be reduced to the value of the raw material, of the workman's maintenance, and of his maſter's maintenance; while that of agricultural produce, having no ſuch limit, leaves always a net profit over and above the farmer's maintenance.

In anſwer to this very ſubtle argument, we may remark, that it proceeds on a total miſconception of the principle of population. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe that the mere augmentation of agricultural produce extends the demand for it, by increaſing the population of the community. If the loweſt means only of ſubſiſtence are conſidered, and if men will be contented to poſſeſs only the ſimpleſt food, without any raiment, then, no doubt, an increaſe of grain and roots may increaſe the numbers of the conſumers. But is it not evident that men require more than the mere neceſſaries of life, and that even thoſe neceſſaries are in part the production of manufacturing labour? Does not a perſon, in forming his eſtimate of a competency, take into the account articles of manufacture as well as huſbandry and furniture, clothes and luxuries, gratifications as well as meat and drink? The mere augmentation of thoſe ſimple neceſſaries will never ſenſibly increaſe the number of the conſumers, any more than the

* See this reaſoning ſtated repeatedly in *Dialogue 2de, Phyſiocratie*, p. 571.

the mere augmentation of articles of comfort and luxury. An increaſe in the production of the one claſs of commodities will operate exactly as powerfully on population, as an increaſe in the production of the other claſs. In fact, an increaſe of either may ſomewhat affect the numbers of the conſumers; but in order to produce any conſiderable augmentation of thoſe numbers, the increaſe of both ſpecies of produce muſt go on together. This argument, then, only leads us by a new, and certainly an unexpected road, to a novel concluſion in favour of the theory that utterly denies any diſtinction between any of the applications of capital and induſtry, which are ſubſervient to the wants and enjoyments of man.

III. The reaſonings in which we have been engaged, will probably be deemed ſufficient to authoriſe ſeveral poſitive inferences with reſpect to the nature and ſources of national wealth. We truſt that enough has been ſaid to expoſe the inaccuracy of drawing any line between the different channels in which capital and labour may be employed—of ſeparating, with Dr Smith and his followers, the operations of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, from thoſe arts where nothing tangible is produced or exchanged—or of placing, with the Economiſts, the diviſion ſomewhat higher, and limiting the denomination of *productive* to agricultural employment alone. It may ſafely be concluded, that all thoſe occupations which tend to ſupply the neceſſary wants, or to multiply the comforts and pleaſures of human life, are equally productive in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, and tend to augment the maſs of human riches, meaning by riches all thoſe things which are neceſſary or convenient or delightful to man. The progreſs of ſociety has been attended with a complete ſeparation of employments originally united. At firſt, every man provided for his neceſſities as well as his pleaſures, and for *all* his wants as well as *all* his enjoyments. By degrees, a diviſion of theſe cares was introduced; the ſubſiſtence of the community became the province of one claſs, its comforts of another, and its gratifications of a third. The different operations ſubſervient to the attainment of each of theſe objects, were then entruſted to different hands; and the univerſal eſtabliſhment of barter, connected the whole of theſe diviſions and ſubdiviſions together; enabled one man to manufacture for all, without danger of ſtarving by not ploughing or hunting—and another to plough or hunt for all, without the riſk of wanting tools and clothes by not manufacturing. It has thus become as impoſſible to ſay exactly who feeds, clothes and entertains the community, as it would be impoſſible to ſay which of the many workmen employed in the manufacture of pins is

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the actual pin-maker, or which of the farm-ſervants produces the crop. All the branches of uſeful induſtry work together to the common end, as all the parts of each branch cooperate to its particular object. If you ſay that the farmer feeds the community, and produces all the raw materials which the other claſſes work upon; we anſwer, that unleſs thoſe other claſſes worked upon the raw materials, and ſupplied the farmer's neceſſities, he would be forced to allot part of his labour to this employment, whilſt he forced others to aſſiſt in raiſing the rude produce. In ſuch a complicated ſyſtem, it is clear that all labour has the ſame effect, and equally increaſes the whole maſs of wealth. Nor can any attempt be more vain than their's who would define the particular parts of the machine that produce the motion, which is neceſſarily the reſult of the whole powers combined, and depends on each one of the mutually connected members. Yet ſo wedded have thoſe theoriſts been to the notion, that certain neceſſary kinds of employment are abſolutely unproductive, that a writer of no leſs name than Dr Smith has not ſcrupled to rank the capital ſunk in the public debt, or ſpent in warfare, in the ſame claſs with the property conſumed by fire and the labour deſtroyed by peſtilence. He ought ſurely to have reflected, that the debts of a country are always contracted, and its wars entered into, for ſome purpoſe either of ſecurity or aggrandizement; and that ſtock thus employed muſt have produced an equivalent, which cannot be aſſerted of property or population abſolutely deſtroyed. This equivalent may have been greater or leſs; that is, the money ſpent for uſeful purpoſes may have been applied with more or leſs prudence and frugality. Thoſe purpoſes, too, may have been more or leſs uſeful; and a certain degree of waſte and extravagance always attends the operations of funding and of war. But this muſt only be looked upon as an addition to the neceſſary price at which the benefits in view muſt be bought. The food of a country, in like manner, may be uſed with different degrees of economy; and the neceſſity of eating may be ſupplied at more or leſs coſt. So long as the love of war is a neceſſary evil in human nature, it is abſurd to denominate the expences unproductive that are incurred by defending a country, or, which is the ſame thing, preventing an invaſion, by a judicious attack of an enemy, or, which is alſo the ſame thing, avoiding the neceſſity of war by a prudent ſyſtem of foreign policy. And he who holds the labour of ſoldiers and ſailors and diplomatic agents to be unproductive, commits preciſely the ſame error as he who ſhould maintain the labour of the hedger unproductive, becauſe he only protects, and does not rear the crop. All thoſe kinds of labour and employments of

ſtock,

ſtock, are parts of the ſyſtem, and all are *equally* productive of wealth *.

The ſpeculations in which we have been indulging, appear, in ſome points, to have partially received Lord Lauderdale's aſſent. His work contains a ſtatement of ſeveral of the propoſitions which we have ventured to maintain; and, in particular, he argues againſt the doctrines maintained by the author of the Wealth of Nations, on grounds ſimilar to thoſe which we have detailed. But although ſeveral of his poſitions are enforced with conſiderable ingenuity and acuteneſs, and though, generally ſpeaking, we have to acknowledge a great degree of liberality in his economical tenets; yet his deductions appeared to us ſo deficient in connexion, and in many points ſo narrow, and ſo little calculated to exhibit the ſubject with the full effect of which it is capable, that we have thought ourſelves juſtified in ſubmitting to our readers the foregoing analyſis of our opinions upon this important field of inquiry, truſting that ſuch a view of theories, never before fairly canvaſſed, may prove not unacceptable to the ſtudent of political economy. We ſhall now, with greater brevity, run over a few of the topics connected with this branch of the ſubject, in which the noble author appears to have committed ſome fundamental errors, from his raſh method of inquiring, and his unphiloſophical ardour for novelty and paradox.

Lord Lauderdale maintains, and we really think with more parade

* See Book II. chap. III. Wealth of Nations, (Vol. II. p. 25. 8vo edition.) The terms *productive* and *unproductive* are, in the argument of ſome of the Economiſts, and in parts of Dr Smith's reaſonings, ſo qualified, as to render the queſtion a diſpute about words, or at moſt about arrangement. But this is not the caſe in many branches of both thoſe theories, and eſpecially in the poſition examined in the text. The author actually remarks how much richer England would now be, had ſhe not waged ſuch and ſuch wars. So might we eſtimate how many more coats we ſhould have, had we always gone naked. The remarks here ſtated, may with equal juſtice be applied to a circumſtance in the Theory of the Balance of Trade. In ſtating the proportion of exports to imports, it has juſtly been obſerved, that no notice can ever be taken, in Cuſtom-houſe accounts, of money remitted for ſubſidies, or for the payment of our troops and fleets abroad. But it has very inaccurately been added, that theſe ſums are ſo much actually ſent out of the country without an equivalent. In fact, the equivalent is great and obvious, although of a nature which cannot be ſtated in figures among the imports. The equivalent is all the ſucceſs gained by our foreign warfare and foreign policy—the aggrandizement and ſecurity of the ſtate, and the power of carrying on that commerce, without which there would be neither exports nor imports to calculate and compare,

parade than is warranted by any novelty the propoſition can be thought to poſſeſs, that the ſources of wealth are threefold—*land*, *labour*, and *capital*. He accuſes all preceding writers of inconſiſtency and confuſion in aſcertaining thoſe ſources, and is peculiarly ſevere upon Dr Smith, whoſe doctrines are ſo lamentably incongruous, that, it ſeems, 'no opinion has any where been maintained on this ſubject, which does not appear to have been adopted in different parts of the Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations.' (p. 116.) A little farther attention to the ineſtimable work of that profound and deliberate reaſoner, and a more careful examination of that very vague and arbitrary poſition, by which, as by an infallible teſt, he preſumes to try the very father of this ſcience, would probably have taught the Earl of Lauderdale to doubt whether the inconſiſtency lay in the ſubſtance or in the language only of Dr Smith's ſtatements, and whether the miſtake was to be charged upon the doctrines of that illuſtrious author, or upon the ſtandard which has now been invented for their admeaſurement.

It is obvious to remark, that no eminent degree of praiſe is due to a diviſion which, for the ſake of extreme accuracy, conſtitutes '*capital*' a branch or a ſource of wealth, as ſeparate from land, without giving any definition of what the term *capital* means. By capital, when uſed generally, we underſtand the whole of the material world which man can appropriate, as well as thoſe talents, natural or acquired, which are the ſprings of his exertions. In this ſenſe of the word, it ſignifies all property material and mental, or every thing valuable to man. Among other things, it clearly comprehends land. But ſometimes we ſpeak of capital, in oppoſition to land; and, in this caſe, it comprehends every thing valuable, except the ground; for it certainly includes all the parts and productions of the ſoil which are ſevered from it. In this ſenſe, the diviſion nearly reſembles the legal diſtribution of property into real and perſonal. Both theſe definitions of capital are uſed repeatedly, and with equal frequency, by every writer on political economy. A metaphyſical diſcuſſion of the ſubject might, without much impropriety, have contained ſome inquiry into the relative propriety of thoſe arrangements; and we think a very little attention might have ſhewn that the leaſt correct, is that which is adopted by our author.

If capital is contradiſtinguiſhed from land, the ſeparation is made by a moſt indefinite and obſcure boundary. Canals, roads, and bridges, are as much a part of capital, as any portable machines, faſhioned out of the produce or parts of the ſoil. The ſame may be ſaid of fences, drains, footways, and in general of all the oſtenſible monuments of labour in an improved farm. But is not the ſoil itſelf, alſo, referable to the very ſame claſs, after

after it has been worked up with manure and compoſts, ſo as to be highly fertilized? Is not the whole ſurface of an improved farm, therefore, to be conſidered as capital, rather than as land? And when a perſon buys a hundred acres of improved land, how can he ſay what part of the price is paid for land, and what part for capital? We ſpeak indeed of capital veſted in land, and uſe the phraſe, until we actually think there is ſuch a thing as adding the capital to land; whereas, the whole meaning of the expreſſion is, that capital of one kind or other is given in exchange for land, or that our property has become land, inſtead of ſome other valuable commodity—or, according to what has juſt now been defined, that one kind of capital has been exchanged for another. If it is ſaid, that capital is that in which labour has been fixed and realized, either by accumulation or by change of form; then, it is very obvious, that land, in the moſt extenſive ſenſe of the word, muſt become capital in order to be uſeful; and that many things, uſually reckoned capital, as the wild produce which is raiſed by nature without human aſſiſtance, belongs to the claſs of land, and not to that of ſtock. But a difference is eſtabliſhed by ſome, eſpecially by Dr Smith, between capital and the other parts of ſtock; capital being, according to them, that part which brings in a revenue. This idea clearly appears, by the whole of the illuſtrations given of it, to have ariſen from the fundamental error of conſidering nothing as productive, which does not yield a tangible return, and of confounding uſe with exchange. For, may not a man live upon his ſtock, that is, enjoy his capital, without either diminiſhing or exchanging any part of it? In what does the value, and the real nature of ſtock reſerved for immediate conſumption, differ from ſtock that yields what Dr Smith calls a revenue or profit? Merely in this—that the former is wanted and uſed itſelf by the owner; the latter is not wanted by him, and therefore is exchanged for ſomething which he does want. There is ſurely no other meaning in the idea of profit or revenue, but this: and as the profit of that part of ſtock which is exchanged, and which the adherents of this opinion denominate capital, conſiſts merely in the uſe of thoſe things obtained in return—ſo, the profit of the other part of ſtock, the portion reſerved for conſumption, is the uſe to which it is immediately ſubſervient. According to Dr Smith, there is ſome difference between revenue and enjoyment; and that part of a man's property yields him no profit, which is moſt uſeful and neceſſary to him, by which he can ſupport and enjoy life without the neceſſity of any operation of barter.

But in no particular is the confuſion of our ideas on theſe ſubjects

jects more remarkable, than in our mode of conceiving the subserviency of different objects to the production of wealth. Lord Lauderdale seems to think that he has settled this point with unprecedented accuracy, by stating, with great prolixity and repetition, that land, labour and capital, are the three sources of wealth; and yet through his whole Inquiry he has never taken the trouble to draw a line between the various meanings in which he is obliged to use the term 'source;' for he is perpetually confounding the fountain with the stream—the origin with the produce—the cause of wealth with the wealth itself. It is obvious that *land* is a component part of wealth, as well as a means of producing it. The use of a lawn, or station for building, is as much the enjoyment of land itself in the shape of wealth, as the use of its produce for food or clothing is the enjoyment of wealth derived from land.

To call *capital* a source of wealth, is still more inaccurate. Capital is nothing but accumulated stock; and all the parts of stock are much more frequently to be considered as wealth—something from which enjoyment is immediately derived, than the mere instruments by which wealth or enjoyment may be procured. To class the fruits of the earth with the land itself—the fish with the water—and the consumeable produce with the thing which produces it, is evidently no very signal proof of accuracy in an author who has taken so much pains to instruct the world in 'the true nature of value, and the difference between wealth and riches.'

Labour, on the other hand, is so far different in the mode of its subserviency to our enjoyments, that it can in no way be ranked in the same class, either with capital or with land. Labour is applicable to both land and capital. It is the means of rendering them useful, or of increasing their utility. It is truly the origin and source of wealth; but is, in no sense of the word, wealth itself—unless, indeed, we conceive the pleasure of some kinds of exertion to be a use of labour analogous to the enjoyment of riches. Nothing, then, can be less close and considerate than the manner in which Lord Lauderdale settles the question relative to the origin and nature of wealth. The subject, indeed, does not admit of any such formal distinction. Wealth may be said to be every thing from which man immediately derives the supply of his wants and desires. Its component parts are as various as those wants and desires, though it is, no doubt, susceptible of various general divisions, liable to no just exceptions in point of accuracy. Thus, it may be ranged in the two classes of matter and mind, or property and talents; and property may be divided into animate and inanimate, or the lifeless and the living things

things over which man has dominion. By a combination of thoſe component parts of wealth—by the operation of talents on property, and by a combination of the component parts of property—by the operation of living powers upon inert matter, man is enabled to increaſe the whole of his poſſeſſions, and to augment the ſum of his enjoyments. In by far the greateſt number of inſtances, ſome exertion of labour is neceſſary to profit by his poſſeſſions; but this is not univerſally the caſe, unleſs we go ſo far as to term that exertion labour, which conſiſts in the very act of enjoyment, or of uſe; for it would ſcarcely be correct, to conſider the eating of wild fruits on the tree as the labour paid for the acquiſition of them; it is rather the enjoyment of them—and has nothing in it analogous to the previous exertion required to procure ſimilar fruits by culture, and which muſt be followed by the ſame exertion in uſing them.

The foregoing obſervations will enable us, with ſufficient accuracy, to appreciate the merit of Lord Lauderdale's theory reſpecting the uſe of capital—the part of his writings which, at firſt ſight, appears moſt impoſing. The capital accumulated in every community, our author maintains, is uſeful to the members of that community, and profitable to its owners, only in one or both of the two following ways—either by ſupplanting a portion of labour otherwiſe neceſſary, or by performing ſomething which no human labour could effect. In order to demonſtrate this propoſition, we are carried through the five different modes of employing capital—in *machinery*, which evidently abridges the quantity, and extends the powers of labour—in the *home trade* and manufactures, which ſave conſumers the labour of purchaſing at the place of production, and of commiſſioning each article that they may wiſh to have made—in the *foreign trade*, which create a ſaving of the ſame deſcription—in *agriculture*, which has the ſame effect as machinery, and which, from our author's own ſhowing, ought to have been ranged under the firſt head—and, laſtly, in *circulation*, which obviouſly has the ſame effects with commerce, and ſhould have been ranked under the ſecond head, as being only one branch of trade.

We have here ſtated what appears to be the *correct* meaning of the author; for he uſes a language on this part of his ſubject, which would lead us to infer, that there is a difference between capital and the objects in which it is ſaid to be veſted or employed. It is obvious, that nothing more is meant by capital employed in machinery, than that capital conſiſts in the machinery and in the other property given in exchange for it; and ſo of the other caſes. The benefits, then, attributed to the uſe of capital, conſiſt merely in the advantages derived from the ſociety having

having *accumulated* a certain portion of ſtock of various kinds. Lord Lauderdale, conſtantly mixing the idea of exchange in all his poſitions, ſpeaks of capital as if it conſiſted in the price paid for all the objects which he enumerates.

Now, it appears to us, that if the ſecond uſe of capital ſtated by our author (*viz.* the enabling man to perform what his labour could not accompliſh) means, its power of ſupplying all thoſe wants which labour without property could never ſatisfy, the propoſition, that capital either ſupplants labour, or ſupplies what labour cannot give, is exactly an identical propoſition. For, ſurely, it did not require an elaborate diſcourſe on 'the nature of value and the uſe of capital,' to convince us, that the uſe of a knife is to ſave the waſte of our teeth and nails; and that if we had no food, the labour of our teeth and nails, aſſiſted by a knife, would never have prevented us from ſtarving. What more do we learn from this theory, than that the poſſeſſion of matter ſaves man trouble, and ſupplies wants which no pains of his could, without the aid of matter, have gratified?

But the part of Lord Lauderdale's propoſition which appears moſt ingenious and original, is his explanation of the manner in which the accumulation of ſtock is beneficial, by abridging the labour of the community. Yet even in this ſpeculation we are convinced there is no ſolidity. That the ſtock veſted in machinery, or, in other words, machinery itſelf, is uſeful by abridging labour, we cannot conceive to be a propoſition either diſputable or novel. Our author, indeed, ſays that Dr Smith 'did not perceive the uſe of machinery in ſupplanting labour;' and he accuſes that celebrated writer of 'a ſtrange confuſion of ideas,' for aſcribing to machinery the quality of increaſing the productive powers of labour; as if (ſays Lord Lauderdale) we ſhould term the effect of a ſhort road, that of increaſing the velocity of the walker (p. 185). But is not all this a diſpute about words? For what does it ſignify whether we ſay that a cotton mill ſaves the labour of ninety-nine workmen in a hundred, or that it renders the labour of the hundredth workman as productive as the labour of the whole hundred formerly was? Is it not quite accurate to ſay, that a contrivance which gives one man the power of a hundred, increaſes a hundred fold the power of his labour? Until a machine can be invented by which work can be done without *any* human aſſiſtance, the form of expreſſion adopted by Dr Smith will remain the more correct of the two. Beſides, according to Lord Lauderdale's own theory, machines are uſed for purpoſes which no labour could accompliſh. If a coining machine performs a taſk to which all the exertions of human

proving his condition, without the assistance of those material instruments which constitute machinery. The idea of defining man a *tool-making* animal, is at least as old as the earlier days of Dr Franklin. And that the perfection of tools is entirely owing to the manufacture of such implements becoming the peculiar care of a class different from that which uses them, and to the still greater refinement of confining different subordinate classes to the manufacture of the various parts of each tool, is a truth, of which no man ever showed himself ignorant or careless, except the author of the work now before us.

It deserves farther to be considered, that the utmost perfection of the tool-making art, the contrivance of new combinations of tools whereby the power of labour is augmented, can only be ascribed to that uttermost refinement in the division of labour, which forms a peculiar class of such men as Smeaton, and Bolton, and Watt, and Arkwright. The use and invention of machinery present, in fact, the most remarkable examples of the advantages derived from a division of labour. To contrast the benefits received from this division with those produced by the use of machinery, is as absurd as to compare the effects of two circumstances intimately and necessarily connected; the one, in fact, the immediate result of the other, and both inseparably joined together in all their operations. It is like quibbling and disputing whether fire or gunpowder produce the greatest augmentation in the aggregate of killed and wounded.

But the most remarkable branch of Lord Lauderdale's speculations on the increase of wealth, is that in which he denies the possibility of augmenting national opulence by any other than the means of its production. He modifies this position, however, in a very material degree, when he comes to his demonstration. At first, we are led to suppose that he means roundly to deny the reality of the difference which accumulation makes upon the sum-total of wealth; and indeed all his general assertions, especially his invectives against those who prefer the conduct of the thrifty to that of the prodigal, warrant the idea of accumulation being, in our author's opinion, injurious to society. Afterwards, however, when he comes to argue the matter more methodically, we find that his reasons apply merely to the *excess* of accumulation; and the only inference to which they lead is, that capital may be heaped up, by parsimony, so as to exceed the amount which can be profitably employed. This he proves by a variety of illustrations, in our opinion quite superfluous. He quotes, for example, the common saying of farmers, 'as much has been done for that field as possible;' (p. 223.) He shows, at great length,

length, that the production of any valuable commodity suits itself to the effectual demand for it; and accuses Dr Smith of 'unaccountable inconsistency' (p. 221.) for admitting this position, and at the same time defending the plan of accumulation. But, what is rather more than superfluous in our author, and what savours strongly of this very inconsistency in one who denies the general benefits of accumulation, he accuses Mr Hume of inattention to the powers of human invention in contriving means of supplanting labour, because that excellent writer states a part of the argument against unlimited accumulation, *viz.* 'the necessary checks which wealth provides to its farther increase,' (p. 298.) It is abundantly clear, that the very power here brought up in answer to Mr Hume, is one of the reasons for believing in the effects of accumulated wealth. It is because new capital, *i. e.* stock not consumed but saved, gives employment to new men, and sustenance to increased numbers of inhabitants, and because it exercises the inventive powers of its possessors, that its accumulation may fairly be said to have no defineable bounds. That all expenditure is to be condemned as ruinous beyond what is absolutely necessary for sustaining life, is a doctrine never maintained by any reasoner worth refuting; it is a doctrine uniformly discountenanced by the tenor of the preceding pages. Neither did any one ever think that capital could in no situation be heaped up to excess; on the contrary, the history of several countries has distinctly proved the possibility of such an event.

If the state is thoroughly peopled and cultivated; if its extent is so small, as to leave no room for great agricultural or manufacturing improvements; if its foreign commerce has attained the greatest height which the parsimony of its inhabitants enables it to attain by a diminution of profits; if nothing but the acquisition of new territories, a recourse to the colonial system, or an emigration of its capital and people, can save the wealth of the country from being at a stand; any farther accumulation of stock by parsimony must then be unnecessary, as no new channels of employment can be opened. Holland has long nearly reached this point; and England seems tending towards it, if she does not, as will be the necessary effect of her farther progress in accumulation of capital, attend more to her domestic agriculture, and the improvement of her noble colonies.

If, then, by accumulation, our author means only too great accumulation of stock, (that is, a greater aggregation of capital by parsimony, than can be employed), we have only to deny the novelty or importance, not certainly to dispute the truth of his doctrine. But we must add, that the same doctrine must be extended to all accumulation of capital whatever; for, whether the stock of a community is made greater by a retrenchment of

expenditure, or by an augmentation of production, the impoſſibility of finding profitable employment for the ſuperfluous wealth muſt be equally apparent. The only difference is, that this impoſſibility will, in the one caſe, force the parſimonious to enjoy what they formerly accumulated; and, in the other caſe, it will force them to enjoy more than ever they could afford to conſume.

If, however, our author means to deny, in general, the powers of parſimony to increaſe wealth, we muſt remind him that it is only by ſaving out of the revenue of the community that it ever can be augmented at all; for ſurely it requires no form of reaſoning to prove, that if *all* the return, *i. e.* the conſumeable capital with its profits, were conſumed in one year, nothing but the land and water would remain for the next; and that if this year's addition, *i. e.* the net profits of the capital for one year, were wholly conſumed, the ſociety would be no richer this year than the laſt. An author whoſe main doctrine is, that capital acts as a machine, in ſupplanting labour and increaſing the natural powers of man, cannot certainly maintain, as a corollary from his propoſition, that the conſumption, in other words the deſtruction, of this machine, makes no difference upon the aggregate of valuable poſſeſſions.

Lord Lauderdale applies, at very great length, his doctrine of accumulation to the plan of paying off public debts by ſinking funds. He is peculiarly ſevere upon Mr Pitt's celebrated ſcheme for this purpoſe; and, indeed, ſeems diſpoſed to treat all ſuch projects with conſiderable levity and contempt.

The obſervations offered above ſeem to furniſh a ſufficient anſwer to his reaſoning on this topic.—We requeſt the noble author's attention, however, to the following particulars, which his leaning towards a paradox, and his apparent prejudice againſt the ſcheme we have mentioned, appear to have kept entirely out of his view.

1. When Lord Lauderdale ridicules the idea of money increaſing *ad infinitum* by compound intereſt, and treats as abſurd the calculations that have been inſtituted with reſpect to the ſum which a penny laid out in this way eighteen hundred years ago would now have produced, he utterly forgets the neceſſary conditions of the queſtion, *viz.* that a revenue ſhould always exiſt at leaſt proportional to the augmentation of the original ſum. For, who ever maintained that, in point of fact, a penny would now produce five hundred millions of ſolid globes of gold, when a millionth part of ſo much gold never exiſted in the world? If, however, the penny had been laid out at compound intereſt, and if the proceſs of its accumulation did not alter (as it muſt have done)

done) the rate of its profits, no one can deny that the holder who ſo employed it, would long ere now have been poſſeſſed of all the gold in the world, and even of all that new gold which the demand would have tended to produce.—It never was imagined that the operation of compound intereſt actually created metal, or made the penny a globe of gold; but only that it transferred a conſtantly increaſing amount of gold into the accumulator's hands.

2. When Lord Lauderdale recommends us to leave the parſimonious plan of accumulating by ſinking funds, he ſhould remember that this parſimony is only intended to correct the evil effects of former prodigality. No one can deny that the immenſe ſums formerly withdrawn from private revenue, and waſtefully ſpent by the public, would have accumulated, in the interval, by the thouſand proceſſes of private ingenuity and parſimony. The ſinking fund only reſtores ſuch ſums to their former proprietors, who receive them gradually, and place them in the channels left empty by the loans originally contracted.

3. If any ſudden payment of a large capital of debt were made, no doubt it would be inconvenient to the public creditor, who might not find it eaſy to diſcover means of employing it; but if paid piecemeal, it will eaſily find means of inveſtment, even though it is ſuppoſed to be conſtantly *created* and not *ſhifted*; unleſs we imagine that all the channels of trade, manufactures, and agriculture, whether domeſtic or colonial, are abſolutely full of as much ſtock as they can receive.

4. Let it, however, be remembered, that the capital paid off by any operation of a ſinking fund, muſt have previouſly exiſted in the form of revenue. The ſtate muſt have received it in taxes upon individuals who had produced it as profit from time to time. The capital, therefore, is only transferred, nay more, would actually have exiſted, had it not paſſed through the hands of the government; for part of it has been neceſſarily expended as *revenue*, by the managers of the funds, which would have remained in the hands of the producers, had there been no impoſt levied.

We have ſhown, in another place, that the proper annual fund of taxation is the overplus of the net profits of the community in each year, which remains after defraying the capitaliſts' expences. The effect of the impoſts muſt no doubt be, in ſome caſes, to diminiſh expenditure; but, in the great proportion of inſtances, it muſt neceſſarily fall upon that portion of the clear annual gains which, if left untouched, would have gone to increaſe the capital, and be employed in gaining new profits. As much of this portion, then, as is raiſed by impoſt, and convert-

ed, by the proceſs of the ſinking fund, into capital, is only taken from one employment to another; from performing the function and ſeeking the diſtribution of ſtock in the tax-payers' hands, to performing the ſame function and ſeeking the ſame diſtribution in the ſtockholders' hands. But even if we ſuppoſe the taxes to be levied entirely on the portion of annual profits reſerved for conſumption, it is evident that this portion, after it has been transferred to the public creditors, will return to the ſervice of the former owner, if he can afford to borrow it, *i. e.* if it is expedient for the community that he ſhould ſpend it; ſo that there will be as much expenditure ſtill as the fulneſs of the channels of employment of ſtock requires, and the circumſtances of the ſociety authoriſe.

We refer our readers to the review of Biſhop Watſon's Speech, No. VI. for an exemplification of the effects produced by ſinking funds, the neceſſary effect of the funding ſyſtem, and of the manner in which the diſtribution of capital accumulated by this proceſs takes place.

We ſhall now only remark, that this part of Lord Lauderdale's work appears to us the moſt unmeaſured and prejudiced of his whole ſpeculations. It is (with the exception of a few juſt remarks on commercial reſtraints) the only practical application of his theory which he has thought fit to favour us with; and, in that point of view, the excellence of the fruit does not certainly lead us to recal the general opinion which we have been led to form of the tree, by examining its roots, its trunk and ramifications.

Before concluding, we have to remark, that the ſtyle of this work is by no means either elegant, perſpicuous, or correct. It does not indeed contain any marks of a corrupted taſte, but it exhibits no proofs of a refined one. In one particular, Lord Lauderdale is extremely reprehenſible; he entirely miſtakes the meaning of ſeveral very common phraſes, and even of ſingle words. There are, for example, ſcarcely two pages of the whole work in which we do not find him uſing *alone* for *only*. All this, however, is of little conſequence, after the fundamental and univerſal objections which have been urged againſt this volume.

We have now only to apologize for drawing this article to ſo great a length. We conceived that talents, and a ſtation like Lord Lauderdale's, might have the effect of miſleading the public. Nothing publiſhed by ſuch an author can be indifferent; and the circumſtances in which he ſtands have frequently tended to impede the progreſs of ſcience which they have failed to accelerate. His talents and rank, in the preſent inſtance, we think greatly miſapplied. The importance of his ſubject—the names

of

of thoſe illuſtrious men whoſe authorities he has diſputed—the nature of the truths which he has attempted to ſubvert—all theſe conſiderations have induced us to follow him ſtep by ſtep, and to complete, by this painful proceſs, the proofs on which our general opinion of the book reſts. In the courſe of the inquiry, we have been led to a ſtatement of ſome fundamental doctrines of political economy, cloſely connected with the work before us—and likely, we ſhould hope, to facilitate the ſtudy, if they ſhould not aid the progreſs of the moſt valuable of ſciences.

ART. IX. *Letters written by the late Earl of Chatham, to his Nephew Thomas Pitt Eſquire, afterwards Lord Camelford, then at Cambridge.* 2d Edit. 8vo. pp. 133. London, Payne. 1804.

IT is ſingular that ſome of the moſt illuſtrious perſons in modern hiſtory, after occupying an unexampled ſhare of public regard, ſhould have gone down to the grave, without exciting any of that poſthumous ſolicitude which inferior wits and leaders of the faſhion in matters of literature and ſociety, have often monoplized to an extravagant degree. The converſations of Johnſon, the correſpondence of Gibbon, and the more trifling effuſions of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, have long exerciſed an undiſputed ſway over the curioſity of the world, while the very inadequate memoirs which have been preſerved of Lord Mansfield and Lord Chatham ſeem to have completely ſatisfied the demand for information reſpecting thoſe illuſtrious characters. Much of this indifference is certainly owing to the belief that men of ſuch a ſtamp had no time for thoſe purſuits which render a more trivial life fruitful in amuſing incidents, nor any leiſure for the occupations which are calculated to carry down their private character to poſterity. While the deeds of ſuch men are matter of hiſtory, and flouriſh in the laſting records of public annals, the actions of the writers who delight and inſtruct mankind conſiſt in their feats of converſation, their ordinary intercourſe with the world, their epiſtolary communications, and various other tranſactions important in their unvarying and private ſcenes, but naturally viewed as the moſt trivial of all the occurrences which diverſify the lives that are ſpent in the great tumult of affairs. It happens, in reality, that the private characters and familiar intercourſe of thoſe men, whom of all others it would be moſt intereſting to follow out of the ſenate and the forum, are in general marked by a ſpecies of careleſsneſs and flatneſs, which tends greatly to repreſs or to diſappoint our curioſity: and the letters of Lord Chatham may not only be ſuch

as would excite no regard whatever, were they attached to another name, but even such as to raise little emotion, though given to the world as *his* authenticated productions.

We do not hesitate to affirm, that a part at least of this remark applies to the volume actually before us. The letters which compose it derive their whole interest from the character of their author. In the portfolio of an ordinary man, they would have had no chance of being preserved. But who is there that would not seize with eagerness upon any such memorial of the '*minister of the people*'—the '*great commoner*'—the ruler of the house of Brunswick—the conqueror of Indostan and Canada—the terror of the Bourbons in their proudest days? To have the power of following such a man into the relaxations and duties of his private hours, is the distinguished privilege of these modern times, which are enlightened and adorned by an universal diffusion of literary pursuits. To pry into the retirement of the great, is one of the exquisite luxuries of learning—one of the refinements in which modern delicacy and taste indulge. The name of Chatham is no sooner pronounced, than a multitude of associations are excited to awaken our curiosity; and we become suddenly prepared to feel the liveliest interest in the most trivial document of his private occupations and character, which is handed down to us with sufficient authenticity.

Such were the feelings with which we first opened the volume now before us, hopeful that its merits might bear some inverse proportion to its bulk, but perfectly assured that nothing which related to so eminent a man could be perused without a very high degree of interest. And, truly, nothing can be more pleasing than the examination actually proves. Literary merit—depth of reasoning, or extent and sagacity of observation—extraordinary stores of learning, or flashes of eloquence—these certainly are not what we wished to find in the most careless and artless effusions of that illustrious statesman, in letters dictated by the warmth of an affection almost maternal, during the minutes snatched from the most bustling period of his political career. But we discover, in every line of these interesting relics, features of a mind as lovely, as we know from other sources that it was powerful and accomplished. We discover unerring proofs that Lord Chatham was as amiable in the private relations of life, as the annals of the old and the new world proclaim him to have been transcendently great in the management of affairs. We are constantly delighted with traits of an union, extremely rare in the human character, of the stronger passions and grandest powers of the mind with its finer feelings and nicer principles: We meet with perpetual evidence, that neither the intrigues

intrigues of courts, nor the contentions of popular aſſemblies, had ever effaced from this great man's heart thoſe early impreſſions of virtue and of piety, with which almoſt all are provided at their outſet, but which ſo few are enabled to preſerve even from the dangers and ſeductions of an obſcurer fortune. It is entirely in this point of view that we are diſpoſed to regard the preſent publication; and, aware that our readers may feel ſomewhat of the ſame intereſt in its contents, we haſten to make them acquainted with the book, chiefly by directing their attention to ſuch extracts as ſtruck us moſt in peruſing it.

The letters are introduced by a very elegant and appropriate dedication to Mr Pitt, and by a well-written preface, in which the editor (Lord Grenville) delivers ſom judicious remarks upon the valuable remains that he is uſhering into the world.

'The following correſpondence, imperfect as it is, (and who will not lament that many more ſuch letters are not preſerved?) exhibits a great orator, ſtateſman and patriot, in one of the moſt intereſting relations of private ſociety. Not, as in the cabinet or the ſenate, enforcing, by a vigorous and commanding eloquence, thoſe councils to which his country owed her pre-eminence and glory; but implanting, with parental kindneſs, into the mind of an ingenuous youth, ſeeds of wiſdom and virtue, which ripened into full maturity in the character of a moſt accompliſhed man; directing him to the acquiſition of knowledge, as the beſt inſtrument of action; teaching him, by the cultivation of his reaſon, to ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh in his heart thoſe principles of moral rectitude which were congenial to it; and, above all, exhorting him to regulate the whole conduct of his life by the predominant influence of gratitude and obedience to God, as the only ſure groundwork of every human duty!

'What parent, anxious for the character and ſucceſs of a ſon, born to any liberal ſtation in this great and free country, would not, in all that related to his education, gladly have reſorted to the advice of ſuch a man? What youthful ſpirit, animated by any deſire of future excellence, and looking for the gratification of that deſire in the purſuits of honourable ambition, or in the conſciouſneſs of an upright, active, and uſeful life, would not embrace, with tranſport, any opportunity of liſtening on ſuch a ſubject to the leſſons of Lord Chatham? They are here before him. Not delivered with the authority of a preceptor, or a parent, but tempered by the affection of a friend towards a diſpoſition and character well entitled to ſuch regard.' p. x.—xiii.

Lord Grenville follows up theſe introductory remarks by ſome eloquent and profound obſervations upon ſeveral points, on which his opinions differ widely from thoſe delivered by Lord Chatham in theſe letters. His diſſent is chiefly entered on the two following topics—the merits of Lord Bolingbroke's 'Remarks on the Engliſh Hiſtory,' which he juſtly thinks Lord Chatham very much overrated, whether we conſider the purity and preciſion of the

the ſtyle, the ſagacity of the remarks, or the fidelity of the narrative—and the judgement inſinuated by Lord Chatham upon the integrity of Lord Clarendon's character. Into the defence of that celebrated ſtateſman, the noble editor enters with great earneſtneſs and irreſiſtible effect. His eloquent expoſition of Lord Clarendon's conduct, is naturally mingled with remarks upon the characters of the two maſters whom he ſerved; and the whole paſſage is diſtinguiſhed by ſo much force of diction, and genuine liberality of ſentiment, that our readers will thank us for extracting it entire. The tenor of Lord Grenville's public life, and the general principles of policy which have guided his diſcourſes in the ſenate, would not, perhaps, lead us to expect from his pen an ample recognition of true Whig principles, on a queſtion always taken as a general teſt. At the ſame time, we muſt diſclaim any paltry intention of imputing inconſiſtency to that diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman. We are ſtill leſs capable, we hope, of inſinuating that his opinions have been modified, in any degree, by the unprecedented diviſions and combinations which have ſignalized the recent hiſtory of Britiſh parties. We deduce the free current of his remarks from a very different ſource, and conſider them as the real ſentiments which he has always entertained upon abſtract queſtions, and which he would have openly avowed, had the circumſtances of the times demanded or juſtified a diſcuſſion of ſuch general principles. For the reſt, we do not remember ever to have met with a more impartial view of the great queſtion regarding the civil war, than appears to have dictated the following ſtriking obſervations.

'Clarendon was unqueſtionably a lover of truth, and a ſincere friend to the free conſtitution of his country. He defended that conſtitution in Parliament, with zeal and energy, againſt the encroachments of prerogative, and concurred in the eſtabliſhment of new ſecurities neceſſary for its protection. He did, indeed, when theſe had been obtained, oppoſe, with equal determination, thoſe continually increaſing demands of Parliament, which appeared to him to threaten the exiſtence of the monarchy itſelf; deſirous, if poſſible, to conciliate the maintenance of public liberty with the preſervation of domeſtic peace, and to turn aſide from his country all the evils to which thoſe demands immediately and manifeſtly tended.

'The wiſh was honourable and virtuous, but it was already become impracticable. The purpoſes of irreconcileable ambition, entertained by both the contending parties, were utterly inconſiſtent with the reeſtabliſhment of mutual confidence. The parliamentary leaders openly graſped at the excluſive poſſeſſion of all civil and all military authority: And, on the other hand, the perfidy with which the King had violated his paſt engagements, ſtill rankled in the hearts of his people, whoſe juſt ſuſpicions of his ſincerity were continually renewed by the unſteadi-

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neſs of his conduct, even in the very moments of freſh conceſſion: while, amongſt a large proportion of the community, every circumſtance of civil injury or oppreſſion was inflamed and aggravated by the utmoſt violence of religious animoſity.

'In this unhappy ſtate, the calamities of civil war could no longer be averted; but the miſeries by which the conteſt was attended, and the military tyranny to which it ſo naturally led, juſtified all the fears of thoſe who had from the beginning moſt dreaded that terrible extremity.

'At the Reſtoration, the ſame virtuous ſtateſman protected the conſtitution againſt the blind or intereſted zeal of exceſſive loyalty; and, if Monk had the glory of reſtoring the monarchy of England, to Clarendon is aſcribed the merit of re-eſtabliſhing her laws and liberties: a ſervice no leſs advantageous to the crown, than honourable to himſelf, but which was numbered among the chief of thoſe offences for which he was afterwards abandoned, ſacrificed, and perſecuted by his unfeeling, corrupt, and profligate maſter.

'Theſe obſervations reſpecting one of the moſt upright characters of our hiſtory, are here delivered with freedom, though in ſome degree oppoſed to ſo high an authority. The habit of forming ſuch opinions for ourſelves, inſtead of receiving them from others, is not the leaſt among the advantages of ſuch a courſe of reading and reflection as Lord Chatham recommends.' p. xviii.—xxiii.

Having called the attention of our readers, in the firſt inſtance, to the valuable preface of Lord Grenville, we muſt be permitted, before proceeding to the work itſelf, to ſuggeſt one ſlight criticiſm upon a quotation which he has introduced. Speaking of the late Lord Camelford, he exclaims, in the *words*, perhaps—but ſurely neither in the ſpirit, nor even in the language of Virgil,

'Quæ gratia vivo———
——Eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtum!'

Such applications and traveſties of claſſical authors, we wholly diſapprove. The meaning of the Roman poet, in the following paſſage, from which the preceding words have been picked and put together as they might have been from a *Gradus*, is, not that certain worthies were beloved after death, as they had been during their lives—but that charioteers and horſemen, drivers and horſe-jockies, retain the ſame love of curricles and horſe-fleſh, in the other world, which they had manifeſted on earth—

'Quæ gratia currûm
Armorumque fuit *vivis*, quæ cura nitentes
Paſcere equos; eadem ſequitur tellure *repoſtos*.' Æn. VI. 653.

This kind of quoting and applying claſſical paſſages, would juſtify the friends of a pugiliſt in prefixing to his memoirs ſome of the famous lines which follow the paſſage already quoted by Lord Grenville. For example,

'Hic manus in patriâ pugnando vulnera paſſi——,
——Quique ſui memores alios fecere.' *Ibid.*

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We have already premiſed, that the epiſtolary remains of Lord Chatham are chiefly intereſting, from the careleſs ſimplicity and earneſtneſs of heart which appear to have dictated every line of them. They are addreſſed to a very young man, on the entrance of his academical career; and nothing is more remarkable than the uniform ſeriouſneſs with which the illuſtrious Mentor calls his pupil's attention to every thing allied to the purſuits of virtue. This ſpirit, indeed, is mingled with every topic, and ſeems to have pervaded the whole feelings of the writer.

'I rejoice (ſays he in Letter II.) to hear that you have begun Homer's Iliad, and have made ſo great a progreſs in Virgil. I hope you taſte and love thoſe authors particularly. You cannot read them too much: they are not only the two greateſt poets, but they contain the fineſt leſſons for your age to imbibe: leſſons of honour, courage, diſintereſtedneſs, love of truth, command of temper, gentleneſs of behaviour, humanity, and, in one word, virtue in its true ſignification. Go on, my dear nephew, and drink as deep as you can of theſe divine ſprings: the pleaſure of the draught is equal at leaſt to the prodigious advantages of it to the heart and morals. I hope you will drink then as ſomebody does in Virgil, of another ſort of cup; *Ille Impiger hauſit ſpumantem Pateram.*' p. 6. 7.

That our author, however, had juſtly appreciated the ſubordinate importance of ſuch ſtudies, is apparent from a ſtriking paſſage in a ſubſequent letter.

'I beg a copy of your elegy on your mother's picture: it is ſuch admirable poetry, that I beg you to plunge deep into proſe and ſeverer ſtudies, and not indulge your genius with verſe, for the preſent. *Finitimus Oratori Poeta.* Subſtitute Tully and Demoſthenes in the place of Homer and Virgil; and arm yourſelf with all the variety of manner, copiouſneſs and beauty of diction, nobleneſs and magnificence of ideas of the Roman conſul; and render the powers of eloquence complete, by the irreſiſtible torrent of vehement argumentation, the cloſe and forcible reaſoning, and the depth and fortitude of mind of the Grecian ſtateſman. This I mean at leiſure intervals, and to relieve the courſe of thoſe ſtudies which you intend to make your principal object.' p. 88. 89.

Thoſe happy ſpirits who deride every thing but eloquence and wit, and who contemptuouſly paſs over all exhortations to the purſuits of virtue, as ſermons or moralizing, if they are not delivered in epigram, may perhaps wonder to find ſuch a paſſage as the following in the letters of ſuch a man as Lord Chatham:

'I ſay, you have the true clue to guide you, in the maxim your lay down in your letter to me, namely, that the uſe of learning is, to render a man more wiſe and virtuous, not merely to make him more learned. *Macte tuâ Virtute;* Go on, my dear boy, by this golden rule, and you cannot fail to become every thing your generous heart prompts you to wiſh to be, and that mine moſt affectionately wiſhes for you. There is but one danger in your way; and that is, perhaps, natural enough

enough to your age, the love of pleaſure, or the fear of cloſe application and laborious diligence. With the laſt there is nothing you may not conquer: and the firſt is ſure to conquer and enſlave whoever does not ſtrenuouſly and generouſly reſiſt the firſt allurements of it, leſt, by ſmall indulgencies, he fall under the yoke of irreſiſtible habit. *Vitanda eſt Improba Siren, Deſidia*, I deſire may be affixt to the curtains of your bed, and to the walls of your chambers. If you do not riſe early, you never can make any progreſs worth talking of: and another rule is, if you do not ſet apart your hours of reading, and never ſuffer yourſelf or any one elſe to break in upon them, your days will ſlip through your hands unprofitably and frivolouſly; unpraiſed by all you wiſh to pleaſe, and really unenjoyable to yourſelf. Be aſſured, whatever you take from pleaſure, amuſements, or indolence, for theſe firſt few years of your life, will repay you a hundred fold, in the pleaſures, honours, and advantages of all the remainder of your days. My heart is ſo full of the moſt earneſt deſire that you ſhould do well, that I find my letter has run into ſome length, which you will, I know, be ſo good to excuſe.' p. 10—12.

Now, the perſon who felt ſo ardently the force of moral and of religious ſentiments, was not a mere pedant either in literature or ſtate affairs; he valued in their juſt proportion the mere conſiderations of external propriety and even elegance. The following extract will ſhow how highly he eſtimated thoſe accompliſhments, which only fall, in a wiſe man's opinion, when their true foundation in the more ſolid graces of the mind is removed; and never appeared ridiculous or diſguſting, until Lord Cheſterfield was ſuppoſed to have proclaimed them as the chief end of man.

'Behaviour is of infinite advantage or prejudice to a man, as he happens to have formed it to a graceful, noble, engaging, and proper manner; or to a vulgar, coarſe, ill-bred, or awkward and ungenteel one. Behaviour, though an external thing which ſeems rather to belong to the body than to the mind, is certainly founded in conſiderable virtues: though I have known inſtances of good men, with ſomething very revolting and offenſive in their manner of behaviour, eſpecially when they have the misfortune to be naturally very awkward and ungenteel; and which their miſtaken friends have helped to confirm them in, by telling them they were above ſuch trifles, as being genteel, dancing, fencing, riding, and doing all manly exerciſes, with grace and vigour. As if the body, becauſe inferior, were not a part of the compoſition of man; and the proper, eaſy, ready, and graceful uſe of himſelf, both in mind and limb, did not go to make up the character of an accompliſhed man. You are in no danger of falling into this prepoſterous error: and I had a great pleaſure in finding you, when I firſt ſaw you in London, ſo well diſpoſed by nature, and ſo properly attentive to make yourſelf genteel in perſon, and well-bred in behaviour. I am very glad you have taken a fencing-maſter; that exerciſe will give you ſome manly, firm, and graceful attitudes; open your cheſt, place your head

head upright, and plant you well upon your legs. As to the uſe of the ſword, it is well to know it: But remember, my deareſt nephew, it is a ſcience of defence: and that a ſword can never be employed by the hand of a man of virtue in any other cauſe. As to the carriage of your perſon, be particularly careful, as you are tall and thin, not to get a habit of ſtooping; nothing has ſo poor a look: above all things, avoid contracting any peculiar geſticulations of the body, or movements of the muſcles of the face. It is rare to ſee in any one a graceful laughter: it is generally better to ſmile than laugh out, eſpecially to contract a habit of laughing at ſmall or no jokes. Sometimes it would be affectation, or worſe, mere moroſeneſs, not to laugh heartily, when the truly ridiculous circumſtances of an incident, or the true pleaſantry and wit of a thing, call for and juſtify it; but the trick of laughing frivolouſly is by all means to be avoided: *Riſu inepto, Res ineptior nulla eſt.* Now, as to politeneſs; many have attempted definitions of it: I believe it is beſt to be known by deſcription; definition not being able to compriſe it. I would, however, venture to call it benevolence in trifles, or the preference of others to ourſelves in little daily, hourly, occurrences in the commerce of life. A better place, a more commodious ſeat, priority in being helped at table, &c. what is it, but ſacrificing ourſelves in ſuch trifles to the convenience and pleaſure of others? And this conſtitutes true politeneſs. It is a perpetual attention (by habit it grows eaſy and natural to us) to the little wants of thoſe we are with, by which we either prevent or remove them. Bowing, ceremonious, formal compliments, ſtiff civilities, will never be politeneſs: that muſt be eaſy, natural, unſtudied, manly, noble. And what will give this, but a mind benevolent, and perpetually attentive to exert that amiable diſpoſition in trifles towards all you converſe and live with? Benevolence in greater matters takes a higher name, and is the queen of virtues.' p. 32—37.

We challenge the admirers of Lord Cheſterfield to produce a more winning, and at the ſame time a more judicious and ingenious defence of all that part of manners which is worthy of a reaſonable being's regard, in the whole writings of their maſter.

The very trifles of manner and etiquette appear to have had their juſt ſhare of Lord Chatham's regard. He concludes one of his graveſt letters with the following advice: 'Pardon an obſervation on ſtyle. *I received yours*, is vulgar and mercantile; *your letter* is the way of writing. Incloſe your letters in a cover; it is more polite.' (p. 67.)

In the minuter parts of conduct, as well as manners, the advices given in theſe Sketches are equally ſedulous. Upon the ſubject of early riſing, he is peculiarly importunate. Beſides the paſſage above quoted on this head, he ſays, in Letter VII.

'Do you riſe early? I hope you have already made to yourſelf the habit of doing it: If not, let me conjure you to acquire it. Remember your friend Horace—

——'Et

——————'Et ni
Poſces ante diem librum cum lumine; ſi non
Intendes animum ſtudiis, et rebus honeſtis,
Invidiâ vel amore miſer torquebere—' p. 51–52.

With how much force do ſuch ſolemn admonitions on the ſublime matters of piety and morals, as theſe letters all abound in, come from a perſon ſo intimately acquainted with every variety of human life—ſo ſtrictly ſpeaking a man of the world!

We recommend the following admirable paſſages to all thoſe light and thoughtleſs perſons, who are pleaſed to regard every ſentiment, of a moral or religious tendency, as the growth of monkiſh ſecluſion and ignorance of the world, or as the offspring of a ſullen bigotry and weakneſs of underſtanding; only premiſing that they are the earneſt, undiſguiſed effuſions of an unrivalled ſtateſman and orator, poured forth at the very moment in which his whole mind was diſtracted by the weight of public affairs, and the intrigues of a factious court; addreſſed to an *eleve*, whom it was his anxious wiſh to form into the habits of a conſummate politician, and uſhered into the world by the two greateſt courtiers and public characters of the preſent day.

'If any thing, my dear boy, could have happened to raiſe you higher in my eſteem, and to endear you more to me, it is the amiable abhorrence you feel for the ſcene of vice and folly, (and of real miſery and perdition, under the falſe notion of pleaſure and ſpirit), which has opened to you at your college, and, at the ſame time, the manly, brave, generous, and wiſe reſolution and true ſpirit, with which you reſiſted and repulſed the firſt attempts upon a mind and heart, I thank God, infinitely too firm and noble, as well as too elegant and enlightened, to be in any danger of yielding to ſuch contemptible and wretched corruptions.' p. 18. 19.

'As to your manner of behaving towards theſe unhappy young gentlemen you deſcribe, let it be manly and eaſy; decline their parties with civility; retort their raillery with raillery, always tempered with good breeding. If they banter your regularity, order, decency, and love of ſtudy, banter in return their neglect of them; and venture to own frankly, that you came to Cambridge to learn what you can, not to follow what they are pleaſed to call pleaſure. In ſhort, let your external behaviour to them be as full of politeneſs and eaſe as your inward eſtimation of them is full of pity, mixed with contempt. I come now to the part of the advice I have to offer to you, which moſt nearly concerns your welfare, and upon which every good and honourable purpoſe of your life will aſſuredly turn; I mean the keeping up in your heart the true ſentiments of religion. If you are not right towards God, you can never be ſo towards man: The nobleſt ſentiment of the human breaſt is here brought to the teſt. Is gratitude in the number of a man's virtues? If it be, the higheſt Benefactor demands the warmeſt returns of gratitude, love, and praiſe: *Ingratum*

qui dixerit, omnia dixit. If a man wants this virtue where there are infinite obligations to excite and quicken it, he will be likely to want all others towards his fellow-creatures, whose utmost gifts are poor, compared to those he daily receives at the hands of his never-failing Almighty Friend. Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, is big with the deepest wisdom: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and, an upright heart, that is understanding. This is eternally true, whether the wits and rakes of Cambridge allow it or not: Nay, I must add of this religious wisdom, Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace, whatever your young gentlemen of pleasure think of a whore and a bottle, a tainted health and battered constitution. Hold fast therefore by this sheet-anchor of happiness, Religion; you will often want it in the times of most danger—the storms and tempests of life. Cherish true religion as preciously as you will fly with abhorrence and contempt superstition and enthusiasm. The first is the perfection and glory of the human nature; the two last the depravation and disgrace of it. Remember the essence of religion is, a heart void of offence towards God and man; not subtle speculative opinions, but an active vital principle of faith. The words of a heathen were so fine, that I must give them to you: '*Compositum Jus, Fasque Animi, Sanctosque Recessus Mentis, et incoctum generoso Pectus Honesto.*'

Go on, my dear child, in the admirable dispositions you have towards all that is right and good, and make yourself the love and admiration of the world! I have neither paper nor words to tell you how tenderly I am yours.' p. 24—28.

Such was the illustrious Lord Chatham in his private life; and so pure and lovely were the inmost sentiments of that great spirit which humbled France and subdued America—which baffled the intrigues of the court, and overawed the turbulence of the senate.

The publication of these precious remains is indeed highly important;—important as an object of laudable and dignified curiosity—doubly important as a practical lesson and example of eminent virtue.

ART. X. *Celtic Researches, on the Origin, Traditions and Language of the Ancient Britons; with some Introductory Sketches on Primitive Society.* By Edward Davies, Curate of Olveston, Gloucestershire. London, 1804. 8vo. pp. 561.

IT is amusing to observe with what perseverance and success the Celts are proceeding in their endeavours to deserve that character which has been so liberally bestowed upon them by the most contemptuous of their opponents. Every one must remember the emphatic epithets with which Pinkerton in particular has branded

branded this ill-fated race. According to him, a Celtic underſtanding is *ſui generis*: it readily embraces and believes whatever is rejected or laughed at by the reſt of mankind. If there be any truth in this deſcription, we think there is great reaſon to preſume that the Celtic writers of the preſent day, deſpairing perhaps of deriving the general population of Europe from their own illuſtrious ſtock, are anxious at leaſt to ſatisfy the world that they themſelves are the genuine deſcendants of thoſe mighty tribes: and certainly, if ſtrong mental reſemblance and ſtriking affinity of diſpoſition may be admitted as preſumptive evidence of direct and pure deſcent, they muſt be conſidered as having made good their pretenſions. Let our readers only compare the character of the old Celts as given by the ancient writers, particularly by Diodorus Siculus, with that which the Gael and the Cymri of the preſent day exhibit in their writings. Diodorus deſcribes them as fond of ænigmas; making general aſſertions, where they were not ſupported by a ſufficient number of facts; and hyperbolical both in praiſing themſelves and in deſpiſing others. *

The Mileſian fables of the Iriſh have long convinced the world, more powerfully and completely than the moſt learned and poſitive authorities, that they are a legitimate branch of the Celts. The Welſh, though they have been much later in ſtarting than the Iriſh, and are even yet leſs Celtic in their creed and character, appear to have lately recovered their generic and diſtinctive credulity in its utmoſt purity, and, of courſe, along with their credulity, materials for authentic hiſtory, as far back as their preſent diſpoſitions would lead them to deſire. The Iriſh, now that they have ſeen a 'Sketch of the early Hiſtory of the Ancient Britons from the year 700 before Chriſt,' † muſt allow the conſanguinity of the Cymri; and attribute their own more venerable and more ample accounts entirely to their being deſcended from the *Gael*, who firſt left the original ſeat of the Celts, and may therefore be ſuppoſed to have brought along with them more copious and accurate documents of the condition and exploits of their anceſtors. The Welſh, however, need not deſpair of ſpeedily obliterating all difference between the Iriſh and themſelves, in theſe reſpects, if they continue their efforts to ſhake off Gothic ſcepticiſm with as much perſeverance and ſucceſs as they have exhibited within theſe few years.

Though the Iriſh have great reaſon to be proud of General Vallancey, the Welſh need not ſhrink back from the competition, while they have to boaſt of Mr Davies, who ſeems to unite the

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. V. p. 213. edit. H. Stephan.

† Lately publiſhed by the Rev. P. Roberts, M. A.

inventive imagination of a poet with that rare talent of discovering resemblance in objects the most dissimilar, which has been considered as the characteristic of men of wit. Like a generous rival, Mr Davies indeed acknowledges that he is indebted to the General for many of his illustrations and arguments: But he is by no means a servile imitator; and, what will surprise those who have read the works of the General, he has even improved upon what he has borrowed. In the first part of his work, he presents us with 'sketches of the state and attainments of *primitive* society.' On this subject he has contrived to make many surprising discoveries. According to him, philosophers are utterly mistaken in supposing man, in his primitive state, to have been a savage: On the contrary, he was intimately acquainted, not only with most branches of science, but also with those simple but sublime truths, for which we ignorantly imagine ourselves indebted to the feeble and degenerated minds of a Bacon and a Smith. To Adam, or, at least, to his immediate antediluvian descendants, the benefits of the division of labour, and the inductive philosophy, were intimately known: (p. 8. 9.) The scale of harmonious sounds, of which the Greeks were utterly ignorant, was understood by primitive man, and applied in the formation of the most intricate and powerful instruments. But, what is still more extraordinary, these antediluvians did not pursue the modern tardy course of improvement, but invented at first all that was most difficult and perfect, and left the easier task of deterioration to their descendants. Stringed instruments were known to them, before wind instruments; and they could *make* brass, before they could prepare iron. Mr Davies is content with tracing the Celts up to Gomer. We would advise him, in the next edition of his work, to carry them into the antediluvian ages, and to adduce these instances of a retrograde understanding, as proofs that Celts existed at that early period.

Mr Davies, in his preface, expresses 'the deep and permanent obligation' which he owes to the Bench of Bishops collectively. In our opinion, he has amply repaid them, by having proved, as satisfactorily at least as he has proved any other of his positions, that the 'consecration of tithes did not originate in the Levitical law,' (p. 17.); but that the right to them is much more ancient, and consequently much more indisputable and sacred. He even insinuates, that 'the charge alleged against Cain of *not rightly dividing*, as it is rendered by the Seventy,' is best explained, by supposing that it alludes to some unfair practices of his in the payment of his tithes.

There is nothing new, we are told, under the sun; and some persons

persons have extended this doctrine so far, as to assert, that minds very similar to those of the greatest modern philosophers, must have existed in the ancient world. Mr Davies is evidently of this opinion; the primitive ages, according to him, had their 'Linnæi and their Buffons,' (p. 19.); and, in the eleventh chapter of Leviticus, he finds a complete systematic arrangement of quadrupeds and fishes.

In page 33. the geographical knowledge of Noah is detailed:

'The very idea of Noah's dividing the land amongst his descendants, necessarily presupposes his knowledge of the land that was to be so divided. He must have described the several states, their extent and boundaries, by certain names. And these, in general, could have been no other than the names by which the same regions, rivers and mountains had been already known to him, and consequently, which they had borne before the flood. Thus may we account for the identity of the names of several streams and mountains in ancient geography, from India to Britain, and from the Northern Ocean to the Middle of Africa.'

We are surprised that Mr Davies has not drawn the natural inferences from this discovery; and that he has not attributed the invention of maps to the antediluvians; since, without these, Noah could not have made his descriptions so convenient and luminous as he might have done with their assistance. Several other inferences might be drawn, all of which are so congenial to a Celtic understanding, that we wonder how they could have escaped Mr Davies.

As our author has made it so very probable that Noah kept a regular and full journal or log-book of the occurrences that took place in the ark (p. 43—45.), we would strongly advise him, or his fellow-labourer General Vallancey, who has already been so successful in recovering Irish tree-alphabets, to make diligent search for this valuable relic, which will be very acceptable to all *genuine* antiquarians, and particularly serviceable to Mr Clarke in the compilation of his 'Progress of Maritime Discovery.'

We shall conclude the consideration of the first part of Mr Davies's work, with laying before our readers one of the most notable and curious discoveries which it contains.

Babel, it seems, is not the proper or original name of that tower, during the building of which the confusion of tongues (an event which has afforded so much delight to etymologists, that they have made great exertions to bring it about a second time) is recorded to have taken place. Mr Davies deserves great credit, both for having proved that Babel is not 'a play on the original name, or at all similar to it,' (p. 58.); and for having discovered, after the lapse of 5000 years, not merely what the tower was actually called, but what the builders meant to have called it, provided they had completed it.

'The children of men ſaid, Let us build a city, and a tower, and let us make a name or renown. This was the order by which they aſcended the climax of their ambition: but, when they had attained the higheſt top, they muſt, from thence, have named their city. They muſt have called it Shem, the *name*, or *renown*. The other degrees would naturally be ſubjoined, to make out its deſcription. Thus it became "RENOWN, the City of the Tower." p. 58.

Notwithſtanding the originality of theſe ſpeculations, we muſt confeſs that we turn away, with feelings of wearineſs, from the firſt part of our author's performance. The objects on which his credulity delights to dwell, are ſo little varied, and ſo unintereſting; and his conjectures ſo little ſupported by argument, or adorned by learning, that we are more diſpoſed to lament the weakneſs of the human underſtanding, than to be amuſed with its eccentricities.

In the ſecond part, he treats of the 'origin of the Celtæ; their inſtitution of Druidiſm; and their pretenſion to the knowledge of letters.' (p. 117.) Of our author's ability to diſcuſs points ſo remote and obſcure, and on which men of real learning have either been ſilent, or delivered their opinions with diffidence, our readers may judge, by one ſpecimen, taken from his account of times better known, and of a people with whoſe progreſs we are comparatively well acquainted.

'The Sarmatæ held theſe territories (Germany) before the aggrandiſement of Gothic power!'—'It is not pretended that, at any time, this handful of men (the Venedi or Wendi) penetrated into the poſſeſſions of the Goths, or acquired an eſtabliſhment by victories.'—'The Sarmatæ then, or Sclavonæ, were thoſe whom the Goths found in the land of Riphath, or the eaſtern diviſion of ancient Germany.' p. 125. 126.

How ſuch aſſertions could have been made, in direct oppoſition to every authority on the ſubject, we are altogether unable to comprehend

In page 143. Mr Davies preſents us with a very delectable ſpecimen of a Celtic commentary on Virgil.

'This great bard was borne in Ciſalpine Gaul, and ſeems, in his youth, to have courted *the Gauliſh muſe*, till he found that ſhe would not advance his fortune—a very unpoetical ground of deſertion—

——————'Galatæa reliquit:
Namque;—fatebor enim—dum me Galatæa tenebat,
Nec ſpes libertatis erat, nec cura peculi.

Galatæa was the mother of the Celtæ. APPIAN. Bell. Illyr.'

No mere Gothic reader, we will venture to aſſert, ever ſuſpected the poet to be ſpeaking of a perſonage ſo dignified; nor is it very eaſy to perceive how 'the mother of the Celts' and 'the Gauliſh muſe' ſhould be one and the ſame perſon.

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As Mr Davies has succeeded so well in this attempt, we would recommend to him to extend his commentary to the writings of Ovid, where he will find a great deal more about Galatæa. He who can find Celtic traditions in Virgil, will have a noble field for the exercise of his fancy, and the display of his credulity, in the Metamorphoses of Ovid.

In page 146. Mr Davies considers the antiquities found at Stonhenge, Abury, and other parts of Britain, as Druidical. As this opinion, which appears to us to rest on very questionable grounds, has been very generally received by the writers of this country, it may be worth while to consider the authorities and arguments on which it is founded. It is necessary, however, to premise some few observations on the origin and ancient extent of the Druidical superstition.

No writer, we believe, has ventured to offer any thing more than mere conjecture respecting the origin of Druidism, except Mr Pinkerton. To him, conjecture was almost entirely unknown, since it implied diffidence and modesty. He had gained credit for research and learning: he knew the imposing effects of a dogmatical and bold assertion: and, when he was unable to find the very few materials which he required for the fabrication of authority, he came forward with his own oracular and sententious decision: 'Druidism was palpably Phœnician.' * In proof of this assertion, Mr Pinkerton refers us, in a note, to the 68th page of his Dissertation on the Goths; but in this passage, instead of supporting his opinion by authorities, he merely amplifies and repeats the assertion. 'The god Baal, Bel, Belenus; the transmigration of souls; the cosmogony and theogony (of the Druids) are wholly Phœnician.' As not a single author is quoted, we are at a loss to discover where Mr Pinkerton learned all this. The opinion, we believe, is supported by no writer but Baxter, Horsley, or Macpherson: and, to them we can scarcely believe he would refer on such an occasion, when we recollect the anathema he has pronounced against those who are guilty of 'blending authors of the first and fifteenth centuries, that is, authorities with no authorities.' † Till Mr Pinkerton brings forward the evidence, on which he grounds his assertions,

* Pinkerton's Enquiry, I. 17.

† Enquiry, I. 409. Ausonius, indeed, mentions Belenus in two passages, in connexion with the Druids; but it cannot from them be inferred, either that it was the Belenus of the Phœnicians, or even that he was worshipped by the Druids. Besides, Ausonius, A. D. 379, is very insufficient evidence of the original and pure religion of the Druids.

that the tranſmigration of ſouls was a Phœnician doctrine—and that the coſmogony and theogony of the Druids were wholly Phœnician; we muſt be excuſed for not taking the trouble to prove the contrary. We have been too frequently diſappointed in ſearching for thoſe authorities, to which Mr Pinkerton expreſsly refers, not to be more than uſual ſuſpicious, where he does not preſerve even the form of reference. So completely ſatisfied is this author, however, of the truth of his own hypotheſis, that he is obliging enough to explain the whole proceſs of the matter, and to inform us that the Phœnicians gave our anceſtors their religion in exchange for tin. 'Druidiſm was taught by the Phœnicians to the inhabitants of Cornwall, where they traded for tin.' * But, in the firſt place, though it is highly probable that the Phœnicians were acquainted with the main land of Britain, yet we have no evidence that this was actually the caſe. Herodotus, Strabo, &c. mention only the Caſſiterides as having been viſited by the Phœnicians. But, independently of any thing elſe, it is ſurely ſufficiently improbable, that a few traders, intent only on gain, and, of courſe, not very zealous about the religion of their native land, ſhould take the trouble of eſtabliſhing any ſuperſtitious rites among the barbarous natives of Britain. Druidiſm, too, with its human ſacrifices and gloomy rites, does not ſeem to have been ſuch an attractive or ſeducing form of ſuperſtition as to be readily introduced into a country by the occaſional intercourſe of foreign merchants: and, what appears indeed to be deciſive of the queſtion, no veſtiges of this faith are to be found in Spain, where the Phœnicians firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves, and built the city of Cadiz; and where, of courſe, it is much more probable, that they would be diſpoſed and able to introduce their ceremonies and belief.

The conjecture, that the Druidical ſuperſtition was taught the Gauls by Pythagoras, reſts on no better foundation than the opinion of Mr Pinkerton. The Druids, indeed, coincided with that philoſopher, in the belief of a tranſmigration of the ſoul; though it appears, from the practical uſe which they made of this doctrine, in inciting their followers to a contempt of death, and to the practice of virtue, that they differed from Pythagoras, by confining the tranſmigration of the ſoul to human bodies. † But the coincidence of two ſuperſtitions in a point like this, certainly affords a very weak preſumption, that the one was

* Enquiry, I. 17.

† Keyſler. Antiq. Celtic. p. 116. 117. and the authors quoted by him.

was borrowed from the other. If, however, we suppose this to have been the case, we should rather be inclined to adopt the opinion advanced by Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius, * that Pythagoras in his travels went into Gaul, and there learned the doctrine of the Metempsichosis. It is but fair, however, to mention that there is a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, which seems to favour the Pythagorean origin of the Druids. This passage has hitherto obtained less attention and credit than it deserves, from having been supposed to contain only the opinion or evidence of Marcellinus himself, who lived A. D. 360, when the ceremonies and traditions of the Druids were wearing out: but whoever examines the context, † will be convinced, that Marcellinus derived the whole of the information which he gives respecting the Gauls, from Timagenes, who lived in the time of Augustus, and appears to have been a diligent, well-informed, and learned author. The passage to which we allude, is the following: 'Inter hos Druidæ ingenii celsiores, *ut autoritas Pythagoræ decrevit*, sodalitiis adstricti consortiis, quæstionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt, et despectantes humana pronuntiarunt animas immortales.' ‡ It may be doubted, however, whether Timagenes did not intend merely to point out a resemblance between the Druids and Pythagoreans, in the institution of fraternities; though, certainly, if we adhere to the obvious meaning of the words, we must conclude, that, at least in the opinion of Timagenes, the Druids acknowledged the authority of Pythagoras.

We are ignorant of the reason which has led antiquarians to reject or to overlook the opinion which is stated by Cæsar to have been generally entertained, in his time, in Gaul, respecting the origin of Druidism. To us, it appears the best supported,

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* Clement. Alexand. Stromata, lib. VI. & Eusebii Præpar. Evangel. lib. X. c. 2.

† Ambigentes super origine prima Gallorum scriptores veteres, notitiam reliquere negotii semiplenam: sed postea Timagenes et diligentia Græcus et lingua, quæ diu sunt ignorata, collegit ex multiplicibus libris: cujus fidem sequuti obscuritate dimota, eadem distincte docebimus et aperte. Amm. Marcell. lib. XV. § 9. edit. Lugd. 1591.—For the character of Timagenes, see Quinctilian, lib. X. c. 1. and Horace, Epist. lib. I. Epist. 19. l. 15, 16.

‡ A passage of similar import is to be found in Diodorus Siculus, lib. V. p. 212, where he is speaking of the religion of the Celts—'The opinion of Pythagoras prevails among them (ισχυει παρ' αυτοις ο Πυθαγορου λογος) that the souls of men are immortal, and live again after a certain period, entering into different bodies.'

ed, and the moſt probable of any that have come down to us from antiquity. Cæſar evidently took conſiderable pains to learn every particular relative to the Druids; and it may be remarked as a proof both of the accuracy and extent of his information, that on this ſubject, as well as on many others which he firſt inveſtigated, ſubſequent authors have done little more than tranſcribe his accounts. He ſtates it to have been the received opinion in Gaul, that Druidiſm originated in Britain; and the fact, which he expreſsly mentions, that in his time thoſe who wiſhed to become adepts in its myſteries, commonly went to Britain for that purpoſe, ſtrengthens the traditionary account of the place of its origin. * If it be true that Druidiſm originated in Britain, the commonly received opinion, that it is ſtrictly and abſolutely a part of the Celtic religion, will be greatly weakened. Since it muſt have begun to exiſt long after the Celts had left their original ſettlements, it muſt be conſidered as Britiſh, and not Celtic; and it would be as abſurd to extend it to all the Celts, becauſe it originated among one branch of them, as it would be to expect to find the inſtitution of ſecret tribunals in the thirteenth century, among the Swedes, as well as among the Germans, merely becauſe they are both Gothic nations. The ſuppoſed neceſſary connexion between Celtic population and Druidiſm, has prevented antiquarians from examining the queſtion, reſpecting the countries in which it can actually be proved to have exiſted, with clearneſs and impartiality.

There is not a ſingle authority for the exiſtence of Druidiſm any where, but in Celtic Gaul, and in part of England. The argument, which is drawn from the exiſtence of *monuments* ſuppoſed to be Druidical, will be conſidered afterwards: at preſent, we ſhall ſtate the ſubſtance of thoſe paſſages, from the ancient writers, on which we ground our poſition. Cæſar expreſsly ſays, that the Druids uſed to meet annually, on the borders of the territory of the Carnutes, which was conſidered the middle of all Gaul. Whoever examines the poſition of this territory, will immediately be convinced, that Cæſar, in this paſſage, uſed the term *Gaul* in its limited and ſtrict ſenſe; ſince, if Aquitania and Belgic Gaul had been included, the territory of the Carnutes could not with any propriety have been deemed the centre of Gaul. With regard to England, Cæſar, although he deſcribes the Druids in Gaul ſo minutely, and mentions the received opinion, that their inſtitutions had originated in Britain, and were, even in his time, taught there with more ſtrictneſs and purity than in Gaul, yet gives not the leaſt hint, that while he was in Britain,

* Cæſar. de Bello Gallico, lib. VI. p. 115. edit. Plant. 1616.

Britain, he had either seen any Druids, or collected any information concerning them. We may therefore reasonably conclude, that Druidism was not known in those parts of Britain with which he was acquainted. Tacitus is the first, and, we believe, the only author, who takes notice of the existence of Druidism in Britain. Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny * and Solinus, all of whom speak of its existence in Gaul with astonishment and abhorrence, seem not to have heard of any part of Britain, in which it prevailed. The Romans appear to have advanced far into Wales, before they met with it. Tacitus, in his annals, relates, that Suetonius Paulinus was opposed in his attempt on Mona (Anglesey) by the army of the Britons; and that, after he had defeated them, he destroyed the sacred groves of the Druids. No mention is made of Druids in any other part of Britain; though, had Agricola collected any information respecting them, or met with any traces of their worship, during his expedition into Scotland, we cannot suppose that Tacitus would have neglected to notice them, in his life of that general. As the druidical superstitions were so singular and so monstrous, we may consider ourselves justified in regarding the silence of the ancient writers respecting them as a sufficient proof that they did not exist in the countries which they describe. † If, therefore, we are to fix the boundaries of Druidism strictly according to the notices which these authors afford us, we must coincide in opinion with Mr Pinkerton, that 'there is no authority at all for druids being known, beyond present North Wales on the north, and the river Garonne, the bound of the Celtæ in Gaul, on the south. A line drawn by the Severn in Britain and Seine in Gaul, forms the eastern bound, while the ocean forms the western.' ‡

It is of some consequence to ascertain, by the same appeal to authorities, the nature of the places in which the Druids performed their religious ceremonies; since almost all Celtic writers, whenever authorities for the existence of Druidism in any

* Pliny, however, speaks of Britain as so entirely devoted to magic in his time, as to seem to have instructed the Persians; but his expressions are so vague and general, that they cannot relate to Druidism exclusively. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. XXX. c. 1.

† Pliny and Suetonius relate that Tiberius forbad or abolished Druidism among the Gauls: and the former author considers mankind as greatly indebted to the Romans, for having put an end to such a monstrous and cruel superstition. Plin. lib. XXX. c. 1. Sueton. Tiberius, p. 544, edit. Schildii.

‡ Pinkerton's Enquiry, I. 406.

any country, which they deem Celtic, are not to be found, appeal to the ſtone monuments, which, they ſay, are to be diſcovered excluſively in countries formerly inhabited by the Celts. Or, on the other hand, aſſuming it as a fact, that all the Celtæ were druidical, they regard theſe remains of antiquity as a ſufficient indication that the country in which they are found was formerly the ſeat of a Celtic population. All the parts of this argument are aſſumed. But even if we allow the truth of both the circumſtances upon which it is founded, viz. that all the Celtæ were druidical, and that the Druids erected enormous ſtone temples or altars, ſtill it by no means follows that the countries in which theſe exiſt were formerly druidical, or even Celtic. Stone monuments, nearly ſimilar in form, and equal in magnitude to thoſe which are ſaid to be the moſt unequivocally druidical, are found in countries into which, according to the opinion of all antiquarians, the Celts never penetrated. In many parts of the north of Germany, in the iſland of Zealand, and in Iceland, the ſtone monuments are ſimilar in form, and ſeem to have been erected for the ſame purpoſe with thoſe in Britain and France.* Indeed, it is well known that the courts of judicature, as well as the altars of the Gothic nations, were formed of huge ſtones; and conſequently, it would be extremely difficult to diſtinguiſh Celtic monuments from thoſe of Gothic origin, in countries where both had ſettled, even if it could be ſhown that the Celts did erect ſuch monuments, for the purpoſes either of judicature or religion. Mr Davies, however, and thoſe who contend for the Celtic origin of theſe remains, bring the queſtion within much narrower limits. Inſtead of contending, generally, that theſe monuments are Celtic, without ſpecifying for what particular purpoſe they were originally raiſed, they uniformly and poſitively attribute them to the Druids, and conſider them as religious edifices. As moſt of theſe monuments are ſingular both for their ſize and ſtructure, and totally unlike thoſe that are to be found in nations as ſavage as the Britons were when diſcovered by the Romans, it is natural to expect that they would have been noticed, at leaſt, by ſome of the ancient authors who treat of the Britons, eſpecially when we reflect on the contraſt which they muſt have formed with the miſerable caves and huts of the natives. But the inference from the ſilence of ancient writers is deciſive, on the ſuppoſition that theſe monuments are druidical. Cæſar, Lucan, Pliny, and Mela, deſcribe the rites and ſacrifices of the Druids:† they particularly mention the ſacred grove, and

* Keyſler, p. 1—12.

† Cæſar de Bell. Gall. lib. VI., p. 115. Lucan, Pharſal. lib. I. 450—462. Pliny, lib. XVI. c. 44. Mela, lib. III. c. 2.

and the veneration that was paid to the miſletoe of the oak; but are entirely ſilent reſpecting any temple or altar of ſtone. Indeed, the manner in which they ſpeak of the druidical grove, proves it to have been uſed for the ſame purpoſe as temples are: it was not only a place of aſſembly, but of ſacrifice: in it were performed all their religious ceremonies. Tacitus, in his account of the deſtruction of the ſeat of druidical ſuperſtition in the iſle of Angleſey, informs us, that the groves ſacred to their cruel rites were cut down. * As it evidently appears to have been the intention of Suetonius Paulinus to exterminate, if poſſible, the religion of the Druids, or at leaſt to prevent them from continuing to offer up human victims; certainly, if temples had formed any part of their inſtitutions, he would have deſtroyed them, as well as cut down the groves. No mention, however, is made of them by Tacitus; and if they did not exiſt in Angleſey, which is known to have been one of the moſt celebrated and ſolemn ſeats of druidiſm, it is by no means probable that they were uſed in any other part of Britain. Beſides, the very nature of their repreſentations of the gods, and many parts of their ceremonies, would render unneceſſary or uſeleſs any permanent or extenſive buildings of ſtone. Maximus Tyrius informs us, that their only ſymbol of Jupiter was a tall oak; † and Strabo deſcribes the druids as either burning their human victims ſurrounded with hay, or faſtening them to trees, and then piercing them with arrows. The veneration which the religion of the druids inſpired for trees, eſpecially for the oak, diſtinguiſhed it from moſt others; and as they both worſhipped theſe trees, and immolated their victims upon them, it is not to be ſuppoſed that they would erect either temples or altars.

As all antiquarians are agreed, that a grove was indiſpenſably neceſſary to the performance of the druidical rites, we may conclude that Stonehenge, which is ſituated in a plain, where there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe very few trees ever grew, was not erected by the Druids, at leaſt for the purpoſes of religion. With regard to many other ſtones, generally eſteemed druidical, ſome, ſuch as the Logan or rocking ſtones, are evidently not the work of art; and others are met with in countries ſo diſtant and diſſimilar in their ancient manners and religion, that it ſeems moſt rational to aſcribe them rather to the deſign or caprice of individuals, than to any common and permanent motive. This inference, at leaſt, we are juſtified in drawing, that Druidiſm is not to be traced by the veſtiges of its temples or altars, ſince every

* Taciti Annal. lib. XIV. c. 30.
† Maximus Tyrius, Diſſert. 38.

every authority and probability is againſt the ſuppoſition that the Druids made any uſe of ſtone buildings.

We now return to Mr Davies.—In page 173. we meet with the ſolution of a difficulty which has frequently perplexed us in peruſing the writings of the modern Celts. It has always occurred to us, that the diſcriminating and generic qualities of the ancient Celts ought to have been almoſt entirely worn out, by the lapſe of years, and the admixture with Gothic nations. We were, therefore, unable to account for the ſtrongly marked character of almoſt all their modern productions. Whenever they touched on the ſubject of their deſcent, or antiquities, common ſenſe appeared to deſert them: They ſaw, and heard, and believed, what had no exiſtence to any but themſelves. Now, Mr Davies ſatisfactorily accounts for this ſtrange phenomenon. There is an excavation, it ſeems, reſembling a couch, on the very ſummit of Cader Idris, which was formerly the obſervatory of Idris, the giant and aſtronomer: 'Whoever reſts a night in that ſeat, will be found in the morning, either dead, raving-mad, or endued with ſupernatural genius.' We now ſee clearly by what means the modern Celts have preſerved the intellectual character of their anceſtors ſo entire: Whenever it is likely to become tainted with Gothic prejudice, a night's lodging in the couch of their great anceſtor reſtores its original purity. We do not know whether any have been found dead in the chair of Idris; nor do we recollect to have heard any inſtance in which it has beſtowed ſupernatural genius: yet, we believe that many have made trial of it, and have experienced its efficacy.

The theory of the formation of language has eluded the ſagacity and learning of philoſophers: but to Mr Davies, it is exceedingly ſimple and plain.

'We may, therefore, contemplate primitive man, as prompted by the innate predilection of taſte for ſocial enjoyments, to detain, in his company, thoſe living creatures, which had already received their being. To attract their notice, and conciliate their good will, he addreſſed himſelf to them, ſeverally, by deſcriptive geſtures. Theſe efforts called forth the hitherto latent powers of his nature. The organs of ſpeech moved in uniſon, and produced their correſponding articulations, unleſs where this exertion was ſaved by a ſimple repetition of the voices which they uttered: and thus it was, that the names of the familiar objects were acquired, and the ſolid ground-work of human language laid upon the baſis of natural principles.' p. 377. 378.

'Let us put the caſe, that Adam the firſt man would inform his new-created bride of the *elephant*. The character, which he had already deſcribed in this animal, in the act of naming him, was probably his enormous bulk. This deſcription he is now to repeat. Being an inexpert orator, he would not truſt entirely and excluſively to the powers

powers of his voice; his arms would be elevated, and spread abroad—in order to intimate the comprehension of gigantic space. This descriptive gesture would be aided by an immediate and spontaneous inflation of his cheeks, till his breath would find a passage through his nostrils. This natural description of a huge bulk would produce the sound *B—M*; and that sound, rendered articulate by the intervention of a vowel, would describe bulkiness,* and might be appropriated most happily to the *elephant*, or great beast.' p. 382. 383.

In a similar manner, Mr Davies explains the origin of the primitive names, by which Adam expressed to Eve the horse, cow, sheep and dove. *Sous*, the Hebrew name of the horse, is formed by a 'sudden hissing effusion of his breath:' An imitation of the voices of the cow and sheep, gives them their respective names, *moo* and *ba*.

'He may have described the dove by fluttering his hand, so as to intimate the act of the wing in flight, and by repeating the syllable *toor toor*. He now walks forth, accompanied by the mother of mankind. The elephant presents his enormous bulk; the horse flies over the field; the *bem*, and the *foos*, are soon and readily distinguished. They are saluted by the *cow*, the *sheep*, and the *dove*: the *moo*, the *ba*, and the *toor*, are immediately recognized. How great must have been their joy, to find themselves in possession of a social language!' p. 383.

With this sublime passage we take our leave of Mr Davies, of whom most of our readers will probably think they have now heard more than enough.

ART. XI. *An Inquiry concerning the Nature of Heat, and the mode of its Communication.* By Benjamin Count of Rumford, V. P. R. S., &c. pp. 105. From Phil. Trans. for 1804. Part I.

THE labours of this indefatigable experimentalist have unquestionably rendered some service to science, by striking out new paths of observation which forced themselves upon his view, in the course of his random and miscellaneous trials. He has also evinced some sagacity, and much ingenuity, in applying his experiments to practical uses, insomuch that, although his theoretical conclusions are generally unhappy, his corollaries being derived from his observations of fact, and not from his speculative inferences, may generally be relied on, and have often contributed much assistance to the useful arts of common life. We profess to be of the daily increasing number of those who do not think very highly of Count Rumford's talents as a philosopher; and if our former prepossession required any confirmation

* Mr Davies may find a curious instance of the singular aptitude of this radical to express bulkiness, in the Measure for Measure of Shakespeare, Act II. Scene IV.

and, reducing the whole of the results to one standard, it appears that the velocity with which the heat passed through the polished surface, is to the velocity with which it passed through the same surface covered with four coats of spirit varnish, as 4,566 to 10,000, (for this is evidently the proportion, though our author reverses it by mistake in p. 101.); and that the velocity of its passage through the plain metal is to the velocity of its passage through the metal tarnished with smoke, as 5,654 to 10,000. The coating of smoke which produces so great a difference cannot possibly be more than $\frac{1}{1180}$ of an inch in thickness.

Now, we are forcibly struck, we acknowledge, with the exact coincidence between all these curious experiments, and those of Mr Leslie, as detailed in the sixteenth chapter of his Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat. The same series of observations upon the cooling of hot water through plain and coated vessels—the same sort of calculations, though certainly much better instituted—the same observation of an uniform increase of cooling or heating, by coats of isinglass and lampblack, form the prominent features of both inductions. Mr Leslie's experiments, however, are more various and masterly; his mathematical illustrations and proofs are much more skilful; and, though we are not prepared, in this place, to examine the truth of his remote theoretical deductions, we are satisfied with the accuracy of his intermediate results, which far exceed those of Count Rumford in their number and generality. The next part of the inquiry now before us, is, however, still more striking, from its coincidence with Mr Leslie, to whom the author has not been able to conceal his obligations, although he has certainly abstained from acknowledging them.

He commences his next course of experiments with stating, that he found it necessary

'to contrive an instrument for measuring, or rather for discovering those very small changes of temperature in bodies, which are occasioned by the radiations of other neighbouring bodies which happen to be at a higher or at a lower temperature.' p. 101.

This, too, is the precise object of Mr Leslie's *differential thermometer*; and, how far the same end has been attained by similar means in the two cases, let the following most singular passage determine.

'This instrument' (says Count Rumford) 'which I shall take the liberty to call a *thermoscope*, is very simple in its construction. *Like the hygrometer of Mr Leslie* (as he has chosen to call his instrument) it is composed of two glass balls, attached to the two ends of a bent glass tube; but the balls, instead of being near together, are placed at a considerable distance from each other; and the tube which connects them,

them, inſtead of being bent in its middle, and its two extremities turned upwards, is quite ſtraight in the middle; and its two extremities, to which its two balls are attached, are turned perpendicularly upwards, ſo as to form each a right angle with the middle part of the tube, which remains in a horizontal poſition.'

'At one of the elbows of this tube' (continues our author) 'there is inſerted a ſhort tube of nearly the ſame diameter, by means of which a very ſmall quantity of ſpirit of wine, tinged of a red colour, is introduced into the inſtrument; and after this is done, the end of this ſhort tube (which is only about an inch long) is ſealed hermetically; and all communication is cut off between the air in the balls of the inſtrument and in its tube, and the external air of the atmoſphere.'

He then goes on to explain the application of this inſtrument, by paſſing a portion of the liquid into the horizontal tube, and allowing it to remain at the middle joint, in which poſition it muſt continue, while the temperature of the air in the balls, and conſequently their elaſticity, is equal. But if bodies radiating unequal degrees of heat be expoſed to the balls, or if one ball be expoſed to a hot body, and the other defended from it, then the liquor will recede from the ball expoſed to the greateſt elevation of temperature; and if a cold body be applied to one ball, the other being defended from its influence, the liquor will move towards this ball, ſo expoſed. All this he illuſtrates by a figure, and by various explanations. We have deſcribed it ſufficiently, to prove that the *thermoſcope* is exactly Mr Leſlie's elegant inſtrument, denominated by him, not a hygrometer, as Count Rumford is pleaſed to ſay, but a *differential thermometer*. According to the Count's own ſtatement, he borrows the whole idea from that gentleman; yet, with an ardour for diſcoveries not quite ſcientific, he talks of it as his own contrivance, and, with his accuſtomed love of nomenclature, he gives it a new appellation. The changes which he makes upon the ſtructure, are utterly unconnected with the theory of the inſtrument; but it muſt be remarked that they impede the performance of the experiment. The figure of the tube is both incommodious, and leſs adapted to the eaſy paſſage of the fluids; while the mode of introducing the liquid by a ſeparate tube is extremely clumſy, and in every way worſe contrived than Mr Leſlie's method. The uſe and operation, as well as the whole that is worth any thing in the Count's thermoſcope, is preciſely Mr Leſlie's, to which he thinks fit to ſay, he has invented one '*like*.' Indeed, Mr Leſlie had publiſhed a deſcription of his beautiful contrivance in ſeveral parts of Nicolſon's Journal for the year 1800; and every chemiſt was acquainted both with that general form of the inſtrument, and with its application to the purpoſes of a photometer, long before the year 1803, when Count Rumford's

experiments were made. As to what regards Mr Leslie's peculiar claims to priority, it is sufficient to remark, in justice to him, that the whole of his book was printed before the Count's paper was communicated to the Royal Society; that the experiments were performed in 1801, whereas the Count only began to operate in 1803; and that, in 1802, Mr Leslie's first chapters were all printed off. These circumstances, which are partly stated in the preface, before the present part of the Philosophical Transactions appeared, and partly appear from comparing the dates of the two works, throw the whole suspicion, in our mind, upon Count Rumford, and render it incumbent on Mr Leslie only to bring forward such facts as he may be in possession of, to shew how the knowledge of his experiments may have got abroad and reached Count Rumford while his work was preparing for publication. We shall dismiss this part of the subject with expressing our high admiration of that very important and elegant modification of the air-thermometer which Mr Leslie, not Count Rumford, has happily contrived; an improvement, calculated to introduce as much accuracy, and to open as wide a field of discovery in the science of heat, as the combination of glasses did in the sciences of astronomy and optics. By it, we are enabled to weigh, with the utmost nicety, all proportions of caloric, and to estimate, as correctly as by a delicate balance, every variation of temperature. In reviewing the application of this happy invention to the purposes of investigation, as detailed by the discoverer himself, we shall have an opportunity of doing justice to its merits. At present, we hasten to sketch the uses which the borrower of the idea has made of it, and in which we shall again be satisfied how unwilling he has been to deviate from his original.

The mode in which Count Rumford operated with what he calls *his thermoscope*, was by exposing it to brass cylinders like those formerly described, but fixed horizontally, so as to present their circular end to the ball of the instrument. After ascertaining the exactness of the instrument, by finding that the liquor remained stationary when two cylinders uncoated and filled with the same hot water were placed at equal distances from the balls, but that a slight variation in the temperature or distance of either cylinder caused the liquor in the tube to move, our author proceeded to verify by this delicate test his former experiments on slow cooling. He found that the circular end of one cylinder being coated with candle smoke, while the other remained clear; the bubble instantly receded from the ball exposed to the former, and did not regain its equilibrium until that cylinder had been removed to four times the distance of the other. He also found

that

that linen, glue, ſpirit-varniſh and paint, produced the ſame effects in the experiments of the thermoſcope as they had formerly done in thoſe of the mercurial thermometer. He then repeated his former experiments of ſlow cooling with veſſels of lead and tinned iron, and with the braſs cylinders coated with gold and ſilver leaf. The reſults entitled him to believe that no difference whatever was produced by any change of the metal containing the radiating body. Our author now reſumed his trials with the thermoſcope, and, ſubſtituting a cold for a hot body in the cylinder, found that the liquor in the tube was attracted towards the the bulb which was near the cold cylinder, in proportion to its degree of cold and to its proximity to the bulb; and that if two cylinders equally cold, but one coated with candle ſmoke, were preſented to the balls, at equal diſtances, the liquor moved towards the blackened cylinder. One of the cylinders being coated with animal membrane was found to radiate both heat and cold (according to our author's theory of frigorific radiation) five times more copiouſly than the naked cylinder. He alſo found that if one ball remains at its natural temperature, while to the other there are preſented on oppoſite ſides two bodies, the one as much above that temperature as the other is below it, no change whatever takes place in the poſition of the liquid. The ſame reſult follows from varying this experiment by coating both the cylinders with candle-ſmoke. Previous to ſome ingenious ſpeculations on the practical application of the foregoing facts, we are preſented with an experiment to prove that both calorific and frigorific radiation is much more copious from animal membrane of a black colour, than of any other hue. As a ſpecimen of the author's ingenuity in applying his facts, we ſhall extract the following paſſage.

'It is evident, that the greater the power is which an animal poſſeſſes of *throwing off* heat from the ſurface of his body, independently of that which the ſurrounding air takes off, the leſs will his temperature be affected by the occaſional changes of temperature which take place in the air, and the leſs will he be oppreſſed by the intenſe heats of hot climates.

'It is well known that *negroes* and people of colour ſupport the heats of tropical climates much better than white people. Is it not probable that their *colour* may enable them to throw off calorific rays with great facility and in great abundance, and that it is to this circumſtance they owe the advantage they poſſeſs over white people in ſupporting heat? And even ſhould it be true, that bodies are cooled, not in conſequence of the rays they emit, but by the action of thoſe frigorific rays they receive from other colder bodies (which I much ſuſpect to be the caſe), yet as it has been found by experiment, that thoſe bodies which emit calorific rays in the greateſt abundance are alſo moſt affect-

ed by the frigorific rays of colder bodies, it is evident that, in a very hot country, where the air and all other ſurrounding bodies are but very little colder than the ſurface of the ſkin, thoſe who by their colour are prepared and diſpoſed to be cooled with the greateſt facility, will be the leaſt likely to be oppreſſed by the accumulation of the heat generated in them by reſpiration, or of that excited by the ſun's rays.' p. 129.

We have here announced to us, not merely the exiſtence, but the operation of cold, and, it would appear, the baniſhment of heat. But the paſſage is full of contradictions. For, do not all the experiments formerly analyſed prove that the exiſtence of heat and cold is uniformly correlative—that the quantity of the one is inverſely as the quantity of the other—and that when a certain portion of heat has radiated from a body, it ceaſes to give out any more? But can it be made to conſiſt with all this, that bodies can only be cooled by abſorbing cold, and, conſequently, that they can only be heated by abſorbing heat? If theſe two ſubſtances have each a real and ſeparate exiſtence, how ſhould it happen that equal quantities of them, when mixed, exactly go for nothing, inſtead of forming a third body compounded of the other two? Beſides, let it be remembered, that we have the very ſame evidence to prove the radiation of heat from the thermoſcope to the cold body, that we have to prove the radiation of heat from the hot body to the thermoſcope. Conſequently, when the negro's ſkin is expoſed to the atmoſphere of tropical climates, its colour and conſiſtency operates in heating or in cooling him more rapidly than a white man, preciſely as the atmoſphere is hotter or colder than his body. If the air is cold, then he is cooler than other men; but if, which is the caſe to be explained, the air is hot, then he is much hotter than other men. It is in vain to ſay that he radiates heat, and receives cold more abundantly. The experiments of the thermoſcope prove, that as long as he is at all cooler than the climate, he muſt be receiving heat more copiouſly than a white man; and if he has any frigorific particles to radiate (as he muſt, according to Count Rumford's theory coupled with his facts) when the air is hotter, he gives out theſe much more copiouſly than a white man.

The ingenuity of the following paſſage is rather pleaſing, though it is liable to ſome of the foregoing objections.

'Several of the ſavage tribes which inhabit very cold countries beſmear their ſkins with oil; which gives them a ſhining appearance. The rays of light are reflected copiouſly from the ſurface of their bodies. May not the frigorific rays which arrive at the ſurface of their ſkin, be alſo reflected by the highly poliſhed ſurface of the oil with which it is covered?

'If

'If that should be the case, instead of despising these poor creatures for their attachment to a useless and loathsome habit, we should be disposed to admire their ingenuity, or rather to admire and adore the goodness of their invisible Guardian and Instructor, who teaches them to like and to practise what he knows to be useful to them.

'The Hottentots besmear themselves, and cover their bodies in a manner still more disgusting. They think themselves *fine* when they are besmeared and dressed out according to the loathsome custom of their country. But who knows whether they may not in fact be *more comfortable*, and better able to support the excessive heats to which they are exposed? From several experiments which I made with a view to elucidate this point, (of which an account will be given to this Society at some future period), I have been induced to conclude, that the Hottentots derive advantages from that practice exactly similar to those which negroes derive from their black colour.

'It cannot surely be supposed that I could ever think of recommending seriously to polished nations the filthy practices of these savages. This is very far indeed from being my intention: For I have ever considered cleanliness as being so indispensably necessary to comfort and happiness, that we can have no real enjoyment without it: But still I think, that a knowledge of the physical advantages which those savages derive from such practices, may enable us to acquire the same advantages by employing more elegant means. A knowledge of the manner in which heat and cold are excited, would enable us to take measures for these important purposes with perfect certainty: In the mean time, we may derive much useful information by a careful examination of the phenomena which occasionally fall under our observation.

'If it be true, that the black colour of a negro, by rendering him more sensible to the few frigorific rays which are to be found in a very hot country, enables him to support the great heats of the tropical climates without inconvenience, it might be asked, how it happens that he is able to support, naked, the direct rays of a burning sun?

'Those who have seen negroes exposed naked to the sun's rays in hot countries, must have observed that their skins *in that situation* are always very shining. An oil exudes from their skin, which gives it that shining appearance; and the polished surface of that oil reflects the sun's calorific rays.

'If the heat be very intense, sweat makes its appearance at the surface of the skin. This watery fluid not only reflects very powerfully the calorific rays from the sun, which fall on its polished surface, but also by its evaporation generates cold.

'When the sun is gone down, the sweat disappears; the oil at the surface of the skin retires inwards; and the skin is left in a state very favourable to the admission of those feeble frigorific rays which arrive from the neighbouring objects.' p. 132.

It is scarcely necessary to remark how completely all this explanation is at variance with the speculative observations last

quoted. There we were taught to consider cooling as the effect only of absorbing frigorific particles; now, the exclusion of heat is the cause of comfort to the negro. Formerly, we were told, that he only benefited from his colour by absorbing an extraordinary portion of cold; now, he is provided with a coat of grease, which must exclude both heat and cold. These fanciful remarks are followed by some experiments to prove that the cooling of hot bodies depends on the absorption of frigorific rays. They are inconclusive; because they either prove that the cooling body absorbs heat, or that the cooled body absorbs cold; and in every instance the effects are exactly proportional, and the terms of the explanation convertible. The author is reduced, at every step, to this dilemma; either cold exists without heat, which must follow if you maintain that bodies are cooled only by receiving cold, and that they are heated only by giving out cold; or heat can never be emitted without an equal absorption of cold, nor cold emitted without an equal absorption of heat. If you chuse the latter position, what sort of separately existing bodies must those be which are so mutually dependent on each other? If you take the former, are there not at least as many proofs adducible of the existence of heat, as of the existence of cold?

Before leaving the experimental branch of this subject, we shall notice the most original of all Count Rumford's experiments —those which he made to prove the great effect of polished surfaces in reflecting heat. They do not indeed demonstrate any new proposition, but there is somewhat in the results of them, and in his way of stating others, which cannot fail to surprise us. A drop of water rolls about on a red-hot iron without evaporation, because its surface becomes so highly polished as to reflect all the heat. If the heat be less, the water penetrates the pores of the oxidated iron, and, losing its polish, is evaporated. If the metal be less oxidable, the water remains unevaporated even at a low temperature. If the inside of a silver spoon be covered with candle smoke, and a drop of water be put into it, you may hold the spoon over a lamp until it becomes violently heated, without affecting the water, which is scarcely warmed by the heat: at last, the soot adhering to the drop, facilitates the transmission of heat, and the water gradually evaporates. A drop may, in like manner, be introduced into the centre of a lamp flame, without being affected, until it receives heat by the conducting power of the body which holds it. This last experiment, by the way, appears to be explicable on the commonly received doctrine, that the centre of a flame, having no access to oxygenous gas, is not in a state of combustion at all, while the surface

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of the vapour, being expoſed to the action of the air, is burning rapidly.

II. We ſhall now enter more fully into ſome of the general inferences deduced by Count Rumford from the foregoing experiments. We have already hinted at ſeveral objections to one of his theories; we ſhall preſently find, however, that the work teems with many abſurdities ſtill more glaring.

In expounding his peculiar theory of heat, our author begins by remarking, that there is no ſuch thing as reſt in the univerſe—that all the bodies of which we have any knowledge are in a ſtate of motion—and that probably the particles of thoſe bodies are alſo moving among themſelves. He then ſuppoſes the caſe of a perfectly elaſtic bell being ſtruck while ſurrounded by other elaſtic bodies in an elaſtic medium, and conceives that if the vibrations of the bell were more rapid than thoſe of the other bodies, an equilibrium would take place; that if all the bodies were in equal vibration, no effect would be produced by their mutual actions; and that if the bell's vibrations were ſlower, they would gradually be increaſed. This he thinks is a caſe exactly ſimilar to that of calorific and frigorific radiation; and as we, on the other hand, are convinced that a better expoſition of his doctrine of vibrations could not be imagined, than the one preſented by purſuing this illuſtration, and comparing it with our author's inference, we ſhall give his application in his own words.

'The rapid undulations occaſioned in the ſurrounding ethereal fluid by the ſwift vibrations of the hot body, will act as calorific rays on the neighbouring colder ſolid bodies; and the ſlower undulations occaſioned by the vibrations of thoſe colder bodies will act as frigorific rays on the hot body; and theſe reciprocal actions will continue, but with decreaſing intenſity, till the hot body and thoſe colder bodies which ſurround it ſhall, in conſequence of theſe actions, have become of the ſame temperature, or until their vibrations have become iſochronous.

'According to this hypotheſis,' he adds, '*cold* can with no more propriety be conſidered as the abſence of *heat*, than a low or a grave ſound can be conſidered as the abſence of a higher or more acute note; and the admiſſion of rays which generate cold, involves no abſurdity, and creates no confuſion of ideas.' p. 157.

Nothing, in our apprehenſion, could have more demonſtratively ſhown the fallacy of the author's whole theory than this illuſtration and application. If frigorific rays are to be conſidered as exiſting ſubſtances, of a nature eſſentially different from calorific rays, what can be leſs applicable than the caſe of vibrations differing from other vibrations only in degree of ſtrength? A frigorific ray can never, according to Count Rumford's theory, produce any of the effects of a calorific ray, modify either as

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you please. But a slow undulation resembles a quick one in every particular, and produces all the same effects in a smaller degree. A frigorific ray can never become calorific by any change: A slow undulation becomes a quick one by the easiest transition imaginable. If words have any meaning, it is impossible to draw the line between quick and slow undulations; for these terms are merely expressions of a mutual relation. But surely nothing can be more definite than the boundary between positive heat and positive cold, according to our author's doctrine. Suppose a quickly vibrating body is brought into the neighbourhood of a quiescent one, the vibrations of the former will be diminished. If it be brought into the neighbourhood of a body vibrating slower than itself, its vibrations will still be diminished, but not so much as if the second body had no motion at all. But will a hot body be more cooled by the neighbourhood of a body radiating neither heat nor cold, than by the neighbourhood of one radiating cold? The proposition is a contradiction in terms.

It also deserves to be considered how Count Rumford introduces an ethereal fluid into his theory, silently, and without giving his readers any warning of such a postulate. It is true that, without it, he cannot proceed a step; yet surely so extravagant a demand should have been explicitly stated, instead of being tacitly assumed. But it appears to us, that the ether never was introduced with less felicity. When the existence of certain substances has been admitted; when, for example, Sir Isaac Newton proceeded upon the position that the rays of light are solid particles of matter, acting on and affected by other parts of matter (a position which he had himself confirmed by his discoveries), it was then sufficiently consistent to consider how such material particles would affect, or be affected by, a surrounding medium like the subtile ether, supposing such a fluid to exist. But, in the present case, the whole question relates to *existence*; the matter in dispute is the reality of heat or of cold, or of both, or of neither. To settle this point, our author fancies an ether; he introduces a nonentity as a step in his reasonings upon the existence of other bodies. We are discussing the subject, whether caloric is a substance? Count Rumford tells us he can settle that question; and he begins his decision by saying, 'for *the ether*.' What ether? He cannot tell. But suppose an ether.—Why not suppose a caloric—the point at issue? and then we are at least spared the labour of all his prolix and useless argumentation.

Let us, however, admit this important preliminary, and see whether the clumsy theory has even the paltry merit of explaining the phænomena: On the contrary, it is hardly reconcileable to a single fact. We shall only take a few specimens of its powers in this way.

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If heat conſiſts in the internal motions of the particles of bodies, the queſtion immediately occurs, how do bodies, by any modifications of ſuch motions, change their ſtate from ſolidity to fluidity? and how does the idea of motion accommodate itſelf to the fact of heat being abſorbed in fuſion, afterwards to be given out again upon the body reſuming the ſolid form. Count Rumford explains this in the following ſtrange manner. We chooſe to quote his own words, leſt our readers ſhould be diſpoſed to diſbelieve any abridgement which imputed ſuch opinions to an author of his note.

'Whatever may be the figures of the orbits which the particles of a liquid deſcribe, the mean diſtances of theſe particles from each other remain the ſame as when they conſtituted a ſolid, as appears by the ſmall change of ſpecific gravity which takes place when a ſolid is melted and becomes a liquid; and, on a ſuppoſition that their motions are regulated by the ſame laws which regulate the ſolar ſyſtem, it is evident that the additional motion they muſt neceſſarily acquire, in order to their taking the fluid form, cannot be loſt, but muſt continue to reſide in the liquid, and muſt again make its appearance when the liquid changes its form and becomes a ſolid.

'It is well known,' he continues, 'that a certain quantity of *heat* is requiſite to melt a ſolid; which quantity diſappears or remains *latent* in the liquid produced by that proceſs; and that the ſame quantity of heat reappears when this fluid is congealed and becomes a ſolid body.' p. 160.

A certain quantity of motion abſorbed, remaining latent, and then after an interval reappearing! What is abſorbed, or latent, or quieſcent *motion?* Is it not reſt? and what power can put particles into an intermitting motion, that is, a motion to be ſuſpended, and then to be revived again, without any new impulſe? Have we not here only a choice of impoſſibilities and contradictions—either that *motion* is ſomething which may be concealed and then developed, *i. e.* may remain at *reſt*—or that, after being annihilated, it may be regenerated, without any new impulſe, *i. e.* may be produced anew without a cauſe? Indeed, the confuſion of ideas which pervades the whole of this explanation, is not only like, it is exactly the ſame, with that which Swift has ridiculed in his picture of the Laputan projector, who waſted his life in extracting ſun-beams from cucumbers, in order to preſerve the rays for uſe during winter;—and with a ſtill more palpable abſurdity that has become matter of common ridicule, the cold which froze up men's words, until, at the approach of ſpring, the ſpeeches made during winter began to thaw of themſelves.

But it is not only in the more abſtruſe parts of the theory of heat that Count Rumford's explanation ſo miſerably fails,—it is equally inadequate to account for the moſt ordinary appearances, although,

although, here, its discrepancy with the facts may not at first sight appear so palpable. Let us see how it is reconciled with the expansive power of caloric.

So long, according to our author, as the internal and incessant motions among the particles of bodies remain the same, no sensible alteration can take place in their qualities or appearance. But when the radiations of hotter bodies, that is, the impulses of particles moving more rapidly, communicate to the former substances a greater degree of internal motion, their particles must vibrate more rapidly; the arches of their undulations must be elongated, and the visible magnitude of the whole masses increased. In like manner, if the bodies are cooled, that is, if their motions are diminished, the undulations will be contracted, and the volume of the masses diminished.

Now, surely, it seems obvious to answer, that if the increase of volume were produced entirely by an augmented vibration, it would be much easier than we actually find it, to prevent, by external pressure, the expansion of a heated body. If the force were exerted not steadily in one direction, from the centre to the surface of the body, but alternately and equally backwards and forwards, a very little compression would suffice to stop this vibration. Besides, the appearance of a body vibrating in this manner, however rapidly, would certainly be very different from that of a body gradually and steadily expanded in all its dimensions by heat. But two considerations are of themselves quite sufficient to overthrow the whole of this reasoning.

In the *first* place, it is admitted that heat expands bodies equally in all directions. But vibratory motions can take place only in the directions determined by the initial impulses; the wave must always be in the plane of the line in which the first stroke is communicated to the undulating body. According, therefore, as heat is radiated in one line or another, we might expect to see the dimensions of the heated body expanded in one direction or another. It would always be possible, too, by opposing opposite forces, to counteract the effects of those impulses; that is to say, it would be possible to stop the vibrations by opposite radiation, or to prevent the body from expanding by the application of more heat. We do not here stop to inquire how this theory may be accommodated to the anomalous effects of cold in expanding certain bodies, as water and ice.

Secondly, If we attend to the nature of elasticity, and the laws of percussion, we shall be completely satisfied that all this theory of motion is utterly unfounded; and the argument which we are now about to suggest, is submitted as one that must be decisive even with Count Rumford himself. Suppose a radiation to accelerate

lerate the vibratory motion of a central particle, and of course to propagate its impulse through the line of successive particles, at the extremity of which this one first struck is situated; let us consider what must necessarily take place. The whole row of particles are actuated by an impulse. But suppose, first, that only one impulse is communicated; the particles being all elastic by the hypothesis, the motion visibly affects none but the last. If a number of ivory or glass balls are suspended by separate threads in a straight line, and apparently touching each other, and the ball at one end is made to vibrate against the one next in succession, the whole line will remain unmoved, except the ball at the other extremity, which will fly off with the whole impulse. This is a well known consequence of the common laws of percussion, and the experiment is perfectly familiar to every one. If, instead of one impulse, a constant succession of impulses be communicated to the first ball, or to each of the others; still the same consequence follows, only the last ball flies off with greater force, viz. with the accumulated force of all the impulses,—while the other balls remain at rest as before. Precisely the same consequence must follow, if the number of the balls is indefinitely increased, their diameters diminished, and their neutral contact rendered more close. We have now exactly the line of particles first supposed in the heated body; and the radiation must produce the same effect, according to Count Rumford, as the percussion of the balls. Therefore, the whole particles, instead of vibrating, will remain at rest, and the last particle alone fly off. This must happen in every row of particles in the body; consequently, the application of heat, instead of expanding the dimensions of the body, will only cause its anterior surface to split and fly off in splinters, in a direction determined by the mode of applying the heat. If the heat is radiated from one side only, the opposite surface will fly off. If it is radiated from two contiguous sides, the extreme parts will fly off diagonally. If it is radiated from the centre, both surfaces will splinter; and if it is equally radiated from opposite sides, the whole body will be shaken, but no other change whatever will be produced. So consonant to fact is this theory of vibration and incessant motion!

We here take leave of Count Rumford's speculations upon the nature of heat. After the ample discussion we have bestowed upon them, it would be very unnecessary to recapitulate the manifold objections to which they are obviously liable. We shall, therefore, only express an earnest wish that this ingenious and persevering observer would leave the amusement of framing hypotheses to inferior men, who cannot substantially assist the progress of inductive philosophy, and whose errors or fancies can have no detrimental

detrimental conſequences to ſcience. That we do not value, without ſome reaſon, Count Rumford's talents as an experimentaliſt, and as a reaſoner on a confined ſcale, from the proximate doctrines of his experiments to the uſeful arts, may be gathered partly from the illuſtrations formerly quoted, and partly from the practical applications with which his paper concludes. Theſe are indeed, in this inſtance, the applications of diſcoveries not his own; but they ſhew as much uſeful ingenuity, as if he had himſelf contrived the inſtruments and performed the fundamental experiments, of which we have been conſtrained to deny him the merit. We ſhall now conclude with a ſhort abſtract of thoſe practical remarks.

The brighter the poliſh of veſſels deſigned to keep meat, water, &c. hot, ſo much the better will they anſwer this purpoſe. On the other hand, veſſels uſed for cooling hot bodies ſhould be made rough, and covered with ſome paint or varniſh. Veſſels uſed for heating ſubſtances, ſhould be kept bright on all the ſides, except that expoſed to the fire, which ſhould be coated with lamp-ſmoke or black. Wood is better than metal for cooling veſſels, as the flats in which brewers cool their wort; and thick wood is preferable to thin. Tubes uſed for heating rooms, by ſteam or hot air, ſhould be painted or coated on the outſide; but thoſe which are employed for the purpoſe of conveying ſteam or hot air from place to place, ſhould be kept poliſhed, or wrapt up with warm covering. Thus, the cylinders and principal tubes of ſteam-engines ſhould be well covered and coated with poliſhed braſs. Black fruit walls, though hotter in the day, are colder in the night than others. Theſe viciſſitudes may be leſs favourable to trees than is generally ſuppoſed. Black clothes are in the ſame predicament; and in a cold climate no colour is more chilling. Clothes, whoſe ſurface is poliſhed, are by much the cooleſt in ſummer, and warmeſt in winter. Fur garments ſhould always be worn (in winter) with the hair outwards. The change of colour in winter, from dark to white, of ſome delicate animals in cold climates, is extremely favourable to their warmth; and ſome animals inhabiting climates where they are expoſed alternately to exceſſive cold and violent ſunſhine are always white. Our author concludes by ſtating as a query, whether the practice, prevalent in hot climates, of ſleeping on the roofs of houſes, may not be advantageous, by expoſing the body to thoſe frigorific rays which he imagines are always arriving on the earth from every part of the heavens.

Before concluding this article, we muſt be permitted to add to the cenſures already paſſed on Count Rumford's paper, by one remark. We allude to the want of arrangement; the prolixity and repetition; the perpetual digreſſions and deviations either into different topics, or into general obſervations, which form diſtinguiſhing

ſtinguiſhing features of our author's ſtyle of writing. His general remarks, too, are far from being either original or important, and ſerve rather to diminiſh than to increaſe our reſpect for the author's philoſophical powers. Style and diction are, in matters of pure ſcience, very ſubordinate conſiderations; nor have we any criticiſm to make on the Count's manner of expreſſing himſelf. But we cannot avoid obſerving, that he is rather too fond of ſelf-gratulation; of beſtowing epithets upon himſelf and his experiments; of indulging in well-turned compliments to his ſucceſs and dexterity. To find ſpecimens of this ſtrange practice, it is only neceſſary to open his volume. He never mentions or refers to one of his experiments, without calling it *moſt intereſting* or *highly inſtructive*—or *ſingularly beautiful*—or at once *ſimple and deciſive*. All his inquiries are '*extremely important*,' or '*valuable and new*,' or '*ſtriking and concluſive*,' or '*calculated to elucidate what was enveloped in obſcurity*.' We do not at all exaggerate, when we ſay, that this routine of complimentary epithets is ſo unvaried, as to become a kind of ordinary nomenclature, and ſo indiſcriminate as frequently to become ſomewhat indicrous. The ſimpleſt experiment or remark, when touched by the finger of Count Rumford, is covered with brilliancy, ſwelled into grandeur, and branched into fruitful conſequences. In the preſent publication, the effect of ſuch a ſtyle is heightened by the conſtant recurrence of the remarks formerly offered on the *property* of the diſcoveries. The grave and repeated encomiums which he beſtows on the inſtrument, which is nothing when called an hygrometer, and uſed by the original inventor, but ſuddenly becomes every thing that is valuable and powerful, when denominated a thermoſcope, and invented over again by Count Rumford—are rather too ridiculous not to diſcompoſe the gravity of a ſcientific inquiry. The conſtant expreſſion of *ſurpriſe* and *ſelf-ſatisfaction* at the reſult of proceſſes which others had previouſly contrived and performed, belongs to the ſame claſs of *figures*, which we heartily wiſh had not been ſo *very ill-placed* in this elaborate production.

ART. XII. *An Account of a curious Phenomenon obſerved in the Glaciers of Chamouny; together with ſome occaſional Obſervations concerning the Propagation of Heat in Fluids.* By Benjamin Count of Rumford. V. P. R. &c. From Phil. Trans. Part I. for 1804.

In paſſing over the region of the Glaciers of Chamouny, denominated *Mer de Glace*, Count Rumford and Mr Pictet of Geneva obſerved a cylindrical pit, ſeven inches in diameter, and four

four feet deep, in a vaſt maſs of ſolid ice. The cavity was filled with water, its ſides were poliſhed, and its bottom was hemiſpherical and definite. It was a little inclined to the plane of the horizon; and the travellers learned from their guides that ſuch pits are extremely common all over the lower parts of the Glaciers; that they are formed during ſummer, gradually increaſe during the ſummer months, and diſappear in winter, the water being then frozen up.

The explanation which Count Rumford ſuggeſts of this ſingular appearance, is very ingenious, and proceeds upon his peculiar theory of the non-conducting nature of water. The hot winds, he conceives, which paſs continually over the ſurface of the ice during ſummer, communicate a certain degree of heat to the ſurface of the water in the pit. The heated particles of the water, formerly ice cold, are increaſed in ſpecific gravity, and deſcend through the colder particles of the column till they reach the bottom, where they melt the ice, and regain their former temperature. A ſucceſſion of deſcending particles is thus maintained, and heat is conveyed from the ſurface to the bottom of the pit, without heating either the ſides or the column of water.

Now, to this ingenious explanation, a variety of objections occur, in our apprehenſion altogether inſuperable.

In the firſt place, no account whatever is given, or pretended to be given of the circular form and inclined direction of the pits. We are left to gueſs how, in the whole *Mer de Glace*, a few inſulated ſpots alone ſhould be thus ſingularly affected by the hot winds, while all the reſt of the ice remains unmelted; why theſe ſpots ſhould be of a circular form; and why, inſtead of the pits being vertical, as they undoubtedly ought to be according to Count Rumford's explanation, by the *deſcent* of heavy particles, they are actually inclined at a conſiderable angle to the plane of the horizon.

Next, it muſt be obſerved, that our author, partly to get rid of the former objection, and partly for another reaſon, ſuppoſes the pit to be already formed and filled with water to a certain depth, before his explanation commences. He then ſhows how the heated particles would ſink and thaw the bottom, upon the ſuppoſition, be it always remembered, that a particle of water cannot directly communicate heat to another particle; for it is reaſoning in a circle, to aſſume the phenomenon in queſtion as a new proof of the theory here alluded to. But, to paſs over this fallacy, and admitting that theory—if the commencement of the pit is conſidered, we cannot eaſily perceive how the ſinking of the heated particles is to have a beginning. Suppoſe that, from any cauſe, a circular *lamina* of ice is melted—it appears inconceivable

inconceivable that the power of the hot wind over the ice-cold water, thus formed, should be greater than the power of all the mass of ice by which this slender film of freezing water is surrounded on every other side. But admitting that a sufficient quantity of water is formed, we do not see how it could melt the ice in a cylindrical tube. The *lamina* of heated water always descending from the surface, would melt the sides as well as the bottom of the pit; by degrees, the dimensions of the hole would enlarge on every hand into a conical form; and the descending film would be so spread when it reached the bottom, as not to have any effect whatever on the ice.

Indeed, it is scarcely necessary to observe, that there is in this appearance a great deal of inexplicable matter, but not more than in a thousand others which pass daily before our eyes unheeded. The form of every crack and fissure in the earth, of every rocky fragment broken from a mountain, of every cloud in the heavens, and of every pool of water on the ground—all these things are as difficult to be accounted for as the water pits in the *Mer de Glace*, except only in the alleged resemblance of those pits to each other, of which Count Rumford has no knowledge from observation. We are in general satisfied with saying, 'Those things are accidental;' by which we mean, if our words have any signification, that we are ignorant of the causes which have produced and modified them; and that on a cursory inspection, we perceive so little analogy between such appearances and other facts already classified, that we think them unworthy of farther examination. Unless Count Rumford has some new and more solid explanation to bestow on the phænomenon just now described, we must rank it in the same most numerous and mortifying collection of natural occurrences.

The remainder of this short paper is occupied with detached remarks on the objections which have been urged against his theory of the non-conducting power of fluids. The tone of these remarks strikes us as somewhat unbecoming. It is not very decorous in one who has advanced a doctrine which overthrows all former articles of belief upon the subject of heat, to betray marks of indignation and impatience at being answered by new and contradictory experiments; and to evince a sort of supercilious contempt for all who venture to maintain the old opinions. There is an aristocracy, as it were, in the Count's manner of treating his adversaries, which we do not very well understand, and which is little suited to the republican constitution of the scientific world—the only region where we hope to see the common reason, for ages, all attempts at giving it a Corinthian capital. To justify this strictures, we refer to the saucy defiance

in page 27th, where Count Rumford says, 'I wish that gentlemen who refuse to assent to the opinions I have advanced respecting the causes of this curious phenomenon, would give a better explanation of it than that which I have ventured to offer. I could likewise wish that they would inform us how it happens,' &c. Is this the language of science, or of parliamentary disputation? What rule of philosophising has this author invented, which ordains us to adopt the first explanation that may be offered, provided no better happens to occur at the moment? Is it *induction*—is it *philosophising*—to presume that a position must be admitted, whatever objections are urged against it, merely because no other is offered? Let the Count recollect, that we are in nowise bound to receive his explanations, unless they stand the test of examination on their own merits; that a doctrine is only good because it is absolutely true, not because it is less erroneous than others; and that there is no demand in science for hypotheses, as there is for commodities in a market, where, of course, if what is good cannot be had, what can be had must be taken. We do not recollect that Sir Isaac Newton or Dr Black ever defended their discoveries on such grounds. The language of these men was more tame and subdued. They did not drill us into their doctrines by the word of command, or force their opinions upon us by big words and authoritative menaces. And, after all, there is somewhat in the example of those two men that will probably command as much respect as the imperious postulates of Count Rumford.

Another rule of philosophizing is equally peculiar to the practice of this author. It happens that some ingenious men, particularly Dr Thomson of Edinburgh, have called in question Count Rumford's theory of ascending and descending currents. They have accounted for the phænomena which, according to them, misled the Count, by showing that the same appearances are the result of perfectly distinct causes. Now, to all their experiments and reasonings, this *philosopher* is pleased to make answer, not by opposite experiments and arguments, but by an appeal to his own authority, delivered in a tone absolutely insupportable in a scientific controversy—'I am sorry,' says he, 'that so mean an opinion of my accuracy as an observer should have been entertained, as to imagine that I could have been so easily deceived.' p. 28. After all this (and this is all the kind of reply he deigns to make) it was really quite unnecessary for Count Rumford to apologize, as he does in page 29., for having entered into a controversy, and to promise that he will always abstain from literary disputes for the future. In the concluding sentence we meet with the same supercilious—we had almost said,

ſaid, inſufferable ſtyle of indignant talking. 'I am reſponſible to the public for the accuracy of the accounts which I have publiſhed of my experiments; but it cannot reaſonably be expected that I ſhould anſwer all the objections that may be made to the concluſions which I have drawn from them. It will, however,' he adds, 'at all times afford me real ſatisfaction to ſee my opinions examined, and my miſtakes corrected; for my firſt and moſt earneſt wiſh is, to contribute to the advancement of uſeful knowledge.' We have addreſſed our remarks to Count Rumford, as the author of the latter part of this paſſage, rather than of the former, and have ſhaped our examination of his poſitions to meet the ſpirit of condeſcenſion which ſeems for a moment to have directed him in this ſentence. We truſt that our endeavours have not been thrown away, and entertain ſome hopes that the labour we have beſtowed upon the correction of his errors, particularly in the preceding article, will afford him ſomething of the ſame ſatisfaction which, we doubt not, will be felt by all the friends of ſcience at the detection of his plagiariſm.

ART. XIII. *A Tour through the Britiſh Weſt Indies, in the years* 1802 *and* 1803; *giving a Particular Account of the Bahama Iſlands.* By D. M'Kinnen Eſquire. 8vo. pp. 280. London. White. 1804.

ALTHOUGH no part of the globe preſents a greater field of intereſting obſervation than the Weſt Indies, whether we regard the beautiful ſcenery of thoſe tropical regions, or the peculiar political and moral circumſtances of their inhabitants, or their high importance to the wealth and power of the mother country; yet it has happened that they have ſcarcely ever been viſited by any of thoſe communicative travellers whoſe pens have been exhauſted in deſcribing the familiar features of the European world. In truth, a climate very unfavourable to European conſtitutions, and a ſtate of ſociety as little congenial to the habits of men accuſtomed to the more polite and ſecure intercourſe of the old world, have conſpired to render the ſouthern colonies of America an ineligible reſidence, and converted them into a place of temporary reſort for thoſe adventurers alone whoſe wants can reconcile them to danger, and who delay not a moment longer than is neceſſary their return to the eaſtern hemiſphere. A few perſons engaged in purſuits of a more than ordinary affinity to ſpeculative inquiries, have indeed preſented us, from time to time, with their obſervations upon the phyſical and

moral peculiarities of those splendid and interesting scenes: But their accounts have been deficient in the various attractions that render the information so fascinating which is communicated in the shape of narrative, and incorporated with personal anecdote. Hence it is, that, in the scarcity of West Indian travels, we are glad to fix even upon so meagre and unsatisfactory a tract as Sir William Young's Tour through the Windward Islands; and perse, with an interest disproportioned to its merits, this solitary labourer in that rich and neglected field, in spite of the more than suspicious fidelity of the narrative, where it touches upon controverted points of West Indian policy. For the same reason, we eagerly follow the author of the book now before us in his more extensive wanderings, and hasten to make our readers acquainted with what is to be found in a work so rare, as a Tour through the West Indies. Although we are far from praising it as a masterpiece, and have reason to wonder how so little novelty and interest could be infused into such a subject, we can promise those who may be inclined to accompany us, that their trouble will be rewarded both by amusement and instruction.

The tour of this gentleman was performed in the years 1802 and 1803, and his route lay through both the Windward and Leeward Charibbees, the Great Antilles, and the Bahamas. He landed at Barbadoes, of which his account is pretty minute and particular—proceeded, without stopping at the intermediate settlements, to Dominica, of which a short and general notice is given—and from thence continued his voyage to Antigua. In his account of this valuable little island, he introduces a discussion, whether the whole of the British windward colonies should not be incorporated in the same government, and joined, as the Leeward Charaibean part of the chain are, under one governor, council, and representative assembly? The reasons which he offers on the opposite sides of this question are so contradictory, the views are so narrow and ill defined, and the inferences so hesitating and obscure, that we are impressed with an unfavourable opinion of the author's skill in colonial affairs. His descriptions of West Indian scenery are generally lively, and we know them to be faithful. As a specimen, we may select the following sketch of the Antigua landscape.

'This valuable little island is for the most part encircled by a range of hills, which rise to a considerable height in the south and south-western quarters. The interior, with the exception of some spots of high stony ground and tracts of pasture, exhibits a level and well cultivated surface of rich cane land.—From a central height turning to the east, and thence northerly to the town of St Johns, the eye traverses a view of one of the fairest and best cultivated tracts of country in the Windward Islands. It is highly pleasing to a person who has recently

recently come from the woods and mountains of the more southern colonies, to behold so extensive a scene of cleared land. The whole of the interior, though divested for the most part of its native wood, is by no means under cultivation of the hoe: A considerable part of the island, where the soil is unfit for canes (which seem particularly to engage the attention of the planters in Antigua), is laid out in pastures, and covered with herds of cattle. Here and there I observed some small groves, consisting principally of white-cedars; and on the pasture grounds an abundance of the guava bushes, yielding that fruit from whence the excellent conserves of guava marmalade and jelly are made. Nothing appears more completely like a garden, than the sugar plantation under good cultivation; and such is the prevailing scenery in the interior of this island where it is susceptible of tillage. The green fields of cane (which, when I saw them, in many places had shot up into feathery tops previous to their ripening) were intermixed with provision grounds of yams and eddoes, or the dark and regular parterres of holed land prepared for the reception of the succeeding year's plant-canes. A large windmill on each estate; the planter's dwelling-house and sugar-works, with the negro huts, in their beautiful groves of oranges, plantains, and cocoa-nut trees, completed a landscape that continually recurred in passing over the island.' p. 55—58.

From Antigua, Mr M'Kinnen returned to Barbadoes for the benefit of the trade-wind, and went from thence to Jamaica. His account of this island is unpardonably scanty; and we have particularly to blame a person, residing how short a time soever in that great settlement during so interesting a period, for not procuring some accurate information respecting the feelings excited in all ranks and orders of the people by the events then consummating in St Domingo. 'Not a word is to be found upon this subject in any part of the book: But our author agrees with all former writers on colonial topics, in his account of the general uncomfortable character of the society even in that extensive settlement.

The Bahama Islands were the next object of Mr M'Kinnen's attention; and as his residence there was much longer, his account of them is more copious, and we recommend it to the attention of our readers, as the only description of these interesting spots which has yet been given to the public. In the mean time, we hasten to select a few particulars for their entertainment.

The account of the *wreckers* is perhaps the most singular part of the whole narrative. These persons derive their livelihood and distinguishing character from the very dangerous navigation of the Bahama Channel. The immense variety of banks, shallows, and unknown passages and coasts with which those islands (above seven hundred in number) are surrounded, render the

chance of ſhipwreck greater perhaps in this quarter than in any other part of the ocean. In order to ſave the crews and the property thus continually expoſed to danger, the governor of the Bahamas licenſes a number of very daring nautical adventurers, who conſtantly ply about thoſe ſeas and channels, in order to obtain a certain ſalvage, which they are allowed on all goods which they ſave from ſhipwreck. Until the American rebellion drove thither a number of loyaliſts, the inhabitants of the Bahamas were all engaged either in fiſhing or in this deſperate occupation of wrecking, or in piracy. A race of men more hardy—more ſkilful in the management of ſmall veſſels, and more inured to all the dangers and viciſſitudes of the ſeafaring life, were never produced.—As a ſpecimen of the kind of character and ſentiments which theſe occupations formed, we may allude to a converſation related by our author in p. 139. He aſked a wrecker what ſucceſs they lately had? The reply was, that there had been above forty ſail of wreckers lying along the Florida coaſt for four months. Mr M'Kinnen obſerved, that they muſt have rendered great ſervice to the crews wrecked on that dangerous paſſage. The wrecker ſaid, 'No—they generally *went on* in the night.' 'But could not you light up beacons on ſhore, or ſhow your own lights?' 'No, no,' ſaid he, laughing: 'we always put them out for a better chance.' 'But it would have been more humane.' 'I did not go there for humanity—I went *racking*.'

Our author alſo relates the following ſingular anecdote of one of theſe men, which we extract as a curious illuſtration of the power which a life of conſtant viciſſitudes has to render any ſtate comfortable.

'A fiſherman at anchor in a boat, while attentively employed in caſting his nets at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore of an adjacent iſland, towards the duſk of the evening, was ſurpriſed by a ſudden guſt of wind coming off the land. His boat, notwithſtanding all his exertions, was ſoon driven from her mooring, and, drifting before the wind out of ſight of land, was expoſed to the ſwell of an increaſing ſea, which overtopped and threatened to overwhelm her every inſtant as it paſſed. The boat continued, however, to float till the night was ſomewhat advanced; and, in the awful expectation of his fate, the fiſherman, who now had ſcarcely any thoughts of relief, heard the ſound of breakers at a diſtance. This, which at another time would have excited the greateſt alarm, afforded him at that deſperate criſis a ray of hope. Scarcely had he begun to diſtinguiſh their foam in the darkneſs of the night, when he found himſelf plunged into the midſt of them, and his boat daſhed upon the rocks on the eaſtern edge of the Great Bahama Bank. At a ſmall diſtance from theſe rocks lay a key or bank called *Ragged Iſland*; and, floating almoſt ſenſeleſs on the water, he was

ſtung

flung upon this desolate island. Though now preserved from the waves, there was neither water nor food to be found on the key, which produced only a few fruitless shrubs. But as he had been accustomed to dive for conchs, which abound in many places on the coasts of the Bahamas, he swam to some distance from the shore, and fortunately, on searching the bottom, discovered a sufficient quantity of these shell-fish for his subsistence. For nearly six weeks he lived entirely on conchs, their liquor supplying the place of water. During that time, having erected a signal on shore, he observed several vessels pass without noticing it: But so well reconciled had this Crusoe become to his desert island, that he declared, when taken off, had his wife been with him, he could have lived very happily there for life.' p. 141–143.

The account given by Mr M'Kinnen of John Teach, the famous pirate, known in the Bahamas by the name of *Black Beard*, is extremely entertaining; and shows, that at a period much more recent than the age of the Buccaneers, the trade of depredation was carried on systematically, and to an enormous extent, in the Charaibean seas. This freebooter lived in the reign of George the Second.

'This extraordinary man had united in his fortunes a desperate and formidable gang of pirates, styling himself their Commodore, and assuming the authority of a legitimate chief. Under a wild fig-tree, the trunk of which still remains, and was shown to me in the eastern part of the town, he used to sit in council amongst his banditti, concerting or promulgating his plans, and exercising the authority of a magistrate. His piracies were often carried on near the English settlements on the coast of North America, where he met with extraordinary success. Perhaps in the history of human depravity, it would be difficult to select actions more brutal and extravagant than Black Beard's biographer has recorded of him. As the narrative to which I allude is generally credited, and bears strong internal evidence of truth, it may be amusing to mention a few particulars of a man who was for some time considered as sovereign of this island.

'In person, as well as disposition, this desperado, who was a native of England, seems to have been qualified for the chief of a gang of thieves. The effect of his beard, which gave a natural ferocity to his countenance, he was always solicitous to heighten, by suffering it to grow to an immoderate length, and twisting it about in small tails like a Ramillies wig; whence he derived the name of Black Beard. His portrait in time of action is described as that of a complete fury; with three brace of pistols in holsters slung over his shoulders like bandoliers, and lighted matches under his hat, sticking out over each of his ears. All authority as well as admiration amongst the pirates was conferred on those who, committing every outrage on humanity, displayed the greatest audacity and extravagance. Black Beard's pretensions to an elevated rank in the estimation of his associates, may be conceived from the character of his jokes. Having often exhibited himself before them as a

demon, he determined once to show them a hell of his own creation. For this purpose, he collected a quantity of sulphur and combustible materials between the decks of his vessel; when, kindling a flame and shutting down the hatches upon his crew, he involved himself with them literally in fire and brimstone. With oaths and frantic gestures, he then acted the part of the devil, as little affected by the smoke as if he had been born in the infernal regions; till his companions, nearly suffocated and fainting, compelled him to release them. His convivial humour was of a similar cast. In one of his ecstacies, whilst heated with liquor and sitting in his cabin, he took a pistol in each hand; then, cocking them under the table, blew out the candles, and, crossing his hands, fired on each side at his companions: * One of them received a shot which maimed him for life. His gallantry also was of the same complexion as this vein of humour. He had fourteen wives, if they may be so called. But his conduct towards one of them appears to have been too unfeeling and unmanly to admit of description.' p. 240—243.

He was afterwards conquered, rather than apprehended, by an expedition fitted out for the purpose, after a most desperate resistance, in which he killed almost all the crews of the vessels sent against him; and he died, with most of his own gang, in the battle.

We now proceed to bring together, in one summary, the statements of Mr M'Kinnen which throw any light upon the great questions of West Indian policy. In p. 90, he distinctly mentions the increasing cultivation of coffee in Jamaica, since the misfortunes which have befallen the French colonies. Almost the whole of the mountainous districts of that island are well adapted for this culture; and our author, by admitting that the spirit of West Indian speculation is dangerously rapid in entering every new channel (insomuch that the growth of coffee has increased a fourth in one year), has granted, that as long as the slave-trade is permitted, an indefinite demand for new supplies will be kept up even in our oldest islands, although no new vent for capital should be opened by farther conquests.

Nothing, however, is more immediately connected with the state of the slaves, than the non-residence of the proprietors. From not attending to this characteristic feature of West Indian society, the friends of the abolition have frequently lost some forcible points of attack; and the planters have with some reason imagined that the argument from ill treatment, which should be chiefly levelled at the overseers and acting managers of estates, was pointed at themselves. In fact, the non-residence of the master, who

* One of the guests, who related this anecdote, perceiving what was likely to happen, adroitly took himself off.

who is principally, perhaps exclusively interested in the good treatment of the stock, leaves the slave a prey to the caprice and mismanagement of the servant, who has only to return a due quantity of sugar, and draw his bills for the price of new negroes. Mr M'Kinnen mentions a circumstance strikingly illustrative of the degree in which slaves must be at the mercy of those most likely to maltreat them. In one of the richest districts of Jamaica, containing 80 estates, not *three* proprietors reside. The rest are domesticated in England, and their plantations are managed by temporary agents.

Although we are not disposed to accuse Mr M'Kinnen of an unfair statement of facts on this important question, we think that, as he himself fairly admits (p. 220.), the shortness of his stay, and his intercourse with prejudiced and interested persons may have exerted an influence on his mind unfavourable to accurate decision. He seems indeed, like many others, to have expected nothing but one unvaried scene of flagellation and torture; and, finding the reality not quite so terrible as he had apprehended, he is almost tempted to believe that it is not terrible at all, and that the condition of the slaves is tolerably easy and comfortable, because the lash is not always applied, and the slave is sometimes merry. In describing the work of a gang, he says the driver did not exercise his whip, but stood over the slaves directing and *stimulating* the work, p. 28. Now, this is all that the intelligent abolitionists ever contended for. They never maintained that the lash was constantly cracking, any more than they would say that a waggoner is constantly whipping his horses; they averred that the lash is the *stimulating* cause of work in both cases; that the fear of it may prevent its application, but that, if necessary, the stroke is at hand to remind the negro, as well as to quicken the horse. Our author is also surprised to find the negroes so cheerful when landed from the vessel, and so merry in their amusements, p. 9, &c. But surely it is an indifferent proof of their happiness, that they are glad to gain any change after the horrors of the middle passage; and it is no very decisive proof of their general comfort, that during the Christmas holidays they were not without some noisy revelling. We acknowledge, that the thing which pleased us least in perusing this work, was the insinuation frequently repeated, that the condition of West Indian bondage is not much more wretched than that of the negroes in Africa, because we have always considered the argument which pretends to justify the slave trade, on the ground of its improving the lot of the Africans, as the most intolerable of all the sophisms engendered by this fertile controversy—as a defence of the traffic, which adds insult and mockery to the original crime. If any thing

thing could increaſe this feeling, it would be the recollection of the purpoſes to which ſuch topics have been formerly applied; and Mr M'Kinnen has himſelf given a very touching account of an inſtance perfectly in point, which we cannot forbear extracting.

'I could not behold the beautiful and fragrant woods over the white ſtrand, without recurring to the fate of that innocent race of people whoſe name it bears, but who have long ſince been dragged from their native ſhores by the mercileſs ambition and avarice of their European viſitors. A paſſage in Herrera came forcibly to my recollection whilſt meditating on the ſubject, in which he ſays, that on the firſt arrival of the Spaniards, this unſuſpecting but devoted people were never ſatisfied with looking at them: they knelt down, lifted up their hands and gave thanks to God, inviting one another to admire the *heavenly men*. Twenty years, however, had ſcarcely elapſed, before theſe heavenly men found it convenient to tranſport them, by force or artifice, to dig in the mines of Hiſpaniola; a meaſure to which the court of Spain was tempted to give its aſſent by the plauſible ſuggeſtion that it would be the moſt effectual mode of civilizing and inſtructing them in the Chriſtian religion. Upon this pretence 40,000 ſouls (probably the whole population of the iſlands) were tranſported to Hiſpaniola. So exalted was the opinion which this ſimple people entertained of their deſtroyers, and ſo ſtrong and univerſal is the perſuaſion of the human mind that a deſtiny awaits it beyond the miſeries and diſappointments of its preſent bounded exiſtence, that many of the Lucayans were induced with cheerfulneſs to abandon their homes, under a perſuaſion that they ſhould meet in a happier country the ſpirits of their deceaſed friends, with whom the Spaniards repreſented themſelves as living in a ſtate of ſociety.' p. 263. 264. 265.

The laſt fact which this work preſents to us on this intereſting queſtion, is one of very conſiderable importance, and may juſtly fill with ſatisfaction thoſe who have of late years diſcuſſed theſe ſubjects in a ſpeculative point of view. The treatment of the negroes in the Bahama Iſlands is much more lenient than that which prevails over the more ſouthern and populous colonies. Taſk-work is univerſally introduced.

'Their labour,' ſays our author, 'is allotted to them daily and individually according to their ſtrength; and if they are ſo diligent as to have finiſhed it at an early hour, the reſt of the day is allowed to them for amuſement or their private concerns. The maſter alſo frequently ſuperintends them himſelf; and therefore, it rarely happens that they are ſo much ſubject to the diſcipline of the whip as where the gangs are large, and directed by agents or overſeers.' p. 172.

Now, what is the conſequence of theſe moſt important circumſtances? 'The negroes in the Bahama iſlands diſcover in general more ſpirit and exertion than in the ſouthern parts of the

the West Indies,' *ibid.*; and, of this, various proofs occur in this work. Collateral evidence, if it were necessary, could also be adduced from Mr M'Kinnen's narrative, to prove the adaptation of task-work to produce industry. He tells us that 'the negroes never display so much ingenuity or patience as in the pursuit of prey,' p. 188.; and we meet with repeated proofs of their success in ship-building and the management of small craft at sea; occupations, in which the compulsive labour extorted by the cart-whip is exchanged for voluntary service.

Before concluding our observations on this work, we have to repeat that it is much less full and instructive than might have been wished. The style of Mr M'Kinnen is unambitious and inoffensive; it aims at nothing elegant or adorned; but is not always pure or correct. A few of his observations border on the ludicrous, chiefly from awkwardness of manner. He tells us, for example, that the governor of Barbadoes, 'from some indistinctness of hearing, generally passes by the arguments of counsel, and consults only the authorities,' &c. p. 32. It appears, however, that this unhappy circumstance does not at all prevent the gentlemen of the long robe from exercising their eloquence, to a judge who cannot hear one word they utter, *ibid.* The author's long declamation on the bad paving of the Kingston streets (p. 83.) might also have been spared, or reserved at least for the Governor of Barbadoes; and the dignity of the remark, 'that pleasure is not generally the offspring of expectation in this life,' p. 79. would have accorded with a more lofty occasion than that of the vessel arriving in port a few hours beyond the expected time. The candid and modest spirit, however, which prevails through the whole of this little work, would have amply atoned for much greater violations of correct taste than any which we have been able to discover in the course of a very careful perusal.

ART. XIV. *Sir Tristrem, a Metrical Romance of the 13th Century; by Thomas of Ercildoune, called the Rhymer.* Edited from the Auchinleck MS. by Walter Scott Esq. Advocate. Royal 8vo. pp. 506. Printed by J. Ballantyne, for Arch. Constable & Co. Edinburgh, and Longman & Rees, London. 1804.

BEFORE we proceed to examine the merits of this work, we think it our duty to express our disapprobation of the very high price affixed to it by the publishers. We do not affect to sympathize with the author of the Pursuits of Literature, in his sickly antipathy to cream-coloured paper, hot-pressed pages, large margins, and beautiful types; on the contrary, we remarked with

with pleaſure, in our review of the Minſtrelſy of the Scotiſh Borders, that the printer, Mr Ballantyne, had contributed no common ſhare of elegance to that very pleaſing and popular work: But we can ſee no reaſon why the bard of Ercildoun ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from all his ſucceſſors by a more gigantic page; and ſtill leſs can we approve the limitation of a new edition to a very ſmall number of copies as an excuſe for an advanced price. Perhaps it may add to our indignation, that our own labour is thus conſiderably increaſed, becauſe it becomes neceſſary that we ſhould deſcribe more particularly the contents of a valuable work which cannot be known to the whole number of our readers. Be this as it may, we ſhall now, after diſcharging our ſpleen, proceed to our analyſis.

We know from various authorities, that the metrical tale of Sir Triſtrem, compoſed by Thomas of Ercildoun, was among the firſt romantic poems exhibited in our language; and we know alſo, that it was univerſally conſidered as the beſt. If, therefore, the copy now edited by Mr Scott from the Auchinleck MS. can be admitted as a tolerably correct tranſcript of the original, it will afford us the pureſt model of the language and taſte of our remote anceſtors; and as every romance reflects the manners of the times in which it was compoſed, this very early ſpecimen of our poetry will preſent many valuable materials to the future hiſtorian. The editor therefore has collected, in a ſhort but clear and comprehenſive introduction, all the information which the reader can expect relating to his author; he has accumulated, in a large body of notes, various illuſtrations of the text, from the romances of hiſtory in the middle ages; he has prefixed, to each of the three 'fyttes' into which he has divided the poem, a ſort of tranſlation, which will be found very convenient by the curſory reader; and he has added a gloſſary for the uſe of the more attentive ſtudent. We ſhall preſently examine, as minutely as our limits will permit, the labours of the editor; but we wiſh, in the firſt inſtance, to lay before our readers a ſhort outline of the ſtory.

In a country called Ermonie, of which the latitude and longitude may be left to the reader's diſcretion, provided that he do not place it at too great a diſtance from Cornwall, lived two great feudal barons, one of whom was called Duke Morgan, and the other Rouland Riſe. After a war, in which Morgan had been the aggreſſor, but had been compelled to accept as a favour a truce of ſeven years, Rouland repaired to the court of [illegible] king of England; diſtinguiſhed himſelf at a tournament; [illegible]d the heart of Blanche-flour the king's ſiſter. Un[illegible], he had been ſeverely wounded at the combat; and,

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ſtill more unfortunately, the lovely Blanche-flour, who flew to his aſſiſtance, and ſucceeded in curing his wound, found herſelf with child during the progreſs of his recovery. To complete her diſtreſs, not many months had elapſed when Rouland received a letter from his faithful friend Rohand, announcing that Morgan had broken the truce, and was advancing at the head of a vaſt army to ſeize the dominions of his rival. No time was to be loſt. Rouland haſtened to the defence of his territories, accompanied by his miſtreſs, who became his wife at the Caſtle of Rohand, but had the misfortune of witneſſing, on the following day, the defeat and death of her huſband. This ſad event haſtened her delivery, which proved fatal: After giving birth to a ſon, on whom ſhe impoſed the name of Triſtrem, ſhe delivered to Rohand a ring, formerly the preſent of King Mark, as a token which might hereafter identify the child; recommended the infant to the Baron's protection, and expired.

Rohand, anxious for the ſafety of his charge, directed his wife to feign a ſecond delivery; adopted the infant as his ſon; called him by the inverted name of Tremtriſt; gave him an excellent preceptor, under whom he *ſtudied in book* till he was able to puzzle his maſters; made him a perfect proficient in all poſſible games; and taught him the myſteries of hunting, which the youth had improved into a ſcience, ſo as conſiderably to excel the ſyſtem of Manerius, the moſt ſagacious writer on the ſubject.

Triſtrem was fifteen years of age, when a Norwegian veſſel, principally freighted with hawks, arrived at Rohand's caſtle. The boy went on board with his reputed father; challenged the captain to play with him at cheſs; won all his beſt hawks from him, which he diſtributed to Rohand and his attendants, who retired with their prize; and keeping with him only his tutor, purſued his ſucceſs till he had nearly beggared his antagoniſt. But the captain reflecting that it was cheaper to leave the port than to pay the money, ſuddenly gave orders for ſailing, and having put the tutor into a ſmall boat, carried Triſtrem off to ſea. Heaven, however, interfered for his deliverance. The veſſel was toſſed to and fro, till the pirates, in utter deſpair, relinquiſhed their prize, and ſet the boy on ſhore, with all his winnings, on the coaſt of Cornwall. Two palmers, whom he met in a foreſt, were induced by a reward of 20s. to accompany him to court. On their way they found a party of hunters, whoſe awkwardneſs in cutting up the hart which they had killed was juſtly cenſured by Triſtrem: He aſſumed the knife; carved the beaſt with unexampled dexterity; blew the *tokening* or death-note on the horn; and having aſtoniſhed the foreſters by his ſcientific

ſcientific inſtructions, was conveyed by them in triumph to the court of King Mark, who received the accompliſhed ſtranger with ſuitable attention. The introduction of a minſtrel after dinner afforded a freſh triumph to Triſtrem; who, taking the harp, extorted from the Corniſh muſician an unwilling admiſſion of his ſuperiority.

In the mean time, Rohand, who had long wandered in ſearch of his foſter-ſon, having met one of the palmers, learned from him the fate of Triſtrem; arrived at Mark's court; and, after gaining admittance with much difficulty, told him the real ſtory of the young man, and ſhewed him the ring; in conſequence of which, Triſtrem was publicly acknowledged as his nephew. A farther explanation with Rohand inflamed the young hero with an ardent deſire to revenge his father's death. Mark, after ſome difficulties, conferred on him the order of knighthood, furniſhing him with a ſmall but choſen army of 1000 men, who ſailed with him to Rohand's caſtle. Soon after, Sir Triſtrem, attended by fifteen knights all bearing boars' heads, and cloſely followed by Rohand and his troops, appeared, a moſt unexpected and unwelcome gueſt at Duke Morgan's table. A ſcene of mutual inſult was terminated by a battle, in which the uſurper loſt his life; and Triſtrem, having recovered his hereditary dominions, which he conferred on his excellent friend Rohand, returned to the court of Cornwall.

Mark and all his courtiers were at this moment in great tribulation. Moraunt, the champion of Ireland, was come to claim the accuſtomed tribute, and the Corniſh barons were diſpoſed to unlimited ſubmiſſion; but Triſtrem ordered the tribute to be withheld, repaired in perſon to Moraunt, and defied him to combat. The encounter, which took place on an iſland, was long and obſtinate; but at length, though Triſtrem received a ſevere wound in the hip, he had the honour to kill his antagoniſt by a terrible blow on the head, in which Triſtrem's ſword was broken, and left its point firmly fixed in the ſkull of Moraunt. The deliverer of Cornwall was now declared heir to the crown; but his wound, which had been inflicted by a poiſoned weapon, became daily more troubleſome; and after baffling the ſkill of all the Corniſh phyſicians, rendered the patient ſo diſguſting, that none of his attendants, excepting Gouvernail his faithful ſervant, had the courage to come near his perſon. And thus ends the firſt fytte of the poem, containing 102 ſtanzas.

After three years of torture, Triſtrem requeſted from his uncle a ſhip, with a ſufficiency of proviſions, and, attended only by the faithful Gouvernail, abandoned himſelf to the chance of the winds and waves, which at laſt brought him to Dublin.

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Calling himſelf Tremtriſt, and alleging that he was a merchant wounded by pirates, he continued in the harbour to ſolace himſelf with his harp, the ſound of which attracted daily crowds to his ſhip; and at laſt procured for him a viſit from the Queen, who was admirably ſkilled in medicine, and ſoon undertook and accompliſhed his cure. He was called to court; and became the inſtructor of the beautiful Yſonde the king's daughter, in the various games of cheſs and tables, and in the arts of muſic and poetry; ſo that his fair pupil, already a paragon of beauty, ſhortly became a model of elegant accompliſhments. But the hero of Cornwall, the conqueror of the fierce Morauns, grew tired of his diſguiſe, and of living as a preceptor to his niece of his ſlaughtered enemy. He aſked leave to depart, and returned to the court of Mark, to whom he praiſed ſo warmly the charms of the fair Yſonde, that the amorous monarch conjured him to return and obtain her from her parents; while the envious barons ſtrongly preſſed him to undertake an embaſſy which, if his real name ſhould be diſcovered, muſt, as they ſuppoſed, prove fatal to the ambaſſador.

Triſtrem, perfectly aware of his danger, but indifferent to its conſequences, undertook the commiſſion, and carrying with him fifteen knights, all like himſelf diſguiſed as merchants, arrived in Dublin harbour at a moment when its inhabitants were in extreme conſternation at the approach of a terrible dragon. As kings never kill dragons with their own hands, the King of Ireland contented himſelf with offering the poſſeſſion of his daughter to him who ſhould deſtroy the monſter. Triſtrem, of courſe, undertook the taſk; and though his armour was all burnt off his back by the fiery breath of the dragon, killed him, cut out his tongue, and putting it into his boot, prepared, as his horſe had been deſtroyed, to walk home in triumph. But Triſtrem was unlucky about poiſons. The poiſonous tongue of the dragon threw him into a ſwoon; and while he lay ſenſeleſs, the king's ſteward, finding the dragon quite dead, cut off its head, haſtened to court, and obtained the hand of Yſonde. Luckily that lady had great doubts of the ſteward's courage. She repaired with her mother to the ſpot where the dragon lay, found Sir Triſtrem in a ſwoon, poured an antidote down his throat, and having thus recovered him, ſoon learned from his own mouth that he was the real victor, and prepared to prove it in the teeth of the falſe ſteward. They then carried him home, and placed him in a bath; but Yſonde, ſuſpecting the pretended merchant to be her old preceptor, drew and examined the ſword, compared its broken point with the fragment extracted from the ſkull of Morauns, and diſcovered that he was certainly the ſame wicked Triſtrem who had killed her uncle. She now piouſly determined

the purpoſe of reuniting the hand to the ſtump; and not finding it, fiercely purſued Triſtrem to a bridge, on which they renewed the encounter. Triſtrem was now hardly preſſed, his ſhield being broken by a blow of the club; but, evading the next ſtroke, he pierced his enemy to the heart, and Urgan, in the agonies of death, ſprang from the bridge into the river. Triamour, thus delivered from the giant, beſtowed on his protector the ſovereignty of Wales, together with a little dog called Peticrewe, who was ſpotted with red, blue and green; and Triſtrem, immediately reſtoring the crown to Blanche-flour the king's daughter, ſent the little particoloured dog as a preſent to the fair Yſonde.

The increaſe of fame attending this ſignal victory obtained for Triſtrem a reconciliation with his uncle. He was appointed high ſteward; and the 'drink of might' ſtill continuing to operate, recommenced his amours with Yſonde, and was again diſcovered by Mark, who baniſhed him from court together with his paramour. The lovers, retiring into the foreſt, found a cavern conſtructed in old times by the giants; contentedly fixed their abode in it; and ſubſiſting on the veniſon taken by their dogs Hodain and Peticrewe, enjoyed almoſt a year of repoſe and happineſs. One day, the attendants of Mark, who was hunting in the foreſt, diſcovered them aſleep in their cavern, and made their report to the king; but it accidentally happened that Triſtrem had placed the drawn ſword with which he had probably been cutting up a deer, between himſelf and his miſtreſs; and Mark, who on viſiting the cavern, found his wife and nephew ſtill aſleep, was fully convinced, by this circumſtance, of their perfect innocence. He ſtopped, with his glove, a crevice in the rock through which a ray of the ſun darted on the face of the beautiful Yſonde, and retired; and the lovers who, on waking, recognized with ſurpriſe the royal glove, were ſtill more ſurpriſed by the arrival of a numerous retinue, who conducted them in triumph to court. But the officious dwarf was indefatigable. Through his means the lovers were detected by the king at a ſtolen interview, and Triſtrem was again obliged to fly. After traverſing Spain, where he ſlew three giants, and viſiting the ſons of Rohand in Ermonie, he paſſed into Brittany, entered into the ſervice of Duke Florentin, and having conquered all his enemies, firmly eſtabliſhed his authority. Florentin had an only daughter named Yſonde with the White Hand, who hearing Triſtrem ſing a lay in praiſe of his miſtreſs, of which ſhe ſuppoſed herſelf the object, mentioned the circumſtance to her father, in conſequence of which, the duke readily offered to Triſtrem the hand of his daughter. The knight, having reflected that a life of inceſt and adultery was certainly ſinful,

ſinful, and that a life of exile was not pleaſant, accepted the offer, and the marriage ceremony was performed. But on paſſing to the bridal chamber, his ring, the preſent of his miſtreſs, dropt from his finger. On this accident his former paſſion returned with redoubled violence; his heart reproached him with his infidelity, which he determined not to carry any farther; and in ſpite of his wife's uncommon beauty, which was only ſurpaſſed by that of his miſtreſs, he adhered through life to this determination.

Triſtrem had received, as a nuptial preſent, a tract of country immediately adjoining to the territories of a ferocious giant named Beliagog; but with the ſtrict injunction from Florentin that he ſhould abſtain from hunting on the lands of that monſter, who was brother to Morgan, Urgan, and Morаunt. Triſtrem, of courſe, could not reſiſt the temptation of trying his ſtrength againſt the laſt of this tall family; he hunted over his lands, inſulted him, fought him, and ultimately cut off his leg: after which, Beliagog, who did not poſſeſs the ſecret of Urgan's ſalve, ſued for mercy, and became his vaſſal. Triſtrem ordered him to build a hall in honour of Yſonde and Brengwain; and Beliagog, who ſeems to have poſſeſſed much more ingenuity than uſually belongs to a giant, faithfully completed it within his caſtle, to which he taught Triſtrem a ſecure and ſecret approach, and adorned it with ſculptures exactly repreſenting the whole hiſtory of his former life, with exact likeneſſes of Yſonde, Brengwain, Mark, Meriadok, Hodain, and Peticrewe.

The wonderful excellence of theſe ſculptures produced an extraordinary accident. Ganhardin, brother to Triſtrem's wife, having diſcovered, from an expreſſion artleſsly dropt from his ſiſter, the ſingular continence of her huſband, and having expreſſed his reſentment to the Corniſh hero, received in anſwer ſuch a deſcription of the Iriſh Yſonde's beauty, that he felt a ſtrong curioſity to ſee her, and became, from this time, the confident of his brother. Being conducted by Triſtrem to the Marvellous Caſtle, which he could ſcarcely approach without trembling, and having viewed the portraits of Yſonde and Brengwain, he was ſo aſtoniſhed with their beauty that he ſtaggered, fell backwards in a ſort of ſwoon, and, on his recovery, found himſelf with a great contuſion on his head, and a violent paſſion for the charms of Brengwain, whom he determined to ſee in perſon without loſs of time. Triſtrem was not leſs impatient to reviſit his miſtreſs; and the two friends departed together. In the mean time Mark had appointed a new conſtable, named Canados, who in his turn became in love with Yſonde, tortured her by his importunate addreſſes, and, in hopes of advancing his ſuit, tauntingly informed

her of Triſtrem's marriage in Brittany. Yſonde, much diſturbed, retired with Brengwain and her attendants into the foreſt to indulge her grief, at the moment when Triſtrem and his companion arrived there: The meeting between the lovers ſoon produced a ſatisfactory explanation; their uſual intercourſe was renewed; and Ganhardin was betrothed to the faithful Brengwain. But Canados being informed of what had paſſed, collected the whole force of the country, and marched to ſurpriſe his rival, who, though appriſed of his danger by a letter from his friend Gouvernail, had no time to prepare for reſiſtance; but, after concealing himſelf in the foreſt, aſſumed the diſguiſe of a beggar with 'cup and clapper,' and remained near the court, while Ganhardin eſcaped to Brittany. Fortunately Brengwain found means to excite the jealouſy of Mark againſt Canados, and that troubleſome favourite was diſgraced and baniſhed. She then, at the requeſt of Triſtrem, procured a tournament to be proclaimed, at which he and Ganhardin, after deſperately wounding Meriadok and Canados, took a ſignal vengeance on 'all the courtly tale-bearers;' and, without diſcovering their names, returned to Brittany. Here, a young knight, alſo named Triſtrem, accoſting the hero of Cornwall, requeſted his aſſiſtance for the recovery of his miſtreſs, whom a raviſher, aided by fifteen knights, was then bearing off to a neighbouring caſtle. Triſtrem readily aſſented, attacked the ſpoilers, and, though his young companion was ſlain in the conflict, ſucceeded in defeating the fifteen knights. But he was hurt by an arrow in his old wound—and thus ends the ancient MS. The ſtory is concluded by the editor, in the ſame antiquated language and metre, from the materials ſupplied by an old French metrical fragment.

Triſtrem's wound growing daily worſe, is at length declared incurable, except by the medical ſkill of Yſonde, who had probably inherited from her mother the receipts which cured his firſt gangrene in Ireland. Triſtrem ſends Ganhardin with his ring to implore her aſſiſtance, directing him to aſſume the diſguiſe of a merchant, to haſten her embarkation, and, in his return, to notify his ſucceſs by hoiſting a white ſail, or his failure by hoiſting a black one. Ganhardin executes his commiſſion with great addreſs, and brings over the Queen of Cornwall: But Yſonde of Brittany, who had overheard the directions, fired with indignation and jealouſy at the approach of her rival, makes a falſe report to her huſband; and Triſtrem, hearing that the black ſail is hoiſted, yields to deſpair and dies. The Queen of Cornwall receiving the ſad news on her arrival, ruſhes to the caſtle where his corpſe was laid out, throws herſelf on the bier, and expires with grief.

Such

Such is the outline of the ſtory now edited by Mr Scott from the Auchinleck MS.; and the reader will probably admit, that it contains more variety of incident, and more natural delineations of character, than could be reaſonably expected from a compoſition of the early period to which it is aſcribed. That Thomas of Erceldoune compoſed a romance on this ſubject, and that it was preferred by his contemporaries to every minſtrel tale of the time, is a well known hiſtorical fact. The queſtion is, whether this be that identical work; and the diſcuſſion of this ſubject, which, as Mr Scott has managed it, is connected with much curious and intereſting matter, ſhall now be ſhortly examined.

His Introduction contains, 1. Some account of Thomas of Ercildoune; 2. A hiſtory of the romance of Sir Triſtrem; and, 3. Obſervations on the copy now publiſhed.

On the firſt of theſe points, the editor has collected all the information which could be derived from hiſtorians or poets, from tradition, or from ancient charters; yet the reader will perhaps be ſurpriſed to find, that this information amounts to no more, than that Thomas, to whom an obſcure tradition has given the ſurname of Learmont, and who acquired, from his poetical talent, the appellation of the Rhymer, poſſeſſed certain lands at Ercildoune, now called Earlſton, a village ſituated on the Leader, about two miles above its junction with the Tweed, which lands were granted, after his death, to the Trinity-houſe at Sottra, by Thomas, who calls himſelf 'ſon and heir of Thomas the Rhymer of Ercildoune.' In fact, many of the documents reſpecting this ſingular man relate only to his prophetic character, which is no longer intereſting; but Mr Scott has been able to aſcertain, within very narrow limits, one very important point, viz. the time at which the Rhymer may be ſuppoſed to have produced his romance of Sir Triſtrem. The following are the *data* for this approximation. The deed of conveyance ſigned by his ſon and heir, which is printed in the Appendix, is dated in 1299: the father, therefore, was then dead. But, if we may truſt to the authority of Henry the Minſtrel, he muſt have ſurvived 1296; in which caſe we cannot err very much in placing his death in 1297. Concerning his birth we have no direct teſtimony; but its date may be thus inferred. The Rhymer was witneſs to a deed granted by Petrus de Haga de Bemerſyde: they therefore were contemporaries. But Petrus de Haga was himſelf a witneſs to another charter, by which Richard de Moreville, Conſtable of Scotland, granted certain ſerfs to Henry St Clair. Moreville was Conſtable from 1162 to 1189: this laſt year, therefore, is the very lateſt which can be aſſigned as a date to the grant. But no man, probably, could be choſen as a competent witneſs before twenty years of age, ſo

that the birth of Petrus de Haga cannot be brought lower than 1169; and if we aſſign ſeventy years to his life, which is certainly a large allowance, we ſhall place his death in 1239. Therefore Thomas, who, having been a witneſs to a charter granted by him, was conſequently twenty years old at that time, muſt have been born as early as 1219; and is very likely to have compoſed his poem about the year 1250. This deduction leads us to think that Mr Scott, from the fear of exaggerating the antiquity of his author, has fallen into the oppoſite extreme in placing his birth between 1226 and 1229; a date which we alſo think at variance with that which he has aſſigned to the compoſition of the poem.

We will now, for the ſake of connexion, examine the third diviſion of Mr Scott's eſſay, reſerving the ſecond, which is by far the moſt important of the whole, for a ſeparate conſideration.

The poem now printed begins by the following lines:

'I was at Erceldoune,
With Thomas ſpak I thare;
Ther herd Yrede in roune
Who Triſtrem gat and bare,' &c.

It therefore does not profeſs to have been written by Thomas, nor dictated by him, but to have been taken from the recitation of a minſtrel who had heard and retained in his memory the words of the Rhymer; and it remains to be ſeen, how far theſe pretenſions are founded on external or internal evidence. The large volume from which Mr Scott's tranſcript was taken, called the Auchinleck MS., was compiled, as the editor ſuppoſes, in ſome Anglo-Norman convent: it contains, in its preſent ſtate, 333 leaves and 42 different pieces of poetry (of which a deſcription is given in the Appendix), many of great length, and all originally ornamented with illuminations, which have been torn out. From ſome paſſages contained in it, we learn that the compilation cannot have been completed till 1330, that is to ſay, till thirty-three years after the death of Thomas; but even this interval is not ſufficiently long to invalidate the preceding aſſertion of the reciter; and beſides, it is evident that ſuch volumes as this were not the work of a ſingle year. The paintings alone were ſometimes the occupation of almoſt a whole life. Neither were minſtrels the conſtant inhabitants of convents. Their recitations were apparently taken down during their occaſional viſits, and afterwards fairly tranſcribed and illuminated in the conventual volume, or perhaps, being firſt written on ſeparate ſkins of parchment, were afterwards bound up together. There is therefore no reaſon for doubting, that the poem before us may have been written from the dictation of a minſtrel who had actually ſeen and converſed with the Rhymer. But allowing this, it is ſtill poſſible that the exiſting poem may have

have been modernized and interpolated; and Mr Scott is of opinion that this muſt have been the caſe: but he contends, and, as we think, very juſtly, that the ſpecific marks by which Robert de Brunne (in a paſſage which we ſhall preſently notice) deſcribes it, that is, the *quaint Engliſh*, and the complicated conſtruction of the ſtanza, which was ſo difficult to retain in the memory—together with a brevity and conciſeneſs of narration totally different from the common ſtyle of romance, and an elliptical and indefinite mode of expreſſion, which is the uſual characteriſtic of an infant language—concur in proving that the general phraſeology of the poem has not been very materially altered. Indeed it appears to us, that the interpolation of many new ſtanzas of eleven lines would have baffled the ſkill of any writer of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, unleſs he had poſſeſſed that very uncommon facility of arranging ſimilar final ſounds, which procured to Thomas the diſtinctive appellation of *the* Rhymer.

Having thus far conſidered the authenticity and antiquity of the poem, we proceed to its hiſtory, which forms the ſecond diviſion of Mr Scott's introductory eſſay. There can be no doubt reſpecting the people from whom the materials of the ſtory are derived, becauſe Triſtrem is confeſſedly a Celtic hero. He is often mentioned in the Welſh triads, and by the Welſh poets; and his fame is ſtill preſerved in the traditions of Brittany. Marie, a Norman poeteſs of the thirteenth century, in her 'lai dee chevrefoil' (of which a tranſlation is publiſhed by Mr Scott) records one of his adventures which ſhe profeſſes to have tranſlated from a Breton lay, and founds on this aſſertion her claim to credit for its authenticity. But ſhe alludes at the ſame time to a French written hiſtory of Triſtrem; and the king of Navarre, who writes his ſongs at the commencement of the thirteenth century, and Chreſtien de Troys, who flouriſhed at the end of the twelfth, bear witneſs to the popularity of the ſtory in their time. Theſe paſſages alſo are quoted by the editor; but he ſtill contends that Thomas did not tranſlate his work from any French original, but derived his materials immediately from a Celtic ſource; and he defends his opinion not only by very plauſible reaſoning, but by direct and poſitive authority.

Our readers will recollect that, during ſeveral ages after the arrival of the Saxons, the whole weſtern coaſt of this iſland, as far as the mouth of the Clyde, was ſtill occupied by the Britons; and that the northern kingdoms of Cumbria and Strathclyde gave birth to three of the moſt celebrated Welſh poets, namely Aneurin, Merlin the Wild, and Llywarch-Hen. The Saxon chronicle relates that the Welſh of theſe diſtricts voluntarily put themſelves under the protection of Edward of Athelſtan; but,

ſoon after this, they became tributary to the Scotiſh kings, with whoſe ſubjects they were by degrees completely amalgamated; though there can be no doubt that they retained, till a much later period than that when Thomas wrote, their diſtinctive language, traditions and cuſtoms. Now the poſition of Ercildoune, or Earlſton, is on the borders of the Celtic diſtrict of Reged, the kingdom of Urien, and of Ywain, two celebrated heroes of romance; and it is certainly natural that Thomas ſhould found, on this favourable poſition of his reſidence, the pretenſion of ſuperior authenticity for his mode of relating a ſtory already popular, and that his pretenſion ſhould be allowed by his hearers. Accordingly, Mr Scott has given us a tranſlation of two metrical French fragments of the hiſtory of Triſtrem, which he conjectures to be the compoſition of a certain Raoul de Beauvais who wrote in 1257, and in which the author profeſſes that his narrative is perfectly conformable to that of *Thomas*. It is alſo ſtrictly conformable to the ſtory now publiſhed; and this coincidence ſeems to prove that the perſon meant can be no other than the Rhymer; becauſe, if we ſhould ſuppoſe two perſons of the ſame name, both poets, and both chooſing the ſame ſubject, it is ſcarcely credible that both ſhould ſelect, from the great variety of matter which was offered to them, preciſely the ſame materials, and arrange them in the ſame manner. The ſame reaſoning does not apply with equal force to a quotation from another French miniſtrel, who in a metrical life of King Horn, appeals alſo to a Thomas as the original author of that romance. Here indeed there is a preſumption, becauſe the ſcene is laid in Northumberland, and the names of the characters are purely Saxon; but, as Mr Scott candidly admits, we have no hiſtorical evidence which attributes the poem in queſtion to the Rhymer of Ercildoune. But be this as it may, we are now entitled to infer not only that the Rhymer, being anterior even to Robert of Glouceſter, is by far the earlieſt Engliſh poet of eminence, but alſo that our language was ſo far cultivated as to be fit for the purpoſes of compoſition much ſooner within the Scotiſh dominions, than in what was then called England. This has been ſuſpected by others, but its truth has been aſcertained by Mr Scott, who has firſt explained a paſſage of an ancient hiſtorian (Robert de Brunne) which has often been quoted but always miſunderſtood.

> 'I made noght for no *diſours*,
> Ne for no *ſeggours*, no *harpours*,
> But for the luf of ſymple men,
> That *ſtrange* Inglis cannot ken.
> I ſee in ſong, in ſedgeyng tale,
> Of Ercildoune and of Kindale,

New

Non tham ſayis as thai thaim wroght,
And in thir ſaying it ſemes noght.
That may thou here in Sir Triſtrem;
Over geſtes it has the ſteem,
Over all that is or was,
If men it ſayd as made Thomas.
Bot I here it no man ſo ſay;
That of ſom copple ſom is away.
So thare fayre ſaying here beforne,
Is thare travaile nere forlorn;
Thai ſayd it for pride and nobleye,
That were not ſuylke as thai—
Thai ſayd it *in ſo quaint Inglis,*
That many wate not what it is—
And forſoth I couth noght
So ſtrange Inglis as thai wroght,' &c.

It was always ſuppoſed, that, in theſe lines, the author meant to accuſe the *diſours* or *ſeggours*, of perverting the phraſeology of the metrical tales which they undertook to recite; inſtead of which, as Mr Scott juſtly obſerves, he certainly intended to deſcribe the ſtyle of the Rhymer and of Kendale as abounding with *ſtrange and quaint Inglis*, and the poem of the former as compoſed of couples or ſtanzas ſo complicated, that few vulgar hearers could comprehend their meaning, and no reciter was able to recollect the whole, but always left ſome ſtanza imperfect. He alſo ſtates, that theſe poets wrote for 'pride and nobleye,' for the great and powerful, not for ſuch as his ſimple brethren; and though he mentions only two by name, he apparently means to deſcribe the northern minſtrels in general, whoſe ſuperior ſkill is atteſted by the general tenor of all our early poetry, and whoſe peculiar privileges are recorded in ancient Scotiſh ſtatutes, in which they are ranked with knights and heralds, and permitted to wear ſilk robes, a dreſs limited to perſons who could ſpend a hundred pounds of land-rent. While the ſouthern Engliſh dialect, which apparently had its origin in the towns, was baniſhed from the caſtles of the Anglo-Norman kings and nobles, the northern dialect, compoſed of the ſame elements, and encouraged by the patronage of the Scotiſh ſovereigns, made daily advances to perfection; and became the vehicle of much ſpirited and original poetry, before Robert of Glouceſter had been able to complete the long ſtring of rhymes which conſtitute his hiſtory. The fragments of Gawain and Gologras, and Galoran of Galoway, publiſhed by Mr Pinkerton, are probably anterior even to Sir Triſtrem, and have certainly no marks of tranſlation. Many others of equal antiquity are likely to have periſhed; but the cloud of tranſlated romances, moſt of which are in the northern dialect,

and

and unqueſtionably written in the early part of the 14th century, fill up a conſiderable chaſm in our literary hiſtory, and furniſh a regular gradation of ſtyle from Thomas of Ercildoune to Chaucer.

Upon the whole, we are much diſpoſed to adopt the general inferences drawn by Mr Scott from his authorities, and have great pleaſure in bearing teſtimony to the very uncommon diligence which he has evinced in collecting curious materials, and to the taſte and ſagacity with which he has employed them. But there is one of his opinions to which we cannot ſubſcribe. He ſays, (p. lii. & liii.) 'It may be thought that the Britiſh ſpoken, as we have ſeen, by the tribes of Cumbria and Strath-Clwyd, as well as the proper Scots, ought to have entered into the compoſition of the new language. But, although poſſeſſing beauties of its own, the Celtic has every where been found incapable of being amalgamated with the Gothic dialects, from which it is radically and totally diſtinct.' We preſume that there is here an accidental inaccuracy of expreſſion, or, more probably, an error of the preſs, ſince it cannot be meant to ſtate that the Britiſh was the language of the proper Scots. But we object to the poſition; becauſe we apprehend, that the elements of *any language* are capable of being admitted into *any other*.

The modern Welſh, we believe, have adopted many Engliſh as well as French words, only ſubjecting them to the Celtic mutations; the Saxons have received many from the Welſh, having firſt, of courſe, ſuppreſſed ſuch mutations. The French, and other *romance* languages, contain, together with Latin, much Celtic and ſome Gothic, that is to ſay, ſuch a combination as is here ſtated to be impoſſible. If the Anglo-Daniſh colony of Bernicia had borrowed from the Britiſh dialect as much as the Danes of Neuſtria did from the ſpeech of that province, they might poſſibly have formed a language not very diſſimilar to the Norman; becauſe the Britons, like the Gauls, probably received from Rome, together with the arts of civilized nations, moſt of the terms by which they were denominated. To explain, ſtep by ſtep, the nearly contemporary formation of our mixed language in England and Scotland, under very different political circumſtances, is a difficult taſk; and we ſhall not conſider the problem as definitively ſolved, until more light ſhall have been thrown on the filiation of the other European languages.

We have extended this article to ſuch a length, that we muſt forbear to enter on an examination of the notes and gloſſary, which form about one third of the volume. Of the laſt, it is perhaps ſufficient to ſay, that it explains whatever is not inexplicable; and that we could not, if [illegible] to do ſo, point out above

above three or four paſſages where the ſagacity of the editor appears to have been foiled by the author's obſcurity. With regard to the notes, they contain an almoſt infinite variety of curious information, which had been hitherto unknown or unnoticed; and we are perſuaded, that they would afford much amuſement even to thoſe readers who may be too indolent to derive any from the ſuperannuated poetry of Thomas of Ercildoune. We muſt therefore conclude, as we began, by expreſſing our regret that the very limited and ſcanty edition now printed will preclude many from poſſeſſing a work which has been compiled with much labour, and which is no leſs creditable to the taſte and genius, than to the learning of the editor.

ART. XV. *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa.* By John Barrow, Eſq. late Secretary to Lord Macartney, Auditor-General of Public Accounts at the Cape of Good Hope, and Secretary to Lieutenant-General Francis Dundas during his Government there. Volume Second. 4to. pp. 464. Cadell & Davies. London 1804.

THE title of this volume is calculated to deceive the reader. With the exception of a ſingle excurſion up the country, narrated in one chapter, the work has no relation whatever to travels, and appears to have obtained that title, merely from the circumſtance of the author having formerly publiſhed a book of travels nearly of the ſame ſize. Conſidered, however, in its proper light, of a diſſertation upon the importance of the Cape of Good Hope, the work is extremely valuable. It contains a very full, indeed rather a prolix ſtatement of the argument for taking and retaining poſſeſſion of that ſettlement. It abounds in all the matters of fact which can be brought to the deciſion of this intereſting queſtion; and is interſperſed with a conſiderable portion of new information relative to the points at iſſue. For our own parts, we never entertained any doubts upon the ſubject; but, had we been diſpoſed to heſitate, the demonſtration of Mr Barrow would have fixed our opinion. At the preſent moment, it is highly important that the public ſhould be fairly informed upon ſo intereſting a topic of practical policy. We ſhall therefore lay before our readers, an abſtract of the argument, interſperſing ſuch obſervations as appear neceſſary to its farther elucidation, and pointing out, as we proceed, the errors into which Mr Barrow's manifeſt ignorance of political economy has frequently betrayed him. We muſt premiſe one remark upon the manner in which the work is ſtated to have been written.

'If,' ſays he, 'any of the hints thrown out in this volume ſhould beneficial to my country, by ſuggeſting ſuch meaſures as may avert

vert the evils which now threaten our trade and settlements in the East, I shall consider the labour and application of *three months* not to have been bestowed in vain.' p. 31.

If this silly boast were justified by the fact, our contempt for the author of it would only be increased. A huge quarto written in three short months, does not answer our ideas of the respect due to the public, and to a grave and extensive subject. The consequence is, that Mr Barrow has made a very indifferent book. The whole of the case is indeed to be found within its four corners. But the argument is as ill arranged and as ill brought forward as can easily be imagined. The materials are badly disposed, and the whole reasoning produces a feeble effect. The force of the facts is dilated by repetition; and the style is so inaccurate and inelegant, that we heartily wish the manufacturer had divided his labours with other artists, and set abler hands upon those crude materials which he could furnish, but had no time, if any talents, to work up. We see in his blank pages the promise of another large book; and we do earnestly exhort him to give up the foolish idea of writing at the rate of four quartos *per annum*.

The preliminary chapter opens with some senseless declamation against the French emigrants, for their partiality towards France, and their antipathy to her enemies. Although it is by no means our intention to vindicate the whole of that unhappy race for their conduct, during the unexampled difficulties in which they were involved, yet we must be permitted to demand that their numbers on the one hand and their trials on the other be fairly taken into the account. It would have been miraculous indeed, had so many thousands of all ages, taken from the classes of society least accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, and plunged into every variety of wretchedness, maintained throughout a uniform propriety and unimpeachable wisdom of demeanour. But if faults, or even crimes, have been committed among them, sure we are, that Mr Barrow has not specified any matter of accusation which deserves our regard, when he only charges them with an invincible attachment to their unhappy country. As a specimen of all kinds of enormity, he extracts a most affecting passage from the Duc de Rochefoucault's travels. It is a picture of natural and amiable feeling, which cannot be contemplated without the liveliest emotion. That ill-fated nobleman there expresses the greatest affection and gratitude towards England, and the abhorrence which he feels for the revolutionary enormities of his countrymen; but, with a just and generous warmth, he paints the contending emotions by which he is unavoidably agitated—remembers that France, though she abused and despitefully

ſpiteſully uſed him, is ſtill his country—owns himſelf ſtill intereſted in her fortunes—deſcribes how painful it is to receive loud congratulations from her enemies upon her miſeries and humiliations—and ſhows that he has a heart not entirely alienated from the place of his birth, and the land of his fathers, although it is no longer his happy lot to be numbered among her children. We are aſtoniſhed that Mr Barrow, whoſe own patriotiſm is ſo ardent, ſhould have no ſympathy for the feelings of this illuſtrious exile. For our parts, we are far indeed from wiſhing to ſee ſuch coſmopolitiſm prevail, as that which ſhould teach all men to alienate their hearts from their country as ſoon as the wickedneſs of a few of her inhabitants had delivered her up to civil diſſenſions; and, for us, that patriotiſm has no charms which can change its object without a pang, and take root in each hoſtile ground, aſſimilating itſelf ſucceſſively to every variety of expoſure.

Our author, in the courſe of his introductory remarks, expreſſes his ſurpriſe at the ſingular difference between the character of the Dutch in their own country and in the colonies. He deſcribes them as the moſt indolent and prodigal of all nations in the latter ſituation; whereas, at home, they are noted for frugality and induſtry. This ſtatement is important—it is quite new to us—and it is totally falſe. The colonial induſtry and wealth of the Hollanders, is as conſpicuous as their toils and opulence at home. It is in vain that Mr Barrow tells us, they devolve their labour upon ſlaves; that at the Cape, the purchaſe of a ſlave is the firſt uſe a man makes of a little money which he may acquire; and that, at Batavia, 100,000 Chineſe do all the buſineſs of the colony. This only proves that the conſtitution of Europeans in thoſe climates is ill adapted to hard work; and that the Cape planters and Batavian ſettlers, like the planters of Surinam and Demerary, uſe ſlaves as we do beaſts of burthen. No man can deny the prodigies which Dutch induſtry have performed on the coaſt of Guiana; yet you may traverſe all Guiana without ſeeing a white man at work, except in his comptoir or warehouſes. Many of the facts ſtated by our author prove that the analogy of the Dutch character in the eaſt and in the weſt is complete. Their domeſtic ſlaves are treated with too much indulgence; while their field ſlaves, and, above all, their Hottentot labourers, are the victims of a cruelty and avarice equal to that for which the Dutch name has uniformly been infamous in the new world. (*Vid.* p. 108. 135.)

Before proceeding to the main object of this volume, we ſhall notice the chief information communicated by Mr Barrow in his narrative of the military expedition to the Kaffer frontier: this relates to the interior of Africa.

Our

Our readers will probably recollect, that M. Le Vaillant, after being ſtopped in his progreſs northward by want of water and ſeveral untoward accidents, found that had he begun his journey about this part of the country (what he calls the country of the Houſonanas) he might have proceeded with eaſe, from the high ſtate of its cultivation compared with the barbarity of the Hottentots. Mr Barrow preſents us with ſome intereſting particulars reſpecting the Booſhooanas, of whom Le Vaillant evidently ſpeaks, and whoſe country he muſt only have known by report. This people is a tribe of the Kaffers; the men are of a tall athletic form; of ſimple, paſtoral manners; living almoſt entirely on milk and vegetables, and following the occupation of ſhepherds. Two commiſſioners, ſent from the Cape by government in 1801, for the purpoſe of procuring draught oxen, reached their capital, *Leetakoo*. It is, according to their report, ſituated in a finely cultivated and encloſed country, and is very large and populous. The commiſſioners eſtimated its ſize at between two and three thouſand houſes, and its population at from ten to fifteen thouſand. It lies nearly in latitude 26° 30′ ſouth, and longitude 27° eaſt from Greenwich. The chief received them with hoſpitality, and introduced them to his wives and families. The following is the deſcription given of their houſes:

'His houſe, like all the reſt in the town, was built in a circular form, being about ſixteen feet in diameter. The bottom part, to the height of four feet from the ground, was ſtone laid in clay, and wooden ſpars erected at certain diſtances. On the eaſt ſide of the circle, about the fourth part of the houſe was open, the other three fourths entirely cloſed. A round pointed roof covered the whole in the form of a tent, well thatched with long reeds, or with the ſtraws of the holcus. From the centre to the back part of the houſe, a circular apartment is made off, with a narrow entrance into it, where the head of the family takes his nightly reſt; the other members of the family ſleep in the fore part, or between the large and ſmall circles of the houſe. All the houſes were encloſed by palliſades; and the ſpace between theſe and the dwelling ſerves for a granary and ſtore for their grain and pulſe. Theſe granaries were conſtructed in the form of oil jars, of baked clay, the capacity of each being at the leaſt two hundred gallons; and they were ſupported on tripods, compoſed of the ſame material, which raiſed them about nine inches above the ground. They were covered with a round ſtraw roof erected on poles, and ſufficiently high to admit an opening into the jars, the upper edges of which were from five to ſix feet from the ground.' p. 115.

The ſtate of ſociety may be gathered pretty accurately from what our author relates concerning the women, who, as is uſual in ſavage communities, performed all the drudgery of the family.

'They not only performed the taſk of breaking up the ground with a kind of hoe made of iron, and afterwards planted it, but they conſtructed

ſtructed their habitations, and collected the materials that were neceſſary for the ſame. They reaped the grain, cleared it from the huſk, and laid it up in the granaries, which, with other earthen pots and wooden veſſels, were the work of their hands. The men prepare the ſkins and hides which ſerve for ſhoes, and make them up into cloaks for themſelves, their wives, and children; they attend alſo the cattle, milk the cows, and hunt the antelopes and other game, with a weapon called the Haſſagai, which is uſed alſo in battle.' p. 116. 117.

Our author has a peculiar theory, which we think by no means void of probability as to the origin of the Kaffers. He thinks that they are the deſcendants of a tribe of Beduin Arabs; and ſupports his opinion by a reference to their paſtoral habits, their hoſpitable manners, their tent-ſhaped houſes, their practice of circumciſing, and, above all, their phyſiognomy. He is perſuaded that the Kaffers extend farther to the northward than is generally believed, and ſuppoſes that a line drawn from the 24th parallel of ſouth latitude on the eaſt coaſt to the 20th on the weſt, would ſeparate the Kaffers from the Negroes. The Portugueſe, whoſe ſettlement of De la Goa borders on their country, have never ventured to introduce the ſlave trade among them. To the north of the Booſhooanas, the commiſſioners were informed, that a much more powerful tribe lived in a cultivated tract of country, under the ſouthern tropic; they are called the Baroloos. Their manners are kind and ſimple; they are acquainted with the art of ſmelting copper and iron, for which they have furnaces erected; they are extremely rich in cattle; their lands and houſes are much better than thoſe of the Booſhooanas; and their chief town was repreſented as ſo extenſive, that it was ſaid to be a day's journey in length, and extremely populous. Information was received from a Portugueſe ſlave-merchant, that the Portugueſe have a direct communication acroſs the continent, from Loango to Mozambique, for the purpoſes of trade, the ſtaple of which is ſlaves; and that negro-merchants are eſtabliſhed in different parts of this long route. This confirms a ſtatement given, we know not on what authority, by Mr B. Edwards, in the ſecond volume of his Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies.

Upon all this intereſting information, we have two remarks to offer. In the *firſt* place, why have the two commiſſioners, who ſaw ſo much more of the interior of Africa than any preceding travellers, not publiſhed any account of their diſcoveries? We call upon thoſe gentlemen, Meſſrs Sommerville and Trutter, to gratify the very juſt curioſity of the public on this point. We would alſo ſuggeſt to the African aſſociation the expediency of attempting to penetrate ſtill farther towards the north by the ſame route.

route. It is evidently much more safe and accessible than the track by the west coast; for the traveller has no Moors to encounter, and can suffer little or no inconvenience from the effects of the slave-trade. *Secondly*, We must entreat the attention of our readers to the singular coincidence of all the information now obtained, with that procured from the African travellers to the north of the line, regarding the superior civilization of the *interior* of this unhappy continent. It is the peculiar fate of Africa, to have its progress in improvement repressed by the crimes of distant nations on all its coasts. The Mahometans on the east and north; the Portuguese on the south-east; the Dutch on the south; the English, French, Dutch and Portuguese on the west—have all, in their several departments, kept the coasts of that vast region in barbarism and darkness. As we penetrate towards the interior, from either of these quarters, we find that darkness gradually dispelled, and a faint ray of civilization beginning to dawn. Entering from the west, we find the negroes, as we advance, become more numerous, more wealthy, more cultivated and more refined, as soon as we pass the peculiar region of the slave-trade. Entering from the south, we have no sooner passed the boundaries of the Dutch boors (who hold all the natives of that quarter in a state of pitiless subjection), than we find large and populous cities, a country cultivated like a garden, and a fine race of people, possessed of the more difficult arts of life. To the north of this happer district, there runs a line of country desolated by the slave-trade; and as we approach it, the Kaffers, though still free, begin to degenerate. (*Vide* Barrow, p. 118.). When this line, through the narrower part of the continent, is crossed, we again come among more improved tribes, provided we keep in the inland parts, and do not approach the haunts of civilized and Christian strangers.—The moral of all this we leave to our readers.

We are now to consider the principal subject of this volume—the importance of the Cape as a colonial establishment to Great Britain. Its value is discussed by our author in four points of view—as a military station—as a naval station—as a commercial station and port of outfit for the fisheries—and as a territorial acquisition. We shall briefly view it in these four lights.

I. The central situation of the Cape, as well as its physical circumstances, peculiarly adapt it both for a depôt of formed troops, and a station where they may be formed. Its distance from South America is the voyage of a month; from Guiana and the West Indies, six weeks; from the Red Sea, six weeks; from England and from India two months. The climate is so favourable, that invalids from India recover there with surprising rapidity.

dity. While we had the ſettlement laſt war, and kept there a garriſon of more than 5000 men, there was actually no occaſion for an hoſpital Staff, and it was accordingly broken up. It is well known how extremely fatal long voyages are to raw troops; and nothing can be more advantageous than ſuch a ſtation (half-way between England and India) for ſeaſoning our recruits on their way thither. The two boy regiments, carried out in 1799, arrived there in a moſt ſickly condition, and, at any rate, were mere raw recruits, unfit for ſervice. In two years they became as fine a corps as any in the Britiſh ſervice. A reſidence at the Cape has been found ſo much to invigorate the conſtitution, that the regiments ſent from thence to India and Egypt, laſt war, ſuſtained, without loſs or inconvenience, both the paſſage and the climate, and the ſervice, immediately on their arrival. It is alſo well known how important to the event of the war, the large detachments proved, which were ſent at a moment's warning from the Cape to India and Egypt. Our author juſtly ſtates, that recruits can at all times be ſent out, with peculiar ſafety and cheapneſs, in ſmall numbers, on board the outward bound Indiamen, private traders, and whalers. The importance of the Cape as a ſtation from whence Egypt may be attacked, and the paſſage of the enemy from thence to India obſtructed, deſerves peculiar attention. If the French are in poſſeſſion of Egypt, and deſign to ſhip an army from Suez or Coſir for India, the ſecuring of the ſmall iſland of Permi, which commands the Straits of Babelmandel, and has a commodious harbour, might be ſpeedily effected by a ſmall force from the Cape, and would be by far the ſureſt and cheapeſt method of keeping the French force deſtined for India in check. Indeed, our author proves, very ſatisfactorily, that ſo long as we have Malta and the Cape, the two keys of India, in our poſſeſſion, we need not fear any force which our enemies can ſend againſt our invaluable Eaſtern empire. He alſo ſhows how eaſily the Cape might be taken, and kept by a ſmall force; and argues, that the Dutch are ſo little anxious about keeping it, that they would at different times have ſold it for a ſmall ſum of money.

To this laſt deduction we have ſome objections to urge. It is no leſs than a contradiction in political reaſonings, to ſay that your enemy, or the ſubmiſſive allies of your enemy, will eaſily give up what is of ſuch vaſt importance to your power and wealth as the Cape is here proved to be. The Dutch, too, muſt be blind indeed, if they do not quickly perceive the immenſe benefits which, by a wiſe ſyſtem of colonial policy, they might derive from this important ſettlement. It is true that, hitherto, it has rather been a burthen than a gain to their treaſury.

But its management has been the worſt that can be imagined. Its growth has been ſtudiouſly checked by every baneful regulation which the monopolizing ſpirit of their Eaſt India Company could ſuggeſt. It was reduced to a mere half-way houſe, and prevented from benefiting by its ſituation, leſt, inſtead of being a place of refreſhment to the Company's ſhips, it ſhould become a flouriſhing ſettlement, and a rival to their trade. A reſtriction was actually enforced, which prevented the population of the country from increaſing; for the grants of land were not ſubdiviſible, and no perſon could ſettle within a certain diſtance of another planter. No wonder, then, that ſuch a miſerable colony ſhould prove burthenſome to the mother country, which was thus, under the ſemblance of maintaining a ſettlement, paying for the accommodation and for the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company. But a wiſe policy, the creation of a free port, the more liberal treatment of the Boors, an encouragement to ſettle there, a better ſyſtem of adminiſtration, the introduction of Chineſe labourers, and a variety of other improvements which may be eaſily imagined, and many of which have frequently been under the conſideration of the Batavian government, would ſpeedily render the Cape a rival to Batavia and Guiana—a poſſeſſion, as well worth keeping for its own ſake, as to prevent the benefits which the enemy of France and Holland muſt quickly reap from it. Holland knows full well, that, in her circumſtances, there is no ſalvation, certainly no renovation for her ſtrength, but by a wiſe recurrence to the ſyſtem of colonizing. This is her policy, more than that of any other European power; and as nothing but the thraldom in which ſhe has lately been kept, and which naturally diſcourages her from ſowing what another may reap, could have rendered her deaf to ſuch loud calls of obvious policy—ſo, any approach towards independence will certainly be attended with a recurrence to the ſyſtem now ſketched out. It cannot be diſſembled, then, that on every account, both ſhe and France will throw various difficulties in the way of that plan which ſo many invincible reaſons force upon England; and that the retention of the Cape, in concluding a treaty of peace, will be oppoſed by numerous obſtacles for which our author has made no allowance.

Under the head of military advantages, Mr Barrow mentions as a very obvious one, the great cheapneſs of proviſions—inſomuch, that at the Cape, alone, can our government maintain troops without the loſs ariſing from the inadequacy of their pay to ſupport them. Government, indeed, gains, according to our author, a clear profit; that is, if we rightly underſtand him, Government deducts as much from the pay of the troops as

would

would subsist them in a dearer country, for example at home, and feeds them at the Cape somewhat cheaper. The fairness of this practice depends exactly on the contract originally entered into with the men. If they ought to be paid in money, and not in kind, the gain is at their expence.—But another source of revenue is stated, so extraordinary, that we must take some notice of it. The colonial paymasters drew bills on the paymaster-general at home, and these bore a premium of 20 *per cent.* at an average. The Government, therefore, derived a profit upon the bills, equivalent to this per centage; and credit is taken for such a profit on the whole expenditure while the Cape was in our possession. We question if so gross a blunder was ever made before. Government issued bills, and the colonial currency, being depreciated, was, 20 per cent. worse than those bills. The troops were paid according to the colonial currency, and the provisions were bought according to it also. As to the provisions, this is only restating the *item*, formerly noted, of cheapness; for it signifies nothing what the relation was between goods and colonial currency, when government had to buy a certain quantity with its own bills. As to the pay, which the men received in colonial currency, this is indeed a strange transaction; and what Mr Barrow is pleased to term a profit on exchange, becomes a per centage levied on the mens pay—it was in fact paying the army with debased money. It is very clear, that, consistently with fairness, government could never derive a profit from exchange, unless by becoming bullion merchants, and receiving the profits of exporting specie. All the other part of difference of exchange consists in the depreciation of our currency; and to profit by this circumstance, is exactly to defraud the creditor. But Mr Barrow does not stop here. Government, it appears, issued copper money with a profit of cent. per cent. L. 4000 were sent out in penny pieces, and were circulated in the settlement for twopenny pieces; and hence, says this eminent financier, there accrued a profit of 40000l. This is exactly the operation which we have been accustomed to call raising the denomination of the currency; and, admitting the copper and English bills to have been on a par, the rise thus made was in fact 80 per cent. The soldiers were, if paid in copper, defrauded to this amount, besides a proportion of the remaining 20 per cent. equal to the nominal difference between the exchanges. We do sincerely hope that this statement arises from the author's marvellous ignorance of the subject, and is not founded in fact. He likewise takes credit for a sum as the interest of 50,000l. of paper money, circulated by government, and not redeemed for seven years. But all this is too absurd to

detain our readers any longer. We never yet saw a budget like Mr Barrow's Cape budget, in which he blunders into a profit of above 150,000. But it is confident with fact that those things were committed, Mr Barrow's ignorance is by much the most harmless part of the business; at any rate, the facts require explanation, and government cannot give it too soon or too fully.

II. As a naval station, the importance of the Cape deserves equal attention. Although no ships in the world can so easily perform the whole East Indian voyage without stopping half way, as the vessels of our own service; yet, in certain circumstances, it is necessary, even for them, to have such a place of shelter and refreshment as the Cape. In the homeward-bound voyage, the straits of weather which ships meet with on L'Aguilhas Bank, renders it very often expedient to call at some friendly port to rest. During war, the Company's ships are in part manned with Lascars; and these men, it is well known, cannot possibly endure so long a run as from India to Europe. Vessels carrying new troops, or crowded with soldiers of any description, are equally incapable of making the whole voyage at once. Besides, the constant accidents of sea voyages render a friendly harbour, in a central position, the most valuable of all acquisitions to a country whose maritime concerns are so very extensive as those of England in the southern and eastern seas. It deserves also to be considered, that half the tonnage will do for provisions, if the ships can be completely victualled half way; and no place is better adapted for this purpose than the Cape.—In the same division with these circumstances, our author dilates on the advantages of having a station which commands the entrance to the Indian seas, and which has a ready communication with the rest of the world, with Egypt, the West Indies, &c. It is evident that all this fell properly under the first head, where he predicted on its importance as a military station. Accordingly, there is a great degree of repetition in the second branch of the argument; and we think that, besides the statement which we have just abridged, it contains nothing peculiarly referable to the head of naval advantages, except the circumstance of the Cape forming a convenient port of outfit for privateers and frigates to annoy the enemy's Indian trade.

This second head involves also some disputable points. We cannot imagine, for example, upon what our author founds his opinion, that all other nations should be most willing to see the Cape in other hands, because, 'from the general policy of England, and the favourable circumstances in which her commerce and navigation are now placed, the Cape, in her possession, would

would always be open to foreign shipping, and refreshments supplied to them on equal terms as to her own.' (p. 233.) Does Mr Barrow allude, here, to the equal terms on which foreigners are permitted to share our Indian trade, or to the liberal policy which opens that lucrative commerce to all our own countrymen? or does he refer particularly to that free system of universal traffic, commonly known by the title of the 'Navigation Act?' or has he more immediately in view the state of perpetual peace which this country has for centuries enjoyed? or is it the practice of abstaining from all maritime blockades, and searches for contraband, which has marked our proceedings towards foreign powers, that gave rise to the patriotic effusion above quoted? Surely, if Mr Barrow had not written his book in a quarter of a year, he would have discovered that some nation, seldom engaged in warfare, and unconnected with either East or West Indies, is the proprietor whom the European world in general should wish to see possessed of the Cape. It is enough, in this place, to prove its value to England. Mr Barrow undertook too much, when he bethought him of proving that other nations also should sympathise with his very proper feeling for his own country.

He concludes his second division of the subject, by stating the natural difficulties attending the possession of the Cape, in a naval point of view. These are indeed very formidable, and they arise chiefly from the badness of the harbours, and the constant high seas that prevail at the southern promontory of Africa. But after considering them all, and coupling this statement with that of the inestimable advantages derivable from the possession in a naval point of view, we are fully prepared to agree with our author in his conclusion, that 'with all the imperfections of this southern angle of Africa, with regard to its bays and conveniences for shipping, its geographical position on the globe will always render it a powerful instrument in the hands of a maritime nation, to direct the commerce of India and China into new channels, to enrich its owners, and to distress their enemies.' p. 264.

III. The Cape territory furnishes various articles of value for consumption and exportation. Of these, the staples are grain, particularly a wheat, of a small kind, which yields sometimes eighty for one,—and the produce of the vineyard; than which, nothing can be more luxuriant, even in the present wretched state of its culture. Besides these staples, the vast herds of excellent cattle, together with good bay salt, produce all kinds of dairy articles, as well as salt meat, tallow and hides, in great abundance and perfection. There are other products of inferior value to swell the list; as aloes, ivory, fruits, wool, and tobacco.

But the conſideration chiefly deſerving our notice, under the head of commercial advantages, relates to the policy or impolicy of allowing other nations to ſhare in the trade of a ſettlement ſo well adapted to become a depôt of Indian and European commodities. And our author particularly diſcuſſes the effects likely to reſult to England from any arrangement which ſhould conſtitute this ſettlement a free port. If the foreign nations, who at preſent reſort to the London market for Eaſt India goods, under all the puzzling circumſtances of drawbacks, &c. which ariſe out of the complicacy of our cuſtomhouſe laws, poſſeſſed the power of purchaſing at the Cape, our author conceives they would prefer this traffic, *cæteris paribus*. The Americans, we know, profit next to ourſelves by the India trade, as it ſtands at preſent. How much more advantageous would the ſhorter voyage to the Cape prove to them, when it is certain that even now they can underſell us in the Weſt India market for Aſiatic goods? Britiſh capital, too, would be embarked in veſſels trading under foreign flags, to the infinite detriment of the preſent ſyſtem. Upon all this we have only one remark to offer—Our author's argument is addreſſed to the Eaſt India Company excluſively; and the only inference deducible from it is, that the Company's intereſt is incompatible with the freedom of the Cape as an emporium. If that important ſettlement were to become the Tyre or Alexandria of modern times, who can doubt that the whole world, and Great Britain moſt, in proportion to her greater commercial ſtake, would benefit by ſo ſplendid a creation? Tyre and Alexandria!—That is not enough;—thoſe ancient marts were nothing to what the Cape might be made, open as it is to the New as well as to the Old World—to the treaſures of the Antilles and Peru, as well as to all the riches of the Eaſt. From ſuch a proſpect, what advantages do not inſtantly riſe before us to this country? Poſſeſſed of all the Indian, and ſo much of the weſtern world, we muſt infallibly be the chief traders with the new emporium. And can any thing be more obvious than the caſe with which we could monopolize its ſupply from a large portion of Aſia and America, without contracting our market for fear of interference? What mighty advantages would thus accrue to all Britiſh India, and to our extenſive poſſeſſions in New Holland, as well as to the continent of Africa itſelf?

Our author alſo ſtates the comparative advantages and diſadvantages of making the Cape an entrepôt for Indian produce, under the Eaſt India Company's direction. He ſuppoſes that this would lead to what he terms 'a diminution of his Majeſty's cuſtoms' (p. 275.), and that it would deprive the London market of the ſupply, at preſent furniſhed to foreigners, of ſuch articles

(not

(not Indian) as they take from finding them ready aſſorted, when they are laying in their Eaſt Indian cargo. He does not think it enough to ſuggeſt the right anſwer to this, which is evidently, that our produce would naturally be ſent to the Cape, if it did not find another vent; but he enters into a needleſs, and we think a very incorrect ſtatement, of the full competency of the Eaſt India Company's trade to ſupply the Indian market, and the inability of private traders to interfere in it, even to the amount of the tonnage allowed by the Company's charter. This ſtatement is taken from the reports of the directors; and we think it is more than of ſuſpicious authority. But an emporium, deſtined to thrive, like Tyre and Alexandria, under the direction of the committees in Leadenhall Street, is to our minds a contradiction in terms, as much as the idea of a ſenſitive plant growing to luxuriance and beauty under the preſſure of a millſtone. Charters of monopoly are not fitted to aid the growth of commercial cities, in which the monopoliſts do not themſelves reſide; and indeed the continuance of the Company in their mercantile functions, ſeems to us equally incompatible with the increaſing proſperity of the Cape, and with that of their preſent dominions.

In order to perceive the benefits that muſt reſult from ſuch a ſtation as the Cape, in ſubſerviency to our ſouthern whale fiſhery, we have only to recollect its relative poſition to the ſeas where that fiſhery is carried on, and the great abundance of whales which ſwarm in the ſeas round the ſouth coaſt of Africa itſelf. Without any farther ſtatement of the facts referable to this branch of the argument, we may ſafely conclude with Mr Barrow, that

—'the Cape might be rendered eſſentially uſeful to the ſouthern whale fiſhery, ſo important to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain; but that, during war, the ſame place in the poſſeſſion of an enemy may be the means of obſtructing this valuable branch of trade, and muſt at all events render it forced and precarious.' p. 322.

IV. We come now, in the laſt place, to view the Cape as a territorial acquiſition. And here we muſt remark, that Mr Barrow's argument branches into a diffuſe ſtatiſtical and topographical detail, while the moſt material points of fact that bear upon the queſtion might have been conciſely enunciated; and the deſcription ſhould evidently have formed an introductory diſſertation, equally applicable to all the other heads of the argument. The population of the colony, in 1798, conſiſted of 21,746 Chriſtians, 25,754 ſlaves, and 14,447 Hottentots, ſcattered over ſo large a ſpace as left only one perſon to two ſquare miles. Much of the ſoil is ſandy and barren for want of water; but in many parts the land is highly fertile. Butchers' meat and grain, as well as wine and fruits, might be had in great abundance and cheap-

neſs, under a more liberal ſyſtem of police; and our author concludes with ſuggeſting ſome improvements, well worthy the attention of whatever mother country this important colony may be deſtined to belong to. We extract the following ſpeculation upon a moſt intereſting topic, and venture to pronounce it, in ſpite of its apparent impracticability, equally ſolid and ingenious:

'Before any conſiderable degree of improvement can be expected in thoſe parts of the country, not very diſtant from the Cape, it will be neceſſary, by ſome means or other, to increaſe the quantity and to reduce the preſent enormous price of labour. The moſt effectual way, perhaps, of doing this, would be the introduction of Chineſe. Were about ten thouſand of this induſtrious race of men diſtributed over the Cape diſtrict, and thoſe diviſions of Stellenboſch and Drakenſtein which lye on the Cape ſide of the mountains, the face of the country would exhibit a very different appearance in the courſe of a few years; the markets would be better and more reaſonably ſupplied, and an abundance of ſurplus produce acquired for exportation. It is not here meant that theſe Chineſe ſhould be placed under the farmers; a ſituation in which they might probably become, like the poor Hottentots, rather a load and an incumbrance on the colony, than a benefit to it. The pooreſt peaſant in China, if a free man, acquires notions of property. After paying a certain proportion of his produce to the ſtate, which is limited and defined, the reſt is entirely his own; and though the Emperor is conſidered as the ſole proprietary of the ſoil, the land is never taken from him ſo long as he continues to pay his proportion of produce to Government.

'I ſhould propoſe, then, that all the pieces of ground intervening between the large farms and other waſte lands ſhould be granted to the Chineſe, on payment of a moderate rent after the firſt ſeven years. The Britiſh Government would find no difficulty in prevailing upon that, or a greater number of theſe people to leave China; nor is the Government of that country ſo very ſtrict or ſolicitous in preventing its ſubjects from leaving their native land as is uſually ſuppoſed. The maxims of the State forbade it at a time when it was more politic to prevent emigrations than now, when an abundant population, occaſionally above the level of the means of ſubſiſtence, ſubjects thouſands to periſh at home for want of the neceſſaries of life. Emigrations take place every year to Manilla, Batavia, Prince of Wales's Iſland, and to other parts of the eaſtern world.' Vol. II. p. 430. 431.

The abſtract which we have attempted to give of the argument upon this very important queſtion, will probably enable our readers to form a definite judgement on its merits. We have ſeldom attended to a diſcuſſion in which all the reaſon ſeems to lye ſo entirely upon one ſide. That the Cape ought never to have been ceded—that it ought as ſoon as poſſible to be regained—and that no inducement ought to make England part with it at another

treaty

treaty of peace, are positions proved to a demonstration in the work now before us, and recommended to our statesmen with all the force of obvious necessity. One farther consideration, not hinted at by Mr Barrow, has great weight in our minds. If we do not make war in one point, we must in another; if we do not attack the Cape, we shall probably attack the Dutch and French settlements in the West Indies:—And, that such a policy is unwise in the extreme, who can doubt, that knows any thing of colonial affairs? The conquest of Guiana, last war, enriched the Dutch planters at our expence. Our capitalists poured into their service above sixteen millions in loans, tempted by the profits on consignments, which, after the restitution of the colonies, they could no longer receive; and now, in order to obtain even the trifling interest of the Dutch money market, and to prevent their debtors from breaking, thousands after thousands of pounds must be sent over to prop the credit of the Dutch planters, while our own colonists cannot raise a shilling on good security. The enemy knows this golden rule, and allows us to take his starved concern off his hands;—he is sure that we shall restore it in the best possible condition. But we, whose fate it always is to pay the reckoning, must continue war after war in the same train of dupery; and, not content with paying all our allies in Europe for defending themselves, we must needs bestow donations upon our enemies in the form most acceptable to his wishes and wants. We are happy to think that there is some chance of such fatal impolicy being at last abandoned; and we rejoice in the wholesome substitute which the Cape furnishes for it. To the author of the present work, much gratitude is due. We only lament that his imperfect knowledge of political science, and his unfortunate hurry of composition, has prevented our obligations from being so large as his natural acuteness and happy opportunities were calculated to make them. This work, with all its imperfections, is a valuable addition to our knowledge, and must tend materially to benefit both the speculative and the practical part of the political world.

ART. XVI. *The Synonymes of the Latin Language, alphabetically arranged; with Critical Dissertations upon the force of its Prepositions, both in a simple and compound state.* By John Hill, LL.D. Professor of Humanity in the University, and Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. 4to. pp. 782. Printed by James Ballantyne, for Longman & Rees, London; and Manners & Miller, Edinburgh, 1804.

A QUARTO volume of Latin synonymes, ushered into the world by the Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh, could not fail

to

to excite in us the greatest possible interest and expectation. The situation, so long and so ably filled by the learned author, made us rejoice at the opportunity thus offered to him of displaying to the world the soundness of his erudition, and the acuteness of his criticisms. We looked forward to him for the illustration of many doubtful passages in those authors who have been regarded, for ages, as the standards of correct taste and literary excellence; we anticipated much curious information concerning the original signification of words, and their several subsequent varieties and modifications; and we expected to be shown how terms which, at first, were appropriated to express particular customs, superstitions, and laws, came gradually to acquire a more extensive signification, and served at last to embellish the general declamations of the most celebrated poets, historians, and orators of ancient Rome.

We will confess, too, that our national vanity was flattered by the announciation of this work; we hailed it as likely, on the one hand, to furnish the best answer to the aspersions (if those can be called aspersions which are only employed in the way of fair and honourable emulation) thrown out against us by our southern neighbours for our neglect of classical learning; and, on the other hand, as a work which would well illustrate the utility of our more favoured studies by an application of metaphysical principles to the general theory of grammar. It was pleasant, at the same time, to reflect, that the materials for such a work were abundant, and by no means difficult of access. Although no remains of the etymological labours of Julius Cæsar are extant, still the acuteness of a writer on this subject would be much aided by whatever of the precious fragments of Varro have been handed down to our times, by the critical discussions on the force of words every where interspersed in the works of Cicero and Quintilian, and even of Seneca and other writers, who, towards the decline of the Roman Empire, turned their attention to philological pursuits. Much, too, might be collected from the works of the learned civilians; much from the labours of Servius, Priscianus, Sannazarius, Scaliger, Vossius, and the innumerable host of commentators of the middle and later ages. The last century, above all, produced the Thesaurus of Gesner and of Facciolati; works of so comprehensive a nature, and executed with such indefatigable industry, that it may not perhaps be too much to assert, that if every other book on the subject had perished, these two alone might have supplied all the materials for an excellent treatise on Latin synonymes.

It is not by any means our intention, however, to insinuate that the task of composing such a work would be easy. The difficulties

difficulties attending the execution of it are unquestionably formidable; and the mere fact of its being a dead language presents the greatest of obstacles. We know the mistakes to which every one is liable who attempts for the first time to speak any of those languages of modern Europe which he has previously known only from books. A little consideration will convince us, that these difficulties arise principally from the impossibility of seizing the nice differences and shades of meaning which the same words are capable of bearing in different situations; in a word, that they originate chiefly from the want of an intimate acquaintance with the synonymous terms of the language. As this is a difficulty which can scarcely be surmonted without the assistance of frequent colloquial intercouse, it is obvious that it must prove almost insuperable in the case of a language which has long ceased to be spoken, and where we cannot have recourse to the aid of conversation to resolve our doubts and rectify our mistakes. Nor are these difficulties in any way diminished by the consideration that the language in question ran a longer career than most others with which we are acquainted, and participated in the progress of a people who extended not only their dominion but their laws and customs over the greatest part of the civilized world. Should it be suggested that those writers, however, on whose authority alone we could rely, all existed about the same period, and consequently that the sphere of our inquiry need not be extremely extensive, it may easily be replied, in the first place, that from them alone we should never be able to trace that historical progress of the language by which alone its significance is often determined; and, secondly, that the writers alluded to, contributing by their own exertions to the refinement and perfection of their language, indulged in so wide a range of metaphorical expression, that a thorough acquaintaince with the military discipline, the civil and religious institutions of the Roman people, is indispensably necessary for those who wish to feel the full force of the synonymous and figurative expressions which abound in the compositions of the purest writers of the Augustan age.

But if Dr Hill had to encounter considerable difficulty in digesting the matter of such a work, he had every advantage and facility, we think, in reducing it to order and form. A treatise on synonymes was no longer a novelty in the literature of Europe, nor could the author of it be at any loss how to employ and dispose his materials in such a way as to insure the approbation of the public. The Abbé Girard alone has the merit of originality in this respect. His book has professedly served as the model for all the authors who, since his time, have written on similar subjects.

jects. In his own language he has been followed, and in ſome reſpects ſurpaſſed by Rouland. A book alſo on the ſynonymes of the Italian language was publiſhed at Parma, A. D. 1778, by Aleſſandro Maria Bandiera; and what is more to our purpoſe, M. Dumeſnil, a profeſſor in the univerſity of Paris, has given to the world a book entitled, 'Synonymes Latins, et leurs differentes ſignifications, avec les exemples tirés des meilleurs auteurs, à l'imitation de M. L'Abbé Girard.' This, though not without its faults, may be conſidered as a prototype, in many reſpects well worthy the imitation of ſucceeding writers. Suppoſing, however (which we ſcarcely can ſuppoſe), that Dr Hill was ignorant of the exiſtence of Dumeſnil's book, ſtill, from his own confeſſion, he was no ſtranger to that of Girard; and the truth is, that however the original author of a work on ſynonymes may be deemed inferior to Rouland in the profoundneſs of his learning and the ſolidity of his arguments, he ſtands (and probably ever will ſtand) unrivalled for the perſpicuity of his ſtyle, the neatneſs of his illuſtration, and for the happy faculty he poſſeſſes of keeping alive the attention of his reader, and mingling entertainment with his inſtruction.

Unfortunately for us, our learned Profeſſor has not imitated the excellences of Girard's work, even where they were moſt open to his imitation. Inſtead of contenting himſelf with a clear and conciſe definition of all the words he has undertaken to diſtinguiſh, Dr Hill, by conſtantly aiming at ſubtle and comprehenſive diſquiſitions, ſo confuſes and bewilders himſelf, that it is frequently dangerous to attempt to follow him through all the mazes and windings of his intricate courſe.

Ne labyrinteis è finibus egredientem
Tecti fruſtraretur inextricabilis error.

The nature and extent of the faults into which he has fallen will be beſt judged of, however, by an examination of the work itſelf. We may begin with the Preface.

After giving us ſome uſeful advice concerning the *delicate management of a young philologiſt*, our author proceeds to inform us, that in order to make his views intelligible on a ſubject to which few grammarians have as yet paid the attention it deſerves, he ſhall

—'firſt ſtate preciſely what he means by ſynonymous terms, and then ſhew the cauſes of the ambiguity they ſometimes occaſion, together with the means by which this may be removed.'

'The word ſynonymous (he adds) is ſuppoſed to be applicable to ſuch terms only as denote preciſely the ſame conception. Though this uſe of it be *legitimate and conſiſtent with its etymology*, it muſt not be unleſs only one.' p. iii.

e way, we may aſk how this uſe of it is conſiſtent with

with its etymology. Scaliger was of a contrary opinion, when, after citing *enſis*, *ſpatha*, and *gladius*, as terms which, in the general acceptation of the world, were called ſynonymous, he adds, 'Græci hæc πολυωνυμα, quidam è noſtris συνωνυμα falsò—fortaſſe autem rectius locuti eſſent Græci ſi μωωνυμα appellaſſent, quæ ſolo nomine extarent indicantia res diverſas.'

But to return to our author. 'Some words occur, in the different languages, ſo ſtrictly equivalent, that their meaning is not to be diſtinguiſhed.' (p. iii.) It is not without ſome difficulty that we can aſſent to this propoſition, when we recollect with what learning and ingenuity Scaliger and Sannazarius have maintained that there are no two words in the Latin language that have exactly the ſame ſignification. For our parts, however, we are inclined to think that many terms come to be nearly or altogether ſynonymous in the progreſs of language, though we are perfectly perſuaded that each of them had originally a diſtinct ſignification, and either repreſented a different object, or ſuggeſted the ſame object by its relation to different ideas. In ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, therefore, we cannot admit that there are any words exactly equivalent in meaning, though there are many undoubtedly that may be uſually ſubſtituted for each other. The parent ſtock of ſynonymes are thoſe great families of tropes and figures, by the multiplication of which, language becomes abſtracted and refined; and in theſe it is always to be recollected that there is a direct and original meaning, beſides that which is adventitious and metaphorical. This ſecondary meaning is ſometimes imperfectly eſtabliſhed, and ſometimes the word continues to perform both functions with equal propriety. Thus, when Homer uſes the expreſſion (Iliad ϕ 164.) Ἐξίη κατὰ γλῆνα—γλῆνα is admirably employed as a ſynonymous term for κάρη, a word for which, in its primary ſenſe, it could not be ſubſtituted. In like manner *impedimentum* is in one ſenſe ſynonymous to *mora*; in another, when, for reaſons ſufficiently obvious (being perhaps one of the moſt expreſſive words in any language), it ſignifies the baggage of an army, it may be ſubſtituted for *ſarcinæ*.

Dr Hill goes on:

'*The multiplicity of ſuch terms*' (viz. *words ſtrictly equivalent*) '*increaſes the harmony of ſpeech, and gives the poet and the orator an advantage in the practice of their reſpective arts.*

'But, although this copiouſneſs may, when in a certain degree, be an article of ſuperiority, yet it is poſſible for it to degenerate into a hurtful redundance. The ſteadineſs of mens' conceptions may be ſhaken by a ſuperfluous variety in their ſigns, and obſcurities created by the abuſe of a number of theſe, as well as by a ſcarcity. Were a redundance of this kind to pervade a language completely, the ſame people might be ſaid to ſpeak, at leaſt, two languages at once. *Though the*

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed ſyntax might apply equally to every ſet of terms, yet the unmeaning multiplicity would only prove the folly of thoſe who formed it.' p. iii.

This paſſage is ſo contradictory, and ſo confuſed, as, at firſt ſight, to appear almoſt unintelligible; the meaning, however, it was intended to convey, may be readily diſcovered in an extract from a celebrated French grammarian, which Dr Hill ſeems to have been willing to borrow: '*Cette varieté de mots met dans le diſcours beaucoup d'embarras, et de richeſſe; elle eſt très incommode pour le vulgaire & pour les philoſophes qui n'ont d'autre but en parlant, que de s'expliquer clairement; elle aide infiniment au poëte et à l'prateur en donnant une grande abondance à la partie materielle de leur ſtyle.* (*Des Broſſes ſur la formation des langues.*)

He is not much more perſpicuous, however, when he truſts ſolely to the light of his own genius for his direction. In portraying the character of the *good grammarian*, he tells us, that

—'he (the grammarian), of all men, has leaſt right to be arrogant; becauſe, from the nature of things, it is impoſſible but that he *muſt imperfectly execute the taſk impoſed upon him.*'

And ſoon afterwards he puts the finiſhing ſtroke to the portrait of the ſaid good grammarian, by ſtating,

—'he has a right to ſuppoſe that the combination, *in reſpect to each maſs of matter*, to whatever uſe it has been turned, has been duly aſcertained. To the moſt correct uſe of the term he requires a rigid adherence, and he pardons *neither the inaccuracies that ſpring from dulneſs, nor the innovations that ſpring from conceit.*' (p. viii.)

In an elaborate panegyric on the *pureſt writers*, he deſcribes them, in one place, 'as ſneering at the fetters with which ſevere critics would bind them;' and, in another place, 'as *having forgotten*, in the glow of compoſition, the ſtandard they had eſtabliſhed.' Nevertheleſs, we are informed in the ſequel, that 'they *never had loſt ſight* of the diſtinctive character of the term,' and *that the ſeemingly anomalous expreſſion may be reconciled with what is primary.*' (p. xi.) Thus pure writers are allowed to forget, in the glow of compoſition, that which has never been out of their ſight!

The ninth page commences with the following extraordinary ſentence:

'By means of this, the nominal eſſences of ſubſtances, which alone can be laid hold of,' &c.

We do not pretend to underſtand exactly what the nominal eſſence of a ſubſtance is; but we will venture to aſſert, that if a ſubſtance hath any component part, any quality, relation, or affinity, which it muſt be particularly difficult to *lay hold of*, its nominal eſſence muſt be the moſt impalpable. We cannot help regretting, indeed, that Dr Hill ſhould not have thought it worth his while to take a little more pains than he ſeems to have done

done with the ſtyle of theſe introductory obſervations. There is a great want of perſpicuity throughout, and very many deviations from the rules of correct compoſition. We do not lay much ſtreſs on the many clumſy expreſſions which every where occur; as, for inſtance, '*Every ſign has its own conception*'—'*No difference is at ſometimes perceived*'—'Before *admitting* the juſtneſs of this remark,' &c. &c.—though we fear our Engliſh readers will claſs them under the general head of Scoticiſms. We have remarked, alſo, that he ſometimes falls, as it were, under the dominion of a word. Thus, in the courſe of fourteen pages, we find mention made of *delicate* management, *delicate* variety, *delicate* analogies, *delicate* ſigns, and *delicate* beauties. This expreſſion, however, is evidently borrowed from certain French writers on this ſubject.

We have dwelt the longer on this part of the work, becauſe it furniſhes an excellent ſpecimen of the ſtyle which the reader may expect to encounter, ſhould he continue his courſe through the remainder of the volume; and we have done this the rather, becauſe we think that an author, who pretends to point out the nice diſtinctions of language, ought to be peculiarly attentive to the purity of his own expreſſions: if theſe appear in the outſet to be unuſually inaccurate and confuſed, he cannot complain if the reader ſhould call in queſtion his competency to execute the taſk he has undertaken.

Though Dr Hill has candidly allowed that his liſt of ſynonymes *may* be capable of addition, he nevertheleſs boldly aſſerts, 'that by far the greateſt number of Latin words, that can be juſtly oppoſed, are to be met with in this collection!' (Preface, p. xi.); and the ſize of the book appears, no doubt, to warrant this aſſertion; but a cloſe inveſtigation of it will ſhew that the omiſſions are really one of its moſt characteriſtic faults. Synonymous words, obvious to the mereſt ſchoolboy, are unnoticed; as, for inſtance, *Regnum, Imperium, Dominium—Vultus, Os, Facies—Sermo, Oratio, Loquela—Trepidatio, Terror, Horror, Timor, Pavor—Imus, Inferus, Infimus—Enſis, Gladius—Simul, Unà—Antiquus, Vetus, Vetuſtus—Crimen, Delictum, Culpa—Poculum, Cyathus, Scyphus—Tutus, Securus—Nomen, Vocabulum—Coma, Crinis, Capillus—Collis, Clivus, Mons, Tumulus—Lenis, Mitis, Suavis, Manſuetus—Mare, Pelagus*, &c. &c. When words of this ſtamp are omitted, we cannot be aſtoniſhed that no names whatever are inſerted, ſuch as *Cynthia, Diana, Phœbus, Apollo*, &c.; and that there are few words included, which by their explanation would ſerve to illuſtrate the civil and military inſtitutions of the Roman people. Accordingly, we find no mention made of *As, Hæreditas—Accenſus, Lictor—Manipulus, Legio, Cohors—Tutor, Curator—Epiſtola, Littera, Reſcripta*,

Reſcripta, Codicilli — Mancipium, Nexus — Uſucapio, Uſusfructus — Poſſeſſio, Pecunia, Peculium, Argentum — Adoptio, Arrogatio — ſtor, Actus — Codex, Teſtamentum, Cera. To multiply examples would be tedious. Suffice it to ſtate, that ſome *hundreds* might be added to this liſt. As a proof of this, we ſhall only obſerve, that Dr Hill (excluſive of his prepoſitions, which are thirty-three in number) has only 338 heads (if we may be allowed the expreſſion) of ſynonymous words; whereas M. Dumeſnil's book contains 2538. We will admit that the laſt mentioned writer has claſſed together many words which are not in any ſenſe ſynonymous; but Dr Hill has been guilty of the ſame fault (as in *Vicus* and *Villa*, *Abnormis* and *Enormis*, *Favilla* and *Scintilla*, *Ejurare* and *Abjurare*, *Cælebs* and *Innupta*, &c.) and nearly in the ſame proportion. We may alſo obſerve, that M. Dumeſnil's heads are infinitely more copious than our author's. In one inſtance (that of the word *Navis*) he has gone ſo far as to range together 24 ſynonymous words. M. Dumeſnil's book is alſo much leſs bulky than Dr Hill's.

Beſides the redundancies and defects which have ſuggeſted the foregoing remarks, we have, in our progreſs through this large volume, had occaſion to object—to the puerile and frivolous matter which, without any reference to the ſubject in queſtion, is ſo frequently obtruded on the reader,—to the author's curious attempts to give free tranſlations to ſeveral paſſages in the Latin claſſics,—and, laſtly, to the manner in which he has miſtaken or perverted the meaning of ſeveral Latin words. We purpoſe citing a few examples of all theſe defects, and will begin with ſome inſtances of his puerile and frivolous obſervations.

Thus when, to explain the force of the verb *occulere*, he cites from Virgil,

' Sparge fimo pingui, et multa memor occule terra,'

he favours us with his ideas on gardening, and abruptly remarks,

'That without paying ſuch attentions as thoſe here recommended, the improver may loſe his labour from the ſeverity of the ſeaſon.' (p. 15.)

In p. 20. 'Nullam a me epiſtolam ad te ſine abſque argumento ac ſententia pervenire. *Cic. Ep. ad Att. I*, 19. Cicero here announces his reſpect for his correſpondent by his attention to the letters he ſent him. He was *anxious that they ſhould be none of thoſe ſilly compoſitions*, which, though they get the name of letters, yet, by being void of matter, are in fact not worth reading.'

In p. 23. '——————— amniſque vadoſi
Accola Vulturnia.'

Thoſe who know the ſituation of this river in Italy, could be at no loſs to diſtinguiſh the people whoſe territory was bounded by it.'

In

In p. 494.

'Primus vere roſam, atque autumno carpere poma.

VIRG. *Georg.* 4. 134.

'The roſes pulled by this Corycian old man are *ſuppoſed to have been neither withered nor faded, and his apples to have been neither green nor rotten.*'

In p. 321. *Errare* is applied to *animals grazing.*

'—They direct their motion not in a ſtraight line, and may often miſs the beſt of the paſture they are in queſt of.

'Mille meæ Siculis errant in montibus agnæ.'

VIRG. *Ec.* 2. 21.

In p. 535, after ſeveral confuſed obſervations on the meaning of *nefandus*, one of the plaineſt of words, he obſerves—'The ſhort *e* in *nefandus* often ſuits the poets when the long *i* in *infandus* is inadmiſſible.' From this remark, however, we may collect, that our author is aware that there is a metre to be preſerved in Latin verſe; whereas, from the quotation he has given us from Theocritus, (p. 74.), we might almoſt be tempted to ſuppoſe him ignorant of this fact with reſpect to Greek literature. He has given us at leaſt a reading of the paſſage above alluded to, which, whatever other merit it may poſſeſs, certainly has not that of being an hexameter verſe.

We will now ſelect a few inſtances of Dr Hill's free tranſlations (*traductions libres* as the French would call them) of certain paſſages.

In p. 713.

'Hæc ſuper impoſuit liquidum, et gravitate carentem
Æthera, nec quidquam terrenæ *fæcis* habentem.'

'Ovid has ſuppoſed *Fæx* to exiſt in a thinner fluid *than either wine or water*, and referred it to particles of earth reſiding in pure æther.'

In p. 715.

'Sifenua nos exercet inertia, navibus atque
Quadrigis petimus bene vivere, quod petis hic eſt:
Eſt Ulubris, animus ſi te non deficit æquus.'

'The activity of the *Strenui* was fruſtrated by the unſkilfulneſs of the *Inertes*. By an unavailing pother, no progreſs can be made in the moſt important of all purſuits: and men vainly fatigue themſelves, chaſing a phantom abroad, when the reality is at home.'

As if this explanation was not ſufficient, in p. 594 he thus comments on the ſame lines:

'The poet by no means accuſes men of inactivity; but he blames the '*anile ſtudium*,' the *unavailing pother*, which comes ſhort of the end, by either miſtaking the means, or by the want of ability to employ them.'

In p. 581.

'Sic ne perdiderit, non ceſſat perdere luſor.'

'The gameſter encounters the hazard with his eyes open, and, for the

ſake of an uncertain addition to his fortune, makes a voluntary ſurrender of the whole.'

In p. 779.

'Fœnus agitare, et in uſuras extendere ignotum eſt.' *Tacit. de Mor. Ger.* 26.—The hiſtorian ſays, in the firſt member of this ſentence, that the Germans lent no money upon terms that might have been equitable, and, in the ſecond, that they were guilty of no oppreſſion, when relieving the indigent, by affording them the uſe of their property.'

In the ſame ſpirit of free tranſlation, he informs us, (p. 132.), that *devium ſcortum* is 'a courtezan, not entirely abandoned, and, as it were, *non in via proſtans*.' He tranſlates *callidus*, (p. 122.), 'a ſort of ſlight-of-hand with which the mind is little acquainted;' and *piger*, he has the goodneſs to inform us, is 'a diſpoſition to ſit with the arms folded,' &c. &c.

The courſe of our inquiry will next lead us to produce ſome inſtances of more important errors, in which we ſuppoſe him to have miſtaken or perverted the meaning of words.

In p. 174, he has confounded the meaning of *caper* and *hircus*. 'Theſe words (he ſays) agree in denoting a he-goat; but the former is applicable to him in a natural ſtate, or otherwiſe, the latter is applicable to him only when he is *mutilated*.' We conceive the meaning of *hircus* to be directly the reverſe, and that this word is never applied to the he-goat when he is in what Dr Hill terms his mutilated ſtate. The real force of *hircus* is well illuſtrated by the manner in which it is oppoſed to *caper*, in an epigram of Martial quoted by our author, to prove the meaning of the latter word.

'Dum jugulas hircum, factus es ipſe caper.'

Aſſuredly *hircus* muſt here be underſtood in a different ſenſe from that which Dr Hill allows it to have.

In p. 18.—'Ruſticus, abnormis ſapiens, craſſaque Minervâ.' He tranſlates *abnormis* 'ſlightly deviating from the common rule.' This we apprehend to be a miſtake: *abnormis ſapiens* means, wiſe without inſtruction, without any rule or *norma* at all, as Cicero has expreſſed the ſame idea, 'Non ad aliorum normam ſapiens.' Dr Hill, we conceive, is equally miſtaken as to the meaning of *enormis*, when he obſerves, 'that had Horace employed the word *enormis* in this paſſage, he would have deſtroyed the quality of the wiſdom by the greateſt implied deviation from the rule eſtabliſhed.' The fact is, that *abnormis* means, without any ſtandard at all; and *enormis*, differing from a given ſtandard. When *enormis* means, as it frequently does, immoderate bulk, it is becauſe the ſize of the thing ſpoken of greatly exceeds the ordinary meaſure.

Nothing can be more different from the idea we have ever entertained of the meaning of *ſcintilla*, than the explanation given of

of it in p. 359.; viz. '*Favilla* often denotes hot aſhes or embers, *and in that view only is ſynonymous with ſcintilla.*' We afterwards learn, however, that '*Scintilla* differs from *favilla* in having *no reference to aſhes*;' but then he leaves embers as the point of meaning at which theſe two words are ſynonymous. *Scintilla*, however, never can be rendered by embers, and never can be ſynonymous to *favilla*. The real difference between theſe two words may be diſtinctly ſeen in a paſſage from Ovid, which has been clumſily introduced by Dr Hill:

'Ut ſolet a ventis alimenta reſumere, quæque
Parva ſub inducta latuit *ſcintilla* 'favilla'
Creſcere, et in veteres agitata reſurgere vires.'

In p. 566. he aſſerts, that the verb *ſortior*, when rendered in its ſtricteſt ſenſe, ſuppoſes 'the acquirer to avail himſelf of a chance of which he was thoroughly aware;' and, as a ſtrong inſtance of it, gives us the following paſſage from Horace:

——'felicem dicere non hoc
Me poſſum caſu, quod te *ſortitus* amicum.' *Hor. Sat. I.* 6. 52.

Now, we conceive *ſortior*, in its primary, and conſequently in its pureſt ſenſe, to be 'to caſt lots;' in its ſecondary ſenſe, it may be uſed for 'to obtain by lot;' and in this laſt ſenſe we underſtand it here; and think, if any doubt could be entertained of its meaning, it would be cleared up by the ſubſequent paſſage in the ſatire, 'Nulla etenim mihi te *ſors* obtulit.' (*Hor. Sat.* I. 6. 53.) Our readers are well aware, that the Romans were one of the moſt ſuperſtitious nations that ever exiſted, and that they left affairs of the greateſt moment to the deciſion of chance. By the caſting of lots, it was decided which of their Conſuls ſhould take the command of their armies: by the ſame award, it was determined who ſhould adminiſter the holieſt offices of their religion. From a knowledge of the Roman cuſtoms in this particular, the ſecondary meaning of *ſortior* may eaſily be deduced. It would naturally (it might almoſt be ſaid neceſſarily) follow, that *ſortior* would obtain ſuch a ſignification as that in which Horace has here uſed it. Juvenal and Ovid have the word in the ſame ſenſe.

——'homines venerabile ſoli
Sortiti ingenium'—— *Sat. XV.* 148.
'Tu ſi Mæonium vatem ſortita fuiſſes.' *Ovid, Triſt. I.* 6. 21.

We cannot enough regret, that Dr Hill never avails himſelf of any opportunity of explaining any of the cuſtoms or manners of that people whoſe language has occupied ſo much of his attention and reſearch.

In p. 712. he obſerves, that *ſqualor* comes from *ſquama*, and ſuppoſes different maſſes, reſembling the ſcales of fiſhes, creating the nuiſance, and defiling the body.' In proof of this, he adduces the following ſentence from Aulus Gellius: 'In corporibus inculti-

tis squamosisque alta congeries sordium squalor appellatur.' Had he examined a little more accurately the author from whom this extract is made, he would have discovered, that *squalor*, in its primitive sense, means that *roughness* which characterises the scales of fishes and serpents. In this sense it is used by Virgil and others, without any *reference to filth or nuisance*. We will now lay before our readers the criticism on the meaning of this word, as it stands in Aulus Gellius, merely to show how wilfully our learned author seems to have mistaken the spirit of it.

'Tertium restat ex iis, quæ reprehensa sunt, quia "tunicam squallentem auro" dixit. id autem significat copiam densitatemque auri in squamarum speciem intexti. squallere enim dictum est a squamarum crebritate asperitateque; quæ in serpentium piscium*que* coriis visuntur, quam rem et alii, et hic quidem poeta locis aliquot demonstrat:

Quem pellis, inquit, ahenis
In plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat.

'Et alio loco,

Jamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus ahenis
Horrebat squamis.

'Accius in Pelopidis ita scribit,

Ejus serpentis squamæ *squallido* auro et purpura prætextæ.

'*Quicquid igitur nimis inculcatum obsitumque aliqua re erat, ut incuteret visentibus facie nova horrorem, id squallere dicebatur. sic in corporibus inultis squamosisque alta congeries sordium squallor appellatur. cujus significationis multo assiduoque usu totum id verbum ita contaminatum est*, ut jam squallor de nullâ aliâ re, quam de foliis inquinamentis dici cœperit.' *Aul. Gel. lib. 2. c. 6.*

In *Squalor*, then, as *Tentare*, *Sortiri*, *Chirographum*, *Condere*, and many other instances, Dr Hill has given us the secondary meaning of the term, without any reference to its primary signification. Here the mistake is the more glaring, as he gives the secondary as the only sense of which the word is capable.

In p. 43. *Blandiri* is said to differ from *Adulari*, 'in referring, not to the meanness and the variety of stratagems adopted by the flatterer, but to his constantly taking advantage of the person he means to cozen.'

We are of opinion, however, that the real meaning of *Blandiri* is to caress by the touch, as appears by a passage in Propertius, where the participle is used to signify touching gently and pleasantly:

'Blanditæque fluant per mea colla rosæ.'—*Prop. 4. 6. 72.*

M. Dumesnil has been very happy in the explanation he has given of the difference between this word and its synonymes. We will subjoin his remarks on this subject, both because Dr Hill has omitted all the synonymous words opposed to *Blandus* by Dumesnil, and because we are very desirous of laying before our readers a specimen of Dumesnil's style.

'*Blandus*,

'*Blandus, Dulcis, Lenis, Suavis, Mansuetus, Mitis.*

'BLANDUS *se dit du toucher, flattant, caressant de la main.* Lacertis blandis tenere colla. Ovid. Canes blandi. Virg. *Au figuré, insinuant.* Blandâ oratione falli. Cic. Blandæ mendacia linguæ. Ovid. Ut pueris dant olim crustula blandi doctores. Hor. DULCIS, *doux au goût.* Mustum dulce. Virg. Dulcior melle. Ovid. *Au figuré:* Dulcissima epistola, Cic. Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici, expertus metuit. Hor. LENIS, *doux au toucher.* Lene & asperum. Cic. *Au figuré:* Non lenis dominus. Hor. Lene consilium. Id. Nunc lenitate dulces sumus. Cic. SUAVIS *convient à l'odorat.* Odor suavis & jucundus. Cic. *Au figuré:* Suavis homo. Ter. Suavis consuetudo. Cic. MANSUETUS, (quasi manui assuetus) *doux traitable.* Quæro cur tam subitò mansuetus in Senatu fuerit, cùm in edictis tam fuisset ferus. Cic. Ex feris & immanibus mites reddidit & mansuetos. Id. Lenitatis & mansuetudinis genus, cui opponitur vehemens & atrox. Id. MITIS *se dit du fruit mûr.* Sunt nobis mitia poma. *Au figuré:* Patientia mitiorem dolorem facit. Cic. Thucydides si posterius fuisset, multò maturior fuisset ac mitior. Id. *On peut opposer* lenis *à* asper; *au figuré, à* crudelis; suavis *à* graveolens; *au figuré, à* tetricus; *à* blandus, molestus, contumeliosus; *à* dulcis, amarus; *au figuré, à* injucundus, invisus; *à* mitis, acerbus.'

It is quite unnecessary to remark with what distinctness the difference between the original and figurative sense of all these words is here pointed out, or the neat and appropriate examples by which their respective meanings are illustrated. Dr Hill unfortunately has aimed at moving in a higher and more difficult sphere; and has run so keenly after metaphysical and subtle distinctions, as seldom to convey more than vague and indistinct notions of the propositions he would wish to impress upon his readers, and frequently to bewilder himself in mazes which have confounded many a clearer head, and led them on

'Through mire and standing pools to seek their ruin.'

We shall add a few more instances.

The distinction attempted at p. 79. between *aut* and *vel* is altogether unintelligible. If any two words be strictly synonymous, we conceive that these are so. Dr Hill might have remembered that Cæsar, in the same chapter, has the two following sentences: 'Cæsar satis esse causæ arbitrabatur quare in eum, *aut* ipse animadverteret, *aut* civitatem animadvertere juberet;' and, 'Petit atque hortatur, ut *vel* ipse de eo causâ cognitâ statuat, *vel* civitatem statuere jubeat.'

What shall we say of the consistency of the following observations: 'FERUS *always* implies that the animal marked by it enjoys his liberty uncontrouled, and shows a disposition to prey upon others. This disposition *is not* the universal concomitant of the quality expressed by *ferus*,' &c. Of *ferinus*, he makes

another ſynonyme; and informs us, that 'it denotes ſuch qualities of wild beaſts as relate to their mode of living, their fleſh, their milk, and their cries.' He really does not ſeem to ſuſpect that it is the common poſſeſſive adjective formed from *ferus*, in the ſame way as *caninus* from *canis*, *vitulinus* from *vitulus*, *equinus* from *equus*, &c.

The diſtinction between *Interea* and *Interim* appears to be palpably falſe, from the very inſtances that are quoted in ſupport of it (p. 460.) It is not clear to us that *Interea* is plural; the long *a* in the cloſe rather ſupports an oppoſite concluſion.

Pellere and *Trudere* are ſtrangely confounded (p. 571.); the latter is ſaid 'to differ from the former in implying that a greater impulſe is requiſite to drive the body receiving it from the point it occupies, and that the line of direction is limited.' To us it appears plain that the diſtinction is founded in very different conſiderations. In *truſion*, the moving body is ſuppoſed to follow in cloſe contact with the body moved, and to continue its action on it; which does not take place in pulſion. In *pulſion*, again, it is always implied that the impelling body was in motion before it began to act upon the other, which is by no means neceſſary in the caſe of truſion.

Infitiari is ſaid (p. 537.) to ſignify a known violation of truth; and in confirmation of this, the author not only quotes but tranſlates a paſſage in which it ſignifies to maintain the truth; the words are, 'Multi mori maluerunt falſum fatendo, quam *infitiando* dolere.' The author is ſpeaking of the effects of judicial torture.

In p. 757. we learn that *Via* may be 'applied to every part of the earth's ſurface that may be travelled over. He who formed a road where there was none before, was ſaid '*Munire* viam; the ſurface was of courſe a *via* before any thing was done to it.' This we conceive to be founded entirely on miſconception. *Munire viam* ſignifies to *make a way*, juſt as *facere viam* does: it is of no conſequence whether the general word be uſed, or a more ſpecific one, deſcribing the method of making. If Dr Hill's reaſoning be right, the phraſes *plectere coronam*, or *torquere funem*, ſhould imply that the flowers on the hemp were already entitled to the name of garlands and ropes before the operations deſcribed by theſe words were begun upon them.

Servus and *Verna* are ſaid 'to differ according as the ſtate of ſlavery is more or leſs oppreſſive;' the latter is ſaid to imply more comfort—the former to be conſiſtent with greater dignity. This really appears to us to be perplexing a very plain diſtinction. *Servus*, we underſtand, is the *generic* term in which *Verna* is included; *Verna* is that ſpecies of *ſervus* who is reared in the

the family. The laſt quotation from Plautus is moſt perverſely miſinterpreted.

The only other inſtance we ſhall give of what we cannot help conſidering as very unaccountable negligence or inaccuracy in Dr Hill's performance, is his account of the terms *Uſura* and *Fœnus* as applied to the intereſt of money. To us it appears that theſe words have preciſely the ſame meaning, though derived from different views of the ſubject. *Uſura* is the rent or hire paid for the *uſe* of money; *Fœnus*, derived, according to Feſtus and Varro, from the old verb *feo*, to produce, ſignifies the *produce* of the loan, and is equivalent to the Greek τοκος, a term appropriated under the ſame analogy. Dr Hill, however, is by no means ſatisfied with the ſimplicity of this ſtatement. 'Uſura,' he ſays, 'is applicable to any rate of intereſt, whether moderate or oppreſſive; but *Fœnus* carries in itſelf, without the addition of any term, a reference to a regulated intereſt.' p. 778. The vagueneſs of *Uſura*, he adds, is limited by the epithets which are joined to it, and, when uſed along with *Fœnus*, it always ſignifies ſomething more oppreſſive. It might be ſufficient, perhaps, to obſerve, that there is no foundation whatſoever for this diſtinction, and that its fallacy is completely eſtabliſhed by the paſſages which Dr Hill quotes in ſupport of it. But there is ſomething ſo extraordinary in the uſe which the learned author has made of his proofs, that it is worth while to attend to them a little more particularly. To prove that *Uſura* is the more general term, and that it ſignifies ſomething more oppreſſive than *Fœnus*, he quotes theſe words from Suetonius, 'Pecuniás levioribus uſuris mutuati;' and there he ſtops. Is it poſſible that Dr Hill did not know that the remaining clauſe of the ſentence is '*graviore fœnore* collocaſſent?'—which is in direct contradiction to the whole of his theory. He is afterwards pleaſed to refer, in proof of his poſition that *Fœnus* always relates to a regulated intereſt, to this line of Horace,

'Dives agris, dives poſitis in fœnore nummis.'

And adds, 'this perſon had laid his money out at intereſt, and, we are led to ſuppoſe, received in return for it neither more nor leſs whan what was uſually given.' Here, again, we find it difficult to conceive how Dr Hill ſhould have forgotten that this very line forms part of the character of an uſurer, who is repreſented as lending his money to young heirs, &c. at the exorbitant intereſt of *ſixty per cent.*, and making them pay even this in advance; and whoſe character appears to have been ſo far removed from any thing that was uſual, that the poet cloſes it by ſaying,

'——————————Maxime quis non
Jupiter! exclamat ſimul atque audivit?'—*Sat. I.* 2. 12.

As to the rest, we find Cicero applying the epithets of *magnum*, *grave*, and *iniquissimum*, to *Fœnus*; and in a passage quoted by Dr Hill himself it is termed *quidum*. Indeed, he reasons about it till he comes to this oracular conclusion, 'that the term *Fœnus* supposes the possible existence of a *certain latitude*; but *not in the degree* in which it exists in *Usura*, from which the idea of a limitation on either side of a standard is banished.'

In the course of his speculations on these words, the learned author is led, almost for the only time in the whole work, to favour his readers with some discussion on the usages and institutions of the people whose language he is explaining, and enters at some length into an account of the rates of interest established among the Romans, and of the terms employed to express them. After some preliminary remarks, he observes,

'*Centesima*, which in calculations of this kind was the integral number, by being doubled, expressed a fraction that was precisely the half of its own amount. Thus, the tax imposed upon Cappadocia, at the rate of twelve per cent., was reduced to six by the emperor Tiberius. "Levare vectigal centesimæ et ducentesimam statuit."

What sort of integral number that must be, which, upon being *doubled*, expressed a fraction of its own amount, we leave to our readers to conjecture; but it is evident, that here, and throughout the whole discussion, Dr Hill entirely overlooks the *rationale* of the terms he professes to interpret. The words *Centesima* or *Ducentesima*, do not in reality stand here in concord with *Usura* or *Vectigal*, with which Dr Hill connects them, but with the word *pars* understood. *Centesima usura*, therefore, ought not to be considered as a substantive and adjective, but as two substantives put together, like *urbs Roma*, *Cicero orator*; and the meaning is, that the hundredth part of the capital was paid monthly as interest—*Centesima pars sortis, usura*. If *Centesima* signified the hundredth part, however, there is no difficulty in perceiving that *Ducentesima*, which signified the two hundredth part, implied an interest one half lighter, without supposing that an integral number became a fraction of itself by being doubled. Finally, as if it were predestined that no part of this discussion should be free from blunder, it may be remarked, that there is no allusion, in the passage quoted from Tacitus, to any tax of 12 per cent. imposed on Cappadocia, and and reduced by Tiberius to six: all that the historian says, is, that by reducing Cappadocia to a province, the emperor was enabled, by this increase of revenue, to reduce the tax of the hundredth penny, formerly levied upon sales all over the empire, to the two hundredth. These observations are minute, we confess, and may probably appear tedious to the reader; but a collection of synonymes contains no general doctrine, and

must

must be judged of according to the accuracy which prevails in those minute discussions of which it must be composed.

If our readers are desirous of seeing further proofs of the load of superfluous matter with which this work is incumbered, we will refer them to the six pages which are taken up in stating the different meanings of *Æqualis*, *Par* and *Similis*, or rather in stating that these words

—' agree in denoting certain distinct relations by which separate substances may be allied.'

It still remains for us to take some notice of that part of the work which the author is pleased to term the ' *Philosophy of Prepositions:*' this indeed seems his darling topic; it is here that he has shrouded himself under the most impenetrable veil of mystery; and hence he would send forth his dictates as oracles to the unenlightened inquirers after truth. After much investigation, however, we are under the necessity of remarking, that the observation of an eminent French writer is applicable to this, as well as to other parts of the work under our consideration.

' Tout ce que varie, tout ce que se charge de termes douteux et evelopés, a toujours paru suspect, et non seulement frauduleux mais absolument faux—parcequ'il marque un embarras que la verité ne connoit pas.'

His plan seems to be, to collect a number of passages from the Latin classics, in which the preposition under consideration is used, and, from an investigation of all these, to deduce and class in order the different significations he supposes it to be capable of bearing,—and to conclude by pointing out and illustrating, by similar examples, the force and power he conceives it to have in composition.

To take the first, *a*, *ab*, *abs*.—On the *philosophy* of these words he has favoured us with nearly twelve quarto pages. After two of frivolous and irrelevant matter (in the course of which he completely confounds in several passages the meaning of *ab* with that of *propè*) he makes this singular observation: ' These prepositions *a*, *ab* and *abs*, have in themselves the power of denoting *nearness*;' and, among other examples adduced to prove this, he gives this one from Cicero's Epistles, viz.

' Pleræque Epistolæ mihi nuntiabant ubi esset quod erant abs te.' *Cic. Ep. Att.* 4. 16.

And then observes,

—' If we abstract the notion of vicinity from the preposition, the above sentence would be void of meaning.'

It must be clear, we think, to every unprejudiced person, that *abs* is used here in its ordinary signification; *i. e.* it points out simply distance or separation, however small; and instead of denoting

"Velle" reor multos. Quis enim mihi tam sit iniquus
Optet ut exilium pace carere meum?
Pectore te toto cunctisque incumbere nervis,
Et niti pro me nocte dieque decet.'

OVID. *Ep. ex Ponto*, 3. 1. 33.

Upon the whole, though this work indicates extensive reading, and very considerable acuteness, we cannot say that it is executed with judgement, or likely to be eminently useful. It is liable to great objections for its omissions; and to still greater for its redundancies. An ambitious display of philosophical subtlety has placed the work altogether beyond the comprehension of a learner; and the merit of these extraneous discussions is rarely such as to attract the attention of a scholar. The work is printed with great neatness, and with very tolerable correctness, except in the Greek quotations, in which the accents are either omitted or inserted partially.

ART. XVII. *A Concise Statement of the Question regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* Third Edition. 8vo. pp. 108. Hatchard, &c. London. 1804.

THIS little publication is understood to contain an authentic statement of the grounds upon which the parliamentary advocates for the abolition of the slave trade have avowedly rested their cause; and has been generally received as the official manifesto of those by whom the discussion of this great question has been recently promoted. Though we do not usually indulge ourselves in any observations on those measures of practical policy that are immediately under the consideration of the Legislature, we flatter ourselves that we shall not incur any very weighty censure for presenting our readers with some account of this interesting performance. The fate which the question has repeatedly experienced proves but too clearly, that it has no connexion with party divisions or points of constitutional principle; and its importance is such, as may probably excite the attention of those who feel very little interest in the dissolution of a parliament, or the downfal of an administration. It is a question, indeed, upon the decision of which we cannot help thinking that mightier and more extensive consequences depend, than were ever suspended before upon the deliberations of any human assembly; it is a question in which interest, or an apprehension of interest, is more nakedly and daringly opposed to humanity and justice, than in any other case with which we are acquainted; and it is the only question we remember to have heard of, in which an admitted wrong has been publicly defended, without any allegation of state necessity.

It

It is wisely provided, that we should be but slightly affected with the fortunes of those who are little connected with us, and that the miseries of a remote quarter of the world should concern us less than the discomfort of our parish at home. But the closest connexion that man can have with misery, is, to be the cause of it; and in every case but this, a much smaller violation of justice has uniformly excited, even against a remote offender, a sentiment of more decided reprobation. If a tyrannical government sacrifices a few thousands of its subjects in a fantastic quarrel—if an Emperor Paul, or an Emperor Napoleon, transport a few hundreds to Siberia or Cayenne—if an Algerine carry off some scores of Christians into captivity, all Europe resounds with indignation, and prepares itself for vengeance; while we listen calmly to the defence of a traffic which condemns a whole quarter of the world to unceasing and ferocious warfare,—which annually exterminates more men than fall during the bloodiest campaign of European hostility, and regularly transports, every six months, in circumstances of unparalleled affliction, more innocent persons than suffer in a century from the oppression of all the tyrannies in the world. Such a subject, we apprehend, is level to every comprehension, and must excite an interest in all who can be brought to attend to the statements in which it is involved. Extensively as we have reason to believe this little volume has already circulated, we feel it therefore to be our duty to contribute to its farther notoriety, and to engage as many of our readers as possible in the consideration of a question, to which we conceive that no one can be indifferent who is not utterly inattentive.

It is scarcely necessary to premise, that the advocates for the abolition of the slave trade most cordially reprobate all idea of *emancipating* the slaves that are already in our plantations. Such a scheme, indeed, is sufficiently answered by the story of the galley-slaves in Don Quixote, and, we are persuaded, never had any place in the minds of those enlightened and judicious persons who have contended for the abolition with so much meritorious perseverance. In this pamphlet, accordingly, we find none of that sentimental rant and sonorous philanthropy by which the cause of humanity has been so often exposed to ridicule. The argument, on the contrary, is conducted with the greatest moderation, sobriety and good sense; the author is master not only of his subject but of his temper; and his antagonists will seldom have an opportunity either to triumph in the inaccuracy of his statements, or to complain of the manner in which they are delivered. But though this author has prudently declined the use of that warm and pathetic eloquence that is apt to give a romantic and theatrical air to a grave and important discussion, he is too wise to consider this as a question of expediency alone, or to argue as if it were to be decided

cided by a balance of profit and loſs. He has taken the moral elements alſo into his calculation; and, aſſuming that it is unjuſtifiable to deprive human beings of life, liberty or happineſs, without ſome unequivocal neceſſity, he has examined, in detail, the motives which the friends of this traffic have urged for its continuance, and weighed againſt each other the good and the evil that will reſpectively follow on its ceſſation.

It is the baſis of this argument, that the ſlave trade occaſions ſome miſery; and its object is to ſhow, that this miſery is not compenſated by any of the advantages which it produces. The baſis, we ſhould think, might have been very ſafely aſſumed: but as perſons have been found who maintain that the ſlave trade actually conduces very much to the happineſs and comfort of the Africans, our author ſcrupulouſly begins with a ſhort expoſition of the ſufferings it inflicts on that unfortunate race—in their native country—on the middle paſſage—and after their arrival in our colonies.

From Africa it is certain that they are carried off againſt their will, and moſt frequently in all the agonies of the moſt poignant affliction. This is not denied: but it is ſaid that they conſiſt of captives who would otherwiſe be ſlain, or criminals condemned by courts of juſtice. The anſwer is, and it is proved beyond all poſſibility of contradiction, that wars are now undertaken, inceſſantly, for the expreſs purpoſe of procuring ſlaves for the market, and that ſince the eſtabliſhment of this traffic, every crime is puniſhed by ſelling the offender to a dealer:—accuſations of witchcraft or adultery are always at hand to inſure a ſupply to the traders on the coaſt; and if theſe fail, it is admitted that, by advancing a little brandy or gunpowder to the natives, a whole village may be *legally* carried off in ſatisfaction of the debt.

The horrors of the middle paſſage need not be deſcribed. To ſay nothing of the mental agony implied in this forcible ſeparation from their friends and their country, it is quite enough to mention, that upon an average no leſs than ſeventeen in the hundred die before they are landed; and that there is a farther loſs of thirty-three in the ſeaſoning, ariſing chiefly from diſeaſes contracted during the voyage. One half of the victims of this trade periſh therefore in the rude operation of tranſplanting them; and probably not leſs than fifty thouſand men are cut off thus miſerably, every year, without taking into account the multitudes that are ſlaughtered in the wars to which this traffic gives occaſion, and the numbers that muſt periſh more gradually by being thus deprived of their parents or protectors.

Of their ſituation in the Weſt Indies, few that deſire to be informed need now be ignorant. They are *driven* at work, like a team of horſes

horſes or a yoke of oxen, by the terror of the whip. No breathing time or pauſe of languor is allowed: they muſt work, as cattle draw, altogether, and keep time exactly in all the movements which their drivers enjoin. Of the infelicity of this condition, ſome eſtimate may be formed from the precautions that are neceſſary to withhold them from ſuicide, and from the inſurrections which no precautions can ever long avert. After urging theſe conſiderations, and making a diſtinct reference to the authorities upon which they are founded, the author maintains that the friends of the abolition have undoubtedly made out their caſe.

'For, if what is moſt improperly denominated a trade appears clearly to be a national crime, can any thing be urged in its defence upon grounds of expediency? Do we vindicate an act of violence; a cruel, mercenary murder, for example, by proving that it has been profitable? If the wages of national guilt are a ſufficient vindication of it, let us at leaſt not loſe the benefits of this golden maxim; let us be conſiſtent with ourſelves, and employ our navy in a general ſyſtem of piracy upon all the leſſer powers of Europe—Or if we are afraid of them, let us enrich ourſelves at the expence of thoſe inſignificant ſtates in Aſia, and the north of Africa, who ſend any veſſels to ſea. The advantages of ſuch a ſcheme are infinitely more undeniable than any that have ever been aſcribed to the ſlave trade by its warmeſt advocates; and the guilt of the tranſaction would be leſs, in the proportion of robbery to torture and murder.' p. 31. 32.

Though we are ourſelves very much inclined to reſt in this concluſion, yet, in order to ſhow how very little temptation there is to perſiſt in a practice ſo indefenſible, the author proceeds to conſider the amount of thoſe reaſons of expediency which are pleaded in apology of its continuance. Theſe he conſiders, either as they relate to thoſe by whom the trade is carried on, or to the ſtate of the Weſt Indian colonies.

The firſt plea that is maintained by the traders, is, that a great capital has been inveſted in this branch of commerce under the ſanction of the Legiſlature; and that the abolition, by throwing it out of employment, would occaſion ſerious loſs or inconvenience to its holders. To this it might be anſwered, in the firſt place, that a ſufficient warning was given to ſuch perſons, when, in 1792, it was reſolved by the Houſe of Commons, that the trade ſhould ceaſe in 1796. But the author of the work before us, takes up the queſtion on a much broader and more indiſputable ground. He ſhews that the whole capital annually veſted in this trade amounts, at a large calculation, to very little more than one million, while the whole annual exports of the country amount to no leſs than forty millions; and he aſks if it be poſſible to conceive that any ſerious inconvenience would

would be produced by throwing *one fortieth part* of our capital out of a particular employment, and compelling it to seek for another. In a country like this, he observes, it is always easy to find employment for a much larger increase of capital than this; and mentions as an instance, that in 1800 the exports of Great Britain were more considerable by very nearly *twelve* millions than they were in 1796; and yet employment was found immediately, and without the least difficulty, for all that prodigious mass of additional capital. At the commencement of almost every war, he observes, a much larger quantity of stock is necessarily thrown out of employment than will be driven into new channels by the abolition of the slave trade; and though the nation has certainly suffered occasional inconvenience from that circumstance, it has never been thought a sufficient reason for our remaining at peace, when we were called to arms by a sense of national dignity, or national faith and reputation. In all such wars, too, there is a direct waste of blood and of treasure; but here, where dignity and justice make the loudest appeal, there is neither hazard nor expence, nor any thing whatever to be dreaded, but the risk of this trifling displacement of a capital that can easily invest itself in more beneficial employment.

Another popular plea has been, that this trade is a valuable nursery for our seamen. When the facts are attended to, our readers will probably be surprised that such a proposition should ever have been hazarded. The trade employs only about one sixtieth part of our tonnage, and less than one twenty-third part of our seamen: But the most important fact is, that such is the unhealthiness of this baneful traffic, that it appears from the muster-rolls of Liverpool and Bristol, that out of 12,263 persons, not *less than* 2643 *are lost in a year*; something more, that is, than one sixth part of the whole, and nearly *ten times* as many as perish out of the same number in the West Indian trade, which was formerly looked upon as the most unwholesome branch of our commerce. If any estimation be put upon the lives of the useful men thus lost to their country, it will appear that besides operating as a fatal drain to our naval strength, this traffic actually impoverishes the country in a much greater proportion than its remote consequences can enrich it.

With regard to the West Indian colonies, the first and the most usual argument for the continuation of the trade is, that it is necessary for keeping up that stock of negroes, without which the plantations cannot be cultivated. Now, here the author most justly remarks, that this statement must either be false, or the slaves must necessarily be treated with all that inhumanity, at the imputation of which the friends of this system are so excessively indignant.

indignant. Men, eſpecially men for whoſe labours there is a demand, will multiply and increaſe, it is well known, in every generation, unleſs their numbers be reduced by ill treatment, accident or diſeaſe. If the ſtock of negroes therefore cannot be kept up by breeding, without importation, it is indiſputable that this can only be owing to the obſtacles that are thrown in the way of their multiplication by the cruelty of their overſeers; and the abolition of the trade would neceſſarily produce ſuch an amelioration of their treatment, as would enable them at leaſt to continue their preſent numbers. But the author ſhews, in the ſecond place, from documents furniſhed by the colonial governments of Barbadoes and Jamaica, that, in theſe two iſlands at leaſt, the ſtock of negroes has been uniformly maintained, by breeding, ſince 1774, and that the importation has gone altogether to increaſe the amount of that ſtock, and to extend the cultivation of the iſlands.

From theſe facts the author infers, that the only ſubſtantial ground upon which the Weſt Indian planters can reſt their defence of this trade, is that which has lately been urged for them, though with more evident embarraſſment than any of the former topics, viz. that without an importation of negroes, the *new* plantations could not be brought into profitable cultivation, nor the limits of our old ones very rapidly extended. Now, though the truth of this ſtatement may be admitted, we preſume it will not be ſeriouſly argued, that all the miſeries of this traffic ſhould be perpetuated, only that a few individuals may not be diſappointed in making that addition to their riches which the proſpect of its continuance may have led them to expect. The ceſſation of the trade will not take a farthing from any man; it will not put a ſingle cane-piece out of cultivation; nay, it will add to the value of all that are now in exiſtence: But it will give ſome check to the rapidity of their multiplication, and diſappoint a few avarious ſpeculators of the profits they had reckoned upon making in their new plantations. It is impoſſible, we conceive, that a hardſhip of this nature ſhould ever enter into competition with all the guilt and the miſery, at the expence of which alone it can be averted. If a practice be admitted to be criminal, and it be propoſed to make a law for its ſuppreſſion, it is ſurely enough if thoſe who have profited by it are rendered ſecure in their acquiſitions: it would be too much to provide an indemnity for all who might have hoped to make gain by its continuance. But the force of this conſideration is ſtill farther weakened, by recollecting, that this projected improvement and extenſion of our colonies will not be by any means defeated, but only a little delayed, by the abolition of the ſlave-trade. It has been proved, that the negroes actually keep up their preſent numbers, even under the negligent

and cruel treatment which they occaſionally meet with. If the planters were made to depend entirely upon their natural multiplication, it is not to be doubted that their numbers would be very rapidly increaſed. The chief obſtacles to their multiplication, at preſent, are the ſmall proportion of females among the imported ſlaves, the contagious diſeaſes brought by them from Africa, or contracted on the paſſage, and the hard treatment they too frequently meet with. The two firſt of theſe obſtacles would diſappear before one generation was extinguiſhed; and the latter would be removed from the moment that it became impoſſible to replace a diſabled ſlave by purchaſe. The expanſive force of population, relieved from the preſſure of theſe cruel obſtacles, and ſtimulated by the extraordinary demand for additional labourers, would ſpeedily extend the black population of our colonies over every region to which the commercial enterpriſe of the planters might direct it, and enable them, in the courſe of twenty or thirty years, to accompliſh, with ſecurity and comfort, what they might now perhaps effect in ten or twelve, at the expence of inexpreſſible cruelty and incalculable danger.

In the part of this work which we have now abſtracted, the author has applied himſelf ſtrictly to appretiate the value of thoſe views of expediency, upon which the defenders of this traffic have uſually pretended that it might be juſtified. He proceeds, in the laſt place, to ſhow, not only that the ſyſtem to which it is ſubſervient is more ruinouſly expenſive than any other, but that the continuance of it muſt endanger the very exiſtence of our Weſt Indian poſſeſſions. By the introduction of taſk-work, and ſuch other ameliorations in the condition of the ſlaves as may be conſiſtent with the ſecurity of their maſters, he lays it down, in the firſt place, that their labour will become more productive; and refers, not only to the authority of all general reaſoners on the ſubject, but to a report of the aſſembly of Grenada, the terms of which are too ſtriking to be omitted. In anſwer to certain queries of a parliamentary committee, thoſe planters report, that out of crop time it is cuſtomary to allow the negroes one afternoon in every week to themſelves:

'And it is to be obſerved, that although the negroes are allowed the afternoon only of a day in every week, yet *a negro will do as much work in that afternoon, when employed for his own benefit, as in a whole day, when employed in his maſter's ſervice.*' p. 56.

With regard to the other point, it is proved, not only by general reaſonings, but by an unanſwerable appeal to facts, that inſurrections are always produced by the concurrence of two cauſes —the bad treatment of the ſlaves—and a rapid importation of new negroes, the pride and ferocity of whoſe ſpirits have not been

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ſubdued by the habit and example of ſubmiſſive ſervitude. In theſe circumſtances it is not a little alarming to conſider with what a progreſſive rapidity our annual importations have been lately increaſed; and it is obvious, that, under the preſent ſyſtem, the faſter the ſlaves multiply, the more rigid their treatment muſt become. In any ſituation of the Antilles, ſuch a ſtate of things might well be contemplated with ſolicitude and apprehenſion, and might fairly be ſaid to be approaching to a criſis, the event of which it is not eaſy to contemplate with compoſure. But the iſſue of the late conteſt in St Domingo has brought this criſis much nearer, and exhibited a more lively picture of the horrors with which it may be terminated.

'In the middle of the ſlave colonies, almoſt within the viſible horizon of our largeſt iſland, a commonwealth of ſavage Africans is at this moment eſtabliſhed, inſpired with irreconcileable enmity to all that bears the name of negro bondage, and a rooted horror of that ſubordinate ſtate which their efforts have enabled them to ſhake off. Does any one imagine that the ſlaves of Jamaica are ignorant of the proud ſuperiority of their free brethren on the oppoſite ſhore? Is it probable that they now kiſs, with more devotion than ever, the chains which their fellow ſlaves in the next ſettlement have triumphantly broken? Admitting that our colonies are ſafe from the riſk of being attacked by the new negro power,—an attack which in all probability would be joined by every diſcontented, and every newly imported ſlave—is not the conſtant example of the neighbouring iſland a ſufficient reaſon for deprecating, beyond every thing, the maltreatment of ſlaves, the diſproportion of whites, the increaſe of unſeaſoned negroes, which are the neceſſary conſequences of continuing the African trade? When the enemy's forces are beſieging you, is it prudent to excite mutiny in your garriſon, and to admit into the heart of your fortreſs the beſt allies that your enemy has?—When the fire is raging to windward, is it the proper time for ſtirring up every thing that is combuſtible in your warehouſes, and throwing into them new loads of materials ſtill more prone to exploſion? Surely, ſurely, theſe moſt obvious conſiderations need but be hinted at, to demonſtrate, that, independent of every other argument againſt the negro traffic, the preſent ſtate of the French Weſt Indies renders the idea of continuing its exiſtence for another hour worſe than inſanity. Were there not another objection to the commerce, the revolution of St Domingo is enough, both as a ſad monument of its fatal tendency, and as an event which has unfortunately changed the very nature of the caſe; aggravating, a thouſand fold, every danger wherewith the ſyſtem was originally pregnant. The planters have now to chooſe between the ſurrender of the ſlave trade and the ſacrifice of their poſſeſſions—between the civilization of Africa, and the laſting barbariſm of the Weſt Indies—between the peaceful improvement of the negroes in their own country, and the maſterful domination of ſavage men in the American iſlands—between the immediate total abolition of the

slave trade, and the abolition of that slavery which alone can preserve the existence of white men in the Charaibean sea. That there is no other alternative, the late history of the West Indies proves in every page.'

In an appendix to this argumentative and masterly tract, the author considers the comparative merits of an immediate or a gradual abolition, and gives his opinion decidedly in favour of the former. A gradual abolition, he observes, can only mean, either that the trade shall cease altogether after a certain period, or that its extent shall be gradually diminished from the present moment, till at last it decline into nothing. With regard to the first project, he judiciously observes—

'The interval will be employed by the African traders in drawing millions from the other branches of commerce, to pour them into the negro traffic, and in manning every vessel that can keep the sea, with sailors, swept from the wholesome lines of navigation, and hurried into the most pestilential of all employments. The demand for slaves suddenly increased, can only be answered by a frightful aggravation of all the miseries to which Africa has been doomed by her communication with Europe. The eagerness of our traders to profit by the interval, will urge them to commit new breaches of the slave carrying act, and to augment incalculably the deplorable cruelties of the middle passage. But what will be the consequence of this sudden accumulation of new slaves in the West Indies? What to this was the paltry increase of new hands previous to 1789, which brought about the dreadful revolution of St Domingo! How well is it for those who shudder at the prospect of the immediate abolition, because it is a sudden innovation, to embrace a project the most full of change—the most pregnant with violent alteration—the most certainly prolific in wide spreading revolution of any that the imagination can paint? Sudden innovation is indeed to be dreaded at all times, and in every state; but in no æra, and in no region so much, as in the first year of the independence of Hayti—in the slave colonies which almost touch the shores of Guadaloupe and St Domingo.' p. 83. 84.

With regard to the second plan, of gradually diminishing the numbers allowed to be imported, he observes, that it would be utterly impossible to determine what traders or what colonies should have the preference in this limited traffic, or to counteract, by any regulations, the prevalence of a contraband trade; and, in general, he suggests, that the question is now agitated during a great crisis of our West Indian colonies, and that nothing but decisive measures can save them from the dangers to which the improvidence of commercial avarice has already exposed them.

The last argument to which he directs his attention, is that which is most frequently in the mouths of superficial disputants, though it admits all the iniquity, and much of the impolicy of

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the traffic; it is, that the abolition of the ſlave-trade is impracticable, becauſe ſlaves will be ſmuggled in ſpite of every prohibition, and becauſe, if we were to renounce the traffic, it would be taken up by other nations. With regard to the danger of ſmuggling, it is enough perhaps to obſerve, in the words of the author before us,

'It is evident that no contraband article is ſo eaſily detected as a cargo of men, differing from their crew in every obvious particular, and impriſoned in all parts of the veſſel againſt their will; nor can any commodity be ſo difficult to ſmuggle into a country as new ſlaves, kept in ſubjection by main force.' p. 88.

As to the other objection, we will acknowledge that we have never been able to ſee in what manner it could apply to the queſtion now under conſideration. If we are determined to abjure this cruel trade, from our regard to juſtice and our fears for our own ſecurity, of what conſequence is it, whether other nations have the virtue or the prudence to follow our example? Their perſeverance in what we know to be iniquitous and full of danger, can be no reaſon for our not leaving it. Our example may draw them after us; but theirs can never juſtify this our moſt perilous delinquency. If the Africans made ſlaves of our countrymen, there might be ſomething intelligible in juſtifying our practice by theirs; but it is not eaſy to ſee why we ſhould retaliate upon them all the wrongs that are committed by our European neighbours; and it is but an indifferent reaſon for continuing to torture and murder them, againſt our conſcience and our intereſt, that other nations may perhaps perſiſt in theſe outrages after we have abandoned them.

The abolition of the Britiſh ſlave trade will waſh away from the reputation of this country the ſtain of this moſt infamous traffic. It will ſave the lives and the ſufferings of thirty or forty thouſand Africans annually imported into our dominions; it will ameliorate the condition of half a million more, who now languiſh in the bonds of the moſt deplorable ſervitude that ever humiliated the nature of man; and it will ſecure, if any thing can ſecure our invaluable poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies from that tremendous deſtiny with which they are ſo imminently threatened. If the advantages of the meaſure were to ceaſe here, we think that its promoters would have matter enough for rejoicing and triumph. But, in the preſent ſituation of the European world, it ſeems evident that the abolition of the Britiſh trade would be equivalent to its total ceſſation, and that a ſtop might be put at once to that fruitful ſource of miſery to all the natives of Africa. Neither France nor Holland can import a ſingle negro during the ſub-

ſiſtence of the war, and we may ſeize, when we think proper, upon all the iſlands that remain to them. Denmark has long ago declared her willingneſs to abandon this trade; and the intereſt which Sweden has in its continuance is too trifling to engage her in a branch of commerce to which ſhe has hitherto been a ſtranger. The importation of ſlaves is already prohibited all over America, except only in the ſtate of South Carolina; and the trade is there ſubjected to very grievous diſcouragements. The Spaniſh and Portugueſe ſettlements have always been ſupplied chiefly by breeding, and will moſt probably be determined, by the late events in St Domingo, to betake themſelves altogether to that ſafer ſyſtem, and to abandon a traffic in which they have leſs intereſt than any other colonial power, and which they muſt carry on to great diſadvantage without our aſſiſtance. Every thing induces us, therefore, to put a ſtop to this deſolating trade at a moment when our influence is ſo extenſive. If it be once effectually aboliſhed, we ſhould have but little fear of its revival; the clamorous band of commercial adventurers would be diſperſed into other departments; the experience of tranquillity would render the planters averſe to the renewal of danger; and, after ſome years eſtrangement and diſuſe, we verily believe that men would feel ſomething of the ſame compunction and horror at the idea of returning to that bloody market, which ſavages reclaimed from cannibaliſm are ſaid to do at the recollection of their inhuman banquets.

It appears to us, in ſhort, that the Parliament of England have it now in their power to do a more magnificent act of humanity and juſtice than was ever before in the gift of a legiſlative aſſembly; and that by this one law, they may, without injury to their country, deliver more men from ſuffering, and exert a far more laſting, extenſive and beneficial influence on the fortunes of mankind, than by all the triumphant campaigns and ſucceſsful negotiations of a century. To thoſe who wiſh to be more particularly informed of the magnitude and the merits of this queſtion, we recommend the peruſal of this very able ſummary, and of the authorities referred to by the author.

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